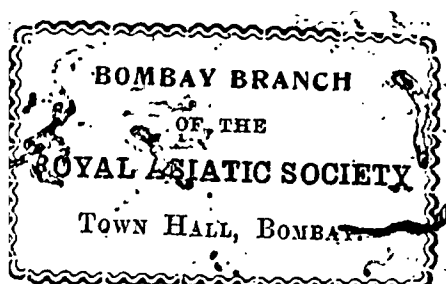


NOT TO BE ISSUED.
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.



00032335



THE
HISTORY
OF
ALEXANDER THE GREAT

BY
QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS

Translated from the Latin

WITH
ORIGINAL NOTES
CRITICAL AND CORROBORATIVE

INCLUDING

ILLUSTRATIONS FROM RECENT TRAVELS

AND FROM

REMAINS EXTANT IN PERSIA AND INDIA
OF THE ANCIENT NATIVE LITERATURE.

By PETER PRATT

Of the East India House

"So precisely does Quintus Curtius's description of the scene of Porus's battle correspond with the part of the Hydaspes where we crossed, that several gentlemen of the mission, who read the passage on the spot, were persuaded that it referred to the very place before their eyes."—MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.

Revised Edition :
IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

32335

ac.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LACKINGTON, HUGHES, HARDING, MAJOR, AND
LEPARD, FINSBURY SQUARE; BLACK, KINGSBURY, PARBURY,
AND ALLEN, LEADENHALL STREET; AND HATCHARD
AND SON, PICCADILLY.

1821.



00032335

QUINTUS CURTIUS

Translated

INTO

ENGLISH.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE first edition of this Translation was published in 1809 : but the sale having been slow and discouraging, more than five hundred copies remained on hand at a time when the accumulation of geographical knowledge and antiquarian discoveries, in respect to Persia and India, had left the degree of information in the Translator's *Notes* to the work, far behind the train of light which very recent travels and researches have thrown on the path of ancient literature. The present is a revised, not a new edition. In order to strengthen the claims of the Translation to public patronage, four hundred and ninety-eight pages have been cancelled and reprinted ; while about two hundred pages of new materials are added : by which discriminating sacrifice, with the careful substitutions, and large accessions, three steps toward a correct and finished execution have been gained.—

1. The *Errata* which blemished the original impression are removed.
2. The suggestions

of private and public Criticism have been consulted, and for the most part followed, that is, in those passages of the Translation respecting which the Translator felt this double conviction, *that they were open to considerable objection, and that it was in his power to improve the English rendering in any satisfactory degree.* If—on one side—we can range a thousand critical deficiencies, when a literary work is examined by an ideal standard of perfection; it is the office of candor to look—on the other—at the obstacles opposed to a faultless execution by the imperfections of language. The incompatible nature of many good qualities in style and composition, which, taken singly, appear to be specific excellencies easily reached, is not merely an extenuation for not embracing them all; but is a full vindication of the less ambitious course of aiming to combine the few which most kindly harmonize when they happen to meet; and letting those take flight which will endure neither companions in merit, nor divided applause; but, like bold adventurers, and presuming beauties, demand exclusive honours, as striking attractions of a contrasted character, proud of solitary habits. In revising the work, however, the Translator has discovered many palpable defects which might

be removed with decided improvement, in places where the perspicacity of criticism had not hinted any fault: nor is this to be wondered at, inasmuch as a cultivator, who has traversed a field until he is at home in it, will know more readily than a cursory spectator where the weeding-hook is most wanted.

3. Since the Translation was published, works of the first class on the history and geography of Persia and India have greatly increased the stock of authentic materials for illustrating Curtius, and other ancient classics who narrate transactions of which those countries were the theatre. The interest with which the East is regarded in England and in Europe has become more lively and intense, as the British empire has extended there; and a succession of persons of eminent talents, perceiving that the official stations which they filled, gave them more than ordinary advantages for surveying the most ancient seats of empire, have chosen Persia, and India, and the contiguous countries of Oriental Asia, as a region in which learned research, assisted with the light thrown by actual travels upon extant monuments, had much room for enterprize and achievement. Within the last twelve years,

these gentlemen have presented to the British public many valuable fruits of their respective labours, which carry the information of the Moderns on the geography of the places on which ancient history is occupied to a very advanced stage; substituting for vague conjecture much positive knowledge. The Translator cannot undertake to recapitulate *here* all the recent publications from which he has derived new illustrations, and important corroborations of his author's text: but whether he has inserted them in the shape of notes; or introduced them into this Preface, as invincible testimonies that the local descriptions of Curtius, so depreciated by closet critics, are, in the eye of travelled observers, accurate and faithful,—the authorities are annexed to the citations; and as the Reader sees the eminent names which are successively adduced, he will estimate the credit which they reflect upon the historian.

For the author's sake, therefore, and that critical justice may be attained, by comparing the words of inveterate prejudice with the things of local reality, the Translator presents a few pointed extracts, as preliminary objects for the Reader's attention.

I. TESTIMONIES TO THE ACCURACY OF CURTIUS, BY RECENT TRAVELLERS.

No. 1.

Appearance of a Persian Camp at Night.

Q. Curtius, Translat. vol. i. p. 310.

“ We found the plain of Ojan entirely covered
 “ with tents. All its avenues were covered with cattle,
 “ which are permitted to extend themselves in quest
 “ of pastures to considerable distances. The position
 “ and general appearance of the camp of Darius
 “ before the battle of Issus, as related in Quintus
 “ Curtius, is very characteristic of a modern Persian
 “ camp, and of what we saw at Ojan. Whoever has
 “ seen at night, at a distance, a Persian camp, or,
 “ indeed, a camp of any Asiatics whose immense fires
 “ are lighted in all parts of it, will be struck with the
 “ correctness of the similitude to a general conflagra-
 “ tion.”—*Second Journey through Persia. By JAMES MORIER, late His Majesty's Secretary of Embassy and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Persia. 1818.*
 p. 277.

No. 2.

Field of Arbela.

Translat. vol. i. pp. 406, 407.

“ We continued our route, as usual, through the
 “ plain, with the Tigris on the right, and the hills
 “ on the left; at the fifth mile was the Chaldean
 “ village of Batma, and at the tenth that of Tilkiff.
 “ The roads were excellent, as, indeed, they had been
 “ since we left the defile of Zaku. The battles of

“ Arbela and Nineveh must, I conclude, have been fought somewhere between Tilkiff and the Zab, and the spot seems as if formed by nature for the combat of hostile armies. With the exception of a low range of hills, and some gentle slopes, the ground offers no impediment to the evolutions and movements of the largest armies; and nothing can be more accurate than the description of the country given by Quintus Curtius.”—*Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Kooruistan, in the years 1813 and 1814, with Remarks on the Marches of Alexander, and Retreat of the Ten Thousand.* By JOHN MACDONALD KINNEIR, Captain in the Hon. East India Company's service, and Political Agent at the Durbar of His Highness the Nabob of the Carnatic. London, 8vo. 1818. p. 461.

The same traveller, to his own description of the field, adds, in a note, that of the historian.

“ Quintus Curtius says, that *Darius advanced eighty stadia beyond the Lycus*, (which is now the Zab,) and he lay encamped in an immense field without trees or bushes, where the eye could survey remote objects; and that where the ground swelled Darius ordered it to be levelled. It appears from the same author, that Alexander passed the Tigris ABOVE Mosul; for he marched two or three days before the battle: which was, without doubt, fought on the NORTH of the Zab, since Darius, in his flight, crossed this river, and did not reach Arbela till midnight. Memnium, four days from Arbela, is mentioned as being situated near a fountain of naphtha, and is, no doubt, the modern Kerkoosh.—*Ibid.* n.

No. 3.

Interior Site of Babylon.

Translat. vol. ii. p. 9.

In 1817, Lieut. Heude visited the present ruins, or rather traces of ancient Babylon, having the advantage of a previous acquaintance with Mr. Rich's very accurate Memoir. This intelligent traveller, among many acute observations on this subject, says :

“ On the eastern bank of the river, and about two miles beyond Hellah, the ruins are found to commence ; occupying an oblong, unequal space of about two miles and a half by nearly three. It is peculiar to Quintus Curtius to have described the interior site of the builded part of the city, by giving its square dimensions.”

Lieut. Heude proceeds to compare the historian's description with the local vestiges still existing : and points out an agreement between the superficial area of the ruins and the square dimensions given by Curtius, with which he was struck while on the spot. The following is the substance of his observations in three different places of the text and notes :

“ Mr. Rich gives two miles and 600 yards for the width, with about two miles and 1200 yards for the length of the space over which the ruins in general are found to extend. As it may be conjectured, that

“ the river has encroached, this would complete the
 “ oblong nearly to a perfect square, and would occupy
 “ a space of ten miles 1280 yards, or very near eleven
 “ miles ; which, at eight stadia to the mile, would cor-
 “ respond within a mere trifle of the ninety stadia
 “ usually esteemed the circumference of the inner
 “ space, that was built up as described by Quintus
 “ Curtius, lib. V.”

The same tourist speaks, in a subsequent passage, to the like effect ; presenting some additional lineaments of the scattered wrecks of fosses and mounds, palaces and gardens, observatories and temples, for the review of the classical antiquary.

“ It took me about an hour to ride over the extent
 “ of ground which the ruins in general occupy. Baby-
 “ lon is described as a square city, with several en-
 “ closures about it. And as it is known that the houses
 “ were not built close up to the walls, but with an
 “ open space between the houses and the walls, which
 “ was generally employed for agricultural purposes ;
 “ and as the interior quadrangle, which was occupied
 “ with buildings, is described by Quintus Curtius as
 “ ninety stadia only in circumference ; so Mr. Rich’s
 “ estimate for the faces of the square would very nearly
 “ occupy this space.” — *Voyage up the Persian Gulph,
 and Journey Overland, from India to England in 1817.*
By LIEUT. WM. HEUDE, *Madras Establishment. Lon-*
don, 1819. p. 97, et seq. text and notes.

A common feeling of veneration for all the ancient historians who have transmitted topographical details of a city not more renowned

for having long been the seat of empire, than for the works of stupendous magnificence which survived the fall of Babylonia into the condition of a province under the ascendancy of Persia, — induces the Translator — before quitting the subject — to notice, that Lieut. Heude, after having thus instructed the Reader by the local description of existing remains, enters on a train of speculative objection calculated to sap the foundation of the very accounts, which the evidence of his eyes tends so strongly to corroborate. The following is the substance of what he throws out, in taking this unexpected turn.

“ It might appear the very height of presumption to attack the very ground we have stood upon, and to declare, that as the works described by the ancient historians, — Herodotus, Strabo, Quintus Curtius, Diodorus, and others, — are, for their magnitude, wonderful and extraordinary; so there are circumstances in the performance not only wonderful but impossible, though vouched for by the greater part of these authorities.”

The Translator of Curtius deems it important to state at once distinctly what the ground

of this objection is. Lieut. Heude considers the authors, whose veracity he impeaches, to assert, that the *whole circumference of the outward wall was built by sections, at the rate of a stadium in a single day*; and his acquaintance with the details of fortification enables him to show, by a simple calculation, that this was impossible. According to the lowest dimensions assigned to the walls of Babylon, “ they “ were 72 feet in height, and 32 feet thick ; “ which must have required 14,000 cubic feet “ of earth to each current fathom. Twenty “ workmen, the greatest number that can be “ conveniently applied to each current fathom, “ *even in field works*, could never have *even* “ *thrown up* a third of the 14,000 cubic feet of “ earth within the day.”

Without going further into these details, and admitting the limits which they impose on the exertions of the military engineer to be insurmountable, the Translator thinks that the basis of the objection may be altogether destroyed by adducing two or three of the ancient accounts, which not only admit, but even require a different construction from that which Lieut. Heude takes as his premises. Curtius tells us, “ The circumference of the whole work

“ embraces 368 stadia; the process of building, according to tradition, occupied as many days.”—*Lib. V. c. 1.* Consistently with this, each stadium might, under each sub-architect, either be completed within the year, some sections being finished sooner than the rest; or all the sections might advance simultaneously, securing the execution of the whole by the end of the year. Two of the elder authorities explain how this was effected. “ Semiramis, who enlarged it, after Belus the original founder, assigned each furlong of the work, with materials and funds, to a confidential adherent, allowing a year for its completion.”—See JUSTIN, *initio, lib. i.* and CRESIAS, *Chil. ix. 275.*

The foundation of empire in Chaldæa was the erection of a spacious fort; and it would have been but a silly conundrum in architecture, to have propounded for so many successive days a difficult operation, which would confine all the strength of the building establishment to one spot, to the mutual impediment and confusion of the workmen,—instead of directing a combined arrangement, by which a uniform progress to security was rapidly made on all sides. Nor are we to conclude, that all the monuments of power and grandeur which

successive ages witnessed and admired were created in a year. Herodotus says, that the various sovereigns of Babylon contributed to the strength of its walls, and the decoration of its temples.

No. 4.

Description of the Seraub, and of the atmosphere over a salt desert.

Translat. vol. ii. pp. 168, 169.

“ Such are the delusive effects of the *Seraub*, a
 “ mirage which constantly plays over the saline waste,
 “ that it is difficult to persuade the beholder, that what
 “ he sees is vapour, and not water. This is alluded to
 “ in the Korân, 24th chapter: ‘ But as to the unbelievers, their works are like a vapour in a plain,
 “ which the thirsty traveller thinketh to be water,
 “ until, when he cometh thereto, he findeth it to be
 “ nothing.’ Quintus Curtius, in describing Alexander’s
 “ march through the deserts of Sogdiana, has given so
 “ faithful an account of this illusion, and of the state
 “ of the atmosphere over a salt desert during the heats
 “ of summer, that either he must have witnessed such
 “ scenes himself, or must have acquired his information from authentic sources. He mentions a fact
 “ which must come home to the recollection of every
 “ traveller in the East: that as they entered the
 “ deserts, the despair of obtaining water kindled thirst
 “ before it was excited by nature. He then compares
 “ the heat of the sun upon the sands (where every
 “ thing is dried up) to a kiln always burning; an image
 “ which becomes more striking from the very correct
 “ description which follows it: ‘ The steams which

“ exhale from the fervid expanse, that appear like the
 “ surface of a sea, produce a cloudy vapour that
 “ darkens the sky.’—*lib. vii. cap. 5.* Such observa-
 “ tions made in the country appear to be due to the
 “ character of an historian who lies under the im-
 “ putation of indulging in *extravagant* description, and
 “ whose authority, in consequence, has been propor-
 “ tionably depreciated.”—MORIER’S *Second Journey*
through Persia, p. 282.

The revised Translation, following Curtius more closely than the former, gives part of the description thus: “ Arid plains take the ap-
 “ pearance of a vast and *deep* sea.” The epithet
 “ deep” may, unless corroborated by a distinct authority, be regarded by some persons as a mere rhetorical exaggeration: but the idea of depth is excited by the actual reflection of objects in the ideal water; a remarkable instance of which is cited in vol. ii. ADDITIONAL NOTES (N).

No. 5.

Passage of the Hydaspes.

Translat. vol. ii. pp. 287 ... 290.

“ We crossed the Hydaspes at Jellalpoor, lat. about
 “ 32° 28'; long. 73° 36'. I was greatly struck with
 “ the difference between the banks of this river. The
 “ left bank had all the characteristics of the plains of
 “ India; it was, indeed, as flat and as rich as Bengal,
 “ which it greatly resembled: the right bank, on the
 “ contrary, was formed by the end of the range of

“ salt hills, formerly seen at Calla-baugh, [on the Indus,
 “ about 110 miles W. by N. whence the Salt Range
 “ curves hither], and had an air of extreme ruggedness
 “ and wildness. The hills still retain the red colour for
 “ which they were so remarkable when we crossed
 “ them before. They came to the edge of the river,
 “ which being also divided by islands, presents exactly
 “ the appearance one expects from the accounts of the
 “ ancients. So precisely does Quintus Curtius’s de-
 “ scription of the scene of Porus’s battle correspond
 “ with the part of the Hydaspes where we crossed, that
 “ several gentlemen of the mission, who read the pas-
 “ sage on the spot, were persuaded that it referred to
 “ the very place before their eyes.” — *An Account of
 the Kingdom of Caubul, and its Dependencies in Persia,
 Tartary, and India. By the Hon. MOUNTSTUART
 ELPHINSTONE, late Envoy to the King of Caubul.*
 4to. London, 1815. p. 80.

No. 6.

The Worship of Trees in India.

Trans. vol. ii. p. 269.

Independent of such direct testimonies to Curtius as the five preceding, some of these, and other distinguished travellers, appeal to his history to illustrate living manners and existing institutions; in which case the service of corroboration is mutual. Thus:

“ Trees are now regarded with superstitious veneration by the people of India. We find in the Institutes of Menu, cap. III., a form of salutation addressed to ‘ the gods of large trees.’” *Travels in*

Various Countries of the East, more particularly Persia. By SIR W. OUSELEY. London. 1819. 4to. vol. i, p. 393.

Sir William then refers to Q. Curtius, lib. VIII. c. 9. “Deos putant quidquid colere
“cœperunt; arbores maxime, quas violare capitale est.” Among a host of modern writers, who describe specimens of the same superstition, he cites “MOORE’S *Narrative of Capt. Little’s Detachment*,” p. 212, and his “*Hindu Pantheon*.” One of our elder writers has left us a particular account of the same sort of worship in Ceylon: —

“I shall mention but one tree more, as famous and
“as highly set by as any of the rest, if not more,
“though it bears no fruit, the benefit consisting chiefly
“in the holiness of it. This they call *Bagauhak*; we,
“the God-Tree. It is very great and spreading; the
“leaves always shake like an asp. They have a very
“great veneration for these trees, worshipping them
“upon a tradition, that Buddou, a great god among
“them, when he was upon the earth, did use to sit
“under this kind of tree. There are many of these
“trees, which they plant all the land over, and take
“more care of them than of any other. They pave
“round about them like a key, sweep often under
“them to keep them clean; they light lamps and set
“up their images under them: and a stone table is
“placed under some of them, to lay their sacrifices on;
“they set them everywhere in towns and highways,
“where any convenient places are; they serve also for

“ shade to travellers ; they will also set them in memorial of persons deceased, to wit, there where their bodies were burnt.”—*Historical Relations of the Island of Ceylon*. By CAPT. ROBERT KNOX, part i. c. 4.

“ Then shall the ancient tree, whose branches wear,
 “ The marks of village reverence and care,
 “ Shake through each leaf, as birds profanely wrest
 “ The venerend boughs to form the rising nest.”

WILSON's *Megha Duta*, or *Cloud Messenger*,

THE AGE IN WHICH CURTIUS LIVED.

The Preface to the First Edition, — in discussing the import of the internal evidence which can be gleaned from the history itself on this subject — notices what is dropped respecting Tyre, and the remains of the Macedonian-Greek kingdoms, west of the Euphrates, being, *at the time the author wrote*, subject to Rome ; as well as the thoroughly canvassed allusion to the reigning emperor*. Since that was published, M. de Sainte-Croix has elicited some additional light on this interesting point, by combining various scattered rays of indirect information, which other investigators had overlooked ; and the new inferences, thus collected, tend altogether to corroborate the conclusion, that Curtius lived in the reign of Claudius.

* Pp. viii. xv.

“ The monarchy of the PARTHIANS, which Quintus
 “ Curtius speaks of as existing in his time, was de-
 “ stroyed A. D. 226; when the successful insurrection
 “ of the Sassanides restored the PERSIAN line to the
 “ throne, and the province of Persis to imperial as-
 “ cendancy. Curtius touches the same point in four
 “ places. 1. *He (Darius) had gone to Ecbatana, the*
 “ *capital of Media. AT THIS DAY in the hands of the*
 “ *PARTHIANS, the city is the royal residence during*
 “ *summer.*”—CURT. *Transl.* vol. ii. p. 43. This is con-
 firmed by Strabo; who, in speaking of the large village
 town, Ctesiphon, thus glances at the then royal resi-
 dences: “ There the Parthian kings were accustomed
 “ to reside in winter, for the mildness of the air; but
 “ they passed the summer in the cities of Hyrcania and
 “ Ecbatana, on account of the ancient and still en-
 “ during splendour of those places.”—Lib. XVI. p. 512.

2. “ Of the collateral passages in Curtius, one oc-
 “ curs when he is describing the army of Darius.
 “ *The rear was closed by the Parthians, a nation then*
 “ *inhabiting the territory, which the Parthians come*
 “ *[later] from SCYTHIA, NOW hold. [i. e. in, sove-*
 “ *reignty.]*”—Lib. IV. c. 12. [Compare with *Transl.*]
 “ In effect,” remarks M. de Sainte-Croix, “ the Par-
 “ thians were of Scythian origin, and the Parthian fief,
 “ a canton south-east of the Caspian Sea, was their
 “ cradle; as Curtius elsewhere states: *Hence he moved*
 “ *into Parthia, then an obscure nation; NOW, THE*
 “ *RULING POWER of all those which lie beyond the*
 “ *Euphrates and the Tigris, its dominions extend to the*
 “ *Red Sea**.—Lib. VI. c. 2. [Compare with *Transl.*]
 “ The Parthian empire was never so extended as in
 “ the first century of the Christian era: it is then to

* i. e. the Indian Ocean.

" this century that we must assign the era of Quintus
 " Curtius. This historian, after having spoken of the
 " burning of Persepolis, [see *Transl.* vol. ii. ADD.
 " NOTE (G.)] adds: *Alexander and his successors held*
 " *their courts in other cities which the Parthians now*
 " *occupy.*—*Transl.* vol. ii. p. 42. Certainly, at this
 " epoch the Persians had their own native princes:
 " but then they acknowledged the sovereignty of the
 " Arsacides, kings of Parthia.—*STRAB. lib. XV. p. 506,*
 " *et. seq.* It was possibly from the former cause,
 " that the latter monarchs past the autumn at Hyr-
 " cania, and not at Persepolis, like the ancient Per-
 " sian kings.—*ATHEN. lib. XII. p. 513.* This last
 " station, when reduced to a provincial town, was the
 " residence of local hereditary princes, subject at first
 " to the Macedonians, and afterwards to the Par-
 " thians. And, indeed, the power of the Parthians
 " was at this period entire; nor was it materially
 " weakened, till Trajan shook it, A. D. 117. After
 " which, Marcus Aurelius reduced it, A. D. 165, ac-
 " cording to the *Chronicle of Edessa.* ASSEMAN.
 " *Bibl. Or.* vol. i. p. 390.

" In conclusion," says M. de Sainte-Croix, " I
 " will cite one more passage, to which the critics have
 " paid little attention. Without being so clear, or so
 " decisive as the preceding, it is, however, deserving
 " of comment. It relates to Tyre. *Having risen from*
 " *many falls to be thus annihilated, even after this ex-*
 " *inction, TYRE was reproduced.* And NOW, A LONG
 " PEACE making all its concerns flourish anew, it enjoys
 " serenity under the MILD PROTECTION of Rome.
 " *CURT. lib. IV. cap. 4.—Transl.* vol. ii. pp. 375, 376.
 " The Tyrians governed themselves, enjoying their
 " own peculiar laws under the successors of Alex-
 " ander; and Mark Antony recognized this autonomia;

“ (JOSEPH. *Antiq.* lib. xv. c. 4.) which the first Roman
 “ emperors confirmed.—STRABO, lib. xvi. p. 521. At
 “ this time Tyre was literally under the *protection of*
 “ *Roman liberality*, according to the expression of
 “ Quintus Curtius. This city did not change its con-
 “ dition until the reign of Severus, when it was placed
 “ in the number of Roman colonies, which possess no
 “ jurisdiction of their own; (AUL. GELL. lib. xvi.
 “ c. 13.) and passed under the consular yoke. SPAN-
 “ HEIM, *de Usu et Præst. Numism.* vol. ii. pp. 610, 611.
 “ It was then, BEFORE THIS CHANGE, that Quintus
 “ Curtius must have written; which operates to de-
 “ monstrate how improbable and untenable are the
 “ grounds upon which some have conjectured that he
 “ lived subsequently to the second century of the
 “ Christian era, at the close of which Severus was
 “ master of the empire. Thus every thing concurs to
 “ strengthen, and nothing opposes, the deduction from
 “ the principal passage first alluded to: that this his-
 “ torian lived in the reign of CLAUDIUS; as I agree
 “ with the most eminent critics in thinking that he
 “ did.” — *Examen Critique des Historiens d’Alexandre*,
 édit. seconde, pp. 849—851.

VINDICATION OF CURTIUS.

The positions taken in the Preface to the
 First Edition*, remain to repel attack on the
 points there stated; moreover, the notes to the
 translation, as opportunities occur, present some
 decisive proofs—that many passages which have

* Pp. xxvii. . . . xxxv.

been confidently censured, are perfectly accurate. And, above all, we see that living travellers of indisputable authority bear honourable attestation to the fidelity of some of the very pieces of local description, which Le Clerc and Rooke, and other critics of the same prejudiced school, had, on mere surmise, impeached as fictitious scenes from a romantic pencil. Enterprising visitors of the memorable sites of the battles of Arbela and the Hydaspes, find the striking landscapes to be still existing in nature, which the cloistered arbiters of what is probable, or can possibly be true — *in the accounts of foreign climes, measured by the scale of their own knowledge* — had at random pronounced to be the inventions of a florid writer; the peculiar features of individual plains and rivers described, have been compared and identified, and the undervalued picture has received the stamp of credibility from the corresponding original. It would be superfluous to guard the historian's reputation from conjectural assailants by a stronger intrenchment.

There are, however, some general complaints of deficiencies in the plan and conduct of the original history, which respectable critics have made, without considering that the

work is — in the proportion of one part to five — a fragment, and that the two books lost probably contained the class of information, and its details, which they miss; so that the defect is to be regretted, rather than censured. For example, M. de Sainte-Croix observes: — “ It “ appears that Clitarchus had not absolutely “ neglected *Chronology* ? and that Quintus Cur- “ tius, in following him, must have suppressed “ all that might have been useful to this “ science.” — *Exam. Crit.* p. 621. But how does this learned critic know that the first book of Curtius did not contain a *Chronological Canon*, or *Table of Cardinal Events and Dates*, with an *Explanation* of his own principles, for reducing the Grecian epochs and months to Roman? It is remarkable, that the passage cited to prove that Clitarchus did not neglect Chronology, relates to the date of *Alexander's passage into Asia*, an event which falls within the time which the lost books of Curtius must have comprised. — See *Transl.* vol. i. ADDITIONAL NOTE (C), p. 488. Different historians have different methods of attending to this point. Some interweave into the text, along with the narrative of the action, the *time when* distinctly expressed in words. Others put the date in

the margin. The disciples of a third school — and they are generally the professed cultivators of chronological exactitude — omit the dates entirely in the body of the narrative, reserving them to be given in *a connected series* in a separate book or chapter. M. de Sainte-Croix himself has chosen to follow this latter method. Now let us suppose, for the sake of illustration, what, since the invention of printing, is not likely to happen: let us contemplate the possibility of a political convulsion in Europe, so grand and terrible, as to involve a wreck of modern literature. After the tempest, it is found that only a few books have escaped total destruction, and that while poetry, science, and history, are thus intercepted in descending to posterity, their works are more or less mutilated. Among these capital fragments, some future Montfaucon finds *Examen Critique des Historiens d' Alexandre*; the second and third sections, containing a narrative drawn from ancient sources, are luckily preserved: but the fifth section, entitled *De la Chronologie, &c.* the *Table of Contents*, and other introductory expositions of the Author's plan, are deficient in all the copies. On the negative evidence of such a chasm, caused by the latent operations of

Time, undermining the temple of Knowledge, what! if some future critic should pronounce, that M. de Sainte-Croix had entirely neglected Chronology?

The translator, in venturing to make these observations, relies on the liberality of this learned commentator on ancient history; believing that if the efforts made, in the Preface and Notes, to vindicate Curtius from occasional pointed attacks, should come under his eye, and should in his dispassionate judgment be deemed satisfactory, he will cheerfully render the historian the justice to withdraw so much of his censure as may seem to be unfounded.

Indeed, he has already surmounted and repelled some of the prejudices entertained by preceding critics, on the comparative authority of Curtius and Arrian; as the following quotations from *Examen Critique* will show.

“ Diodorus, Curtius, and Justin, agree in representing that Darius made two pacific overtures to Alexander: but Arrian differs from them in supposing that there was but one embassy, apparently without reason; for the natural progress of the negotiations confirms the unanimous testimony of the other historians.” p. 284.

“ Curtius has preserved, in the occasional speeches, many curious facts, which Arrian too often neglects.

“ Why has this last historian said nothing of the cohort which Alexander separated from the rest of the army, after the death of Philotas ?”—p. 343. See *also to the same effect*, p. 345.

“ Curtius is no panegyrist of Alexander ; he neither extenuates his vices nor conceals his crimes : on the contrary, he is often the rigid censor of both. He sometimes even indulges a tone of invective against this prince ; and, in a word, no historian has spared him less. If, notwithstanding this, the result of his narrative leaves on the mind a high idea of the Macedonian hero, not strictly in keeping with the character which he had drawn of him, this idea is neither false nor exaggerated, and cannot be adduced as a reproach to Quintus Curtius.”—pp. 113.

In another passage, M. de Sainte-Croix contrasts the character of Alexander, as drawn by Arrian, with the final review of it left by Curtius.

“ It is difficult to give credit to the sobriety and parsimony of Alexander, particularly in the last years of his life :”—alluding to Arrian’s stating, that ‘ Parsimonious in all that related to his private pleasures, he became liberal when he had to oblige his servants or his friends.’—ARRIAN, lib. VII. cap. 28. M. de Sainte-Croix adds, in a Note, “ With what superlatives does this chapter teem ! I could not translate them into French.”—p. 502. The same critic, after directing attention both to the lights and shadows of the portrait sketched by Curtius—lib. X. cap. 5, *Transl.* vol. ii. p. 412—intersperses many discriminating remarks ; which amount to saying, that it is upon the whole spirited and faithful.—See pp. 503, 505.

COMMENTARY ON THE MAP.

The Reader, who takes a vivid interest in discussions contributing to identify the memorable places of antiquity, or to remove the veil of obscurity which has invested some points in ancient geography with the character of problems requiring solution, may be referred to the ADDITIONAL NOTES on the subjects specified below, as supplements to the *Commentary on the Map* in the original *Preface*.

Vol. I. n. (J) *On the Positions of the Cilician Passes.*

" (M) *On the OASES of Hammon.*

Vol. II. n. (A) *On the direction in which Darius retreated after the Battle of Arbela.*

(D) *On the Mountains forming the Western frontier of Persis.*

(L) *On the connexion between the Eastern and Western Caucasus.*

(M) *On the site of Alexandria at the foot of Caucasus.*

(P) *Modern name of the Country answering to the Principality of Sysimithres.*

(S) *The source of the Ganges.*

(T) *Ancient name of the Brahmapootra.*

(A A) *Whether Alexander navigated the Eastern Branch of the Indus?*

 ALLUSION TO BUONAPARTE.

The allusion to this exemplary subject of vicissitude, which occurs at the beginning of

the former Preface, was written in 1809. This, the only temporary matter introduced, may seem to have grown out of date: but the Author feels a patriotic pride in retaining it; because it will always be evidence, that when Buonaparte had nearly attained the summit of his power, he was not among the number of his admirers. In the following year, the transient emperor compelled Austria to sanction his usurpation by a matrimonial alliance; yet did the Author never despair of a successful reaction, by which the oppressed states of Europe should recover their national independence.

The studied parallels that are drawn between extraordinary men are, in general, exceedingly forced and artificial: but many single points of resemblance between historical characters, really exist; which need only pointing to, without specifying them, to be recognized. The Translator respectfully invites the Reader to compare Buonaparte and Demetrius Poliorcetes. — See *Curt. Transl.* vol. ii. *Narrative Sketch*, p. 477.

London, 15th September, 1821.

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION;

(Written in the Year 1809: Revised September 1821.)

THE life of Alexander, as transmitted by Plutarch, Arrian; and Curtius — while the proposed compass of each work differs as much as biography, annals, and history — is, in all the three accounts, an extraordinary field of incident. Quintus Curtius, while exhibiting the progress of a mighty transition of power, has mixed, with the minutes of the council, and the journal of the camp, sketches of biography which lead to an intimate knowledge of ancient manners.

The middle-part of the narrative, and route, of the Macedonian expedition to the East, possesses new interest, on account of Buonaparte's designs on Persia: his proclaimed invasion of India — if any thing more than a machination to induce the Porte, as well as the Court of Tuheran, to permit his occupation of important positions — is a distant object. Alexander subjugated as he went: we may calculate that Buonaparte will follow an example from which deviation would be unsafe, without expecting him to draw his catalogue of means from a magnanimous school. A French army

introduced into Persia — a revolution in the palace at Tuheran — the new protectors of the independence of Persia permanently seated there.

The policy by which Alexander, with an inferior fleet, deprived Darius of a navy *, is another interesting subject of examination ; as it is possible that Buonaparte imagines that he is imitating it. If he discover a resemblance between the foundation of the naval power of ancient Persia, and that of Britain, he possesses creative discernment. Deterred by the scruples of a strange superstition from navigating at sea, the Persians, nevertheless, commanded a formidable marine, composed of tributary or mercenary fleets, from Rhodes and Cyprus, Tyre and Sidon : The first successes of the Macedonians weakened the influence of Darius over these naval states : The intermediate progress of the invaders excluded him from vicinity, or any other than a precarious correspondence, with maritime powers, while he yet controlled the greater portion of the Asiatic continent.

An intrepid reasoner, determined to establish a parallel between the victorious Macedonian and Buonaparte, may tread convincing ground, by imitating Shakspeare's model †.

Fluellen. I think it is in Macedon where Alexander is born : I tell you, captain ! if you look into the

* Vol. I. p. 230, line *antepenult.* p. 251.

† K. Henry V. act iv. scene 13.

maps of the orld, I warrant that you sall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon, there is also moreover a river in Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river; but it is all one, 'tis as like as my fingers to my fingers, and there is salmons in both.

In the same manner, any peacemaker, who will insist upon agreement between the situations of the French emperor and the great Persian king destitute of a fleet, may suppress circumstances resisting accommodation, and embody coincident shadows.

Why does Buonaparte, as far as he can grasp the coast of Europe, arrest the prow of neutral commerce; and influence the governments of maritime countries to annihilate the navigator and merchant? In offering motives for his prohibitions, it is impossible to reason, and difficult to make two consistent remarks. He may not so much expect to deaden one of the sinews of Britain, as to paralyse Russia and other defeated powers. They cannot recruit their strength; while he, by secret licenses, may throw such trade as he is constrained to permit, into the ports of countries whence his own revenues arise.

Alexander did not suppress commerce, as the medium of more intelligence than he willed should circulate in vassal states. He extended the free harbour,

and protected the many-languaged exchange ; sensible that the intercourse of nations wears lingering ferocities from the emerging Barbarian, and distributes over the habitable world the blessings of humanized life. It may be questioned, on a ground which will not affect the character of his intentions, whether he had traced ALL the enlarged and accurately-combined plans latterly ascribed to him. By what revelation did he rise superior to the dark and erroneous notions of Nearchus *, respecting the gulf of Arabia and the country South of the Isthmus of Suez ? and no person who entertained them, could project such establishments on the Red Sea, as the First and Second Ptolemy effected. Arrian has recorded a strange misapprehension of Alexander ; —When observation was destitute of topical aids, a sagacious traveller might measure a large portion of the earth's surface, without acquiring the true relation of the regions visited :—The Macedonian leader, from observing alligators in the Indus, and beans like those produced in Egypt growing on the banks of the Acesines, had announced, in a letter to his mother, that he had discovered the sources of the Nile ; information which he expunged, when the natives, in answer to his inquiries, assured him that the Indus fell into the ocean very far from Egypt. Perhaps his route, from the Delta of

* Arrian, *Indica*, chap. xliii,

the Nile, had appeared to him, having no compass to determine the bearings, to sweep nearly in a circle*.

The Translator does not recollect, that his Author has once prostituted the epithet "divine" by applying it to his hero, or sunk into a fulsome competition with the Greek sycophants: This might be the place for a protest, had not the historian acknowledged the perplexity of Alexander's character. Does a deed merit censure or execration? Curtius has no partiality. Is admiration due? His pen, recently so severe, knows no antipathy, fluent in applauding great and good actions.

What will compensate for the destruction of two books of the history of Curtius, and for chasms in separate chapters? Not all the essays of all his commentators. Other classic writers, whose antiquity is incontestable, have escaped oblivion by a slighter intervention, as it respects the number of manuscripts preserved; but have been more fortunate in retaining, to this day, the identity of fame, commemorated by personal notices—or, have left works which excite a less poignant curiosity respecting the authors.

With the two books, and introductory matter, may have perished information relating to Curtius,—a dedication, or allusions, which would have fixed his contem-

* Arrian, *History of Alexander's Expedition*, b. vi. chap. 1.

poraries. In the progress of the narrative, he observes, that Tyre, when he was writing, enjoyed security under the protection of Rome *; and that the different branches of the Macedonian kings had been deprived of their dominions by the Romans †: These notices declare the era of the author to be subsequent to the accession of the second Cæsar. Another guide to inquiry, is an allusion to the emperor who was reigning when the last book was composed: “It is therefore with due
 “gratitude, that the Roman people ascribe their salvation to their prince; who, on the night which we had
 “nearly dated as our last, shone on us a new star. In
 “contestably, the rising of this, not of the day ‡, restored light to the shadowed world, when the divided
 “members of the state were trembling without a head.
 “How many firebrands did he extinguish! how many
 “swords sheathe! what a tempest dissipate by interposed serenity! Hence the reinvigorated empire
 “flourishes. May envy never touch him; may he
 “live through the age; be his house established, his
 “line perpetual ||.”

* B. IV. iv. 19.

† B. VIII. vi. 21.

‡ *Hujus, non solis.* In the rendering offered in the history, *non* is treated as a corruption of *novi*. See another construction of this difficult passage in page xiii. infra. On the above, however, the Translator is disposed to rely, as sufficiently literal.

|| B. X. ii. 23.

The principal applications made of this by different commentators, will be presently stated. Before the probability of each can be weighed, the passage must be considered in connexion with the incidental mention—by Cicero, by Tacitus and Pliny, and by Suetonius—of individuals of the name of Curtius. The addition, found in most of the older manuscripts, of the surname “Rufus,” claims a share of attention, as well the opinion pronounced by classical critics, that in purity, elegance, and terseness, the historian’s style is worthy of the golden age of latinity.

Cicero, in a letter to his brother Quintus, speaking of expected candidates for the consulship, their adherents and opponents, mentions a Quintus Curtius as a young man of integrity and erudition*.—Men do not commonly live an hundred years:—the Quintus Curtius Rufus of Tacitus and Pliny, is therefore, probably, a distinct person from that slightly introduced to us by Cicero. Their accounts are the same in effect†: “Curtius Rufus, in early life, attended a quæstor into Africa. In the city of Adrumetium, while he was sitting protected, by a portico, from the mid-day sun, the form of a woman, above the human size, addressed him: ‘You, Rufus! are destined to

* *Ep. ad Quintum*, III. 2.

† Tacitus, *Annals*, XI. 21. Plin. *Ep.* VII. 27.

“ come hereafter into this province with proconsular
 “ authority.’ Animated, he returned to Rome ;
 “ and, by interest and active intrigue, obtained the
 “ quæstorship. He afterwards succeeded, against com-
 “ petitors of distinguished rank, in a struggle for the
 “ dignity of prætor, supported by the suffrage of Ti-
 “ berius. *Curtius Rufus*, said that emperor, blending
 “ a compliment to his favourite candidate with an apo-
 “ logy for his mean extraction, *seems to be a man*
 “ *sprung from himself*. At a late period of life, he ob-
 “ tained the consular and triumphal ensigns, and finally
 “ went proconsul into Africa, where he finished his
 “ days.”— In the field of exhausted research, is
 found a scanty memorial of a third individual, who may
 be the same with the historian of Alexander the Great.
 This appears in the memoir left by Suetonius of cele-
 brated orators *, which time has reduced to a fragment.
 In the summary of contents to each MS. intermixed
 with the names of the pleaders or rhetoricians, of whom
 the extant sections transmit particular accounts, are
 enumerated eleven individuals of whom no trace re-
 mains in the mutilated book. *Quintus Curtius Rufus*
 is the third, *M. Fabius Quintilianus* the tenth, among

* *De Rhetorebus*. SUTTONIUS. The known offices of some of
 his *rhetores* shows, that the term will embrace the public orator
 and the professor of eloquence.

the less fortunate eleven. Whoever this Curtius was, Suetonius introduced him into good company; we recognise, in one of the earlier characters preserved, that Crassus, of whom Cicero said: “ I had rather be the
“ author of the single oration of Crassus, in defence of
“ Curius, than be honoured with two Ligurian tri-
“ umphs*.”

The gratulatory encomium, penned by Curtius for the reigning emperor, is applied, by the commentators Frisius and Herwartus, to Augustus; and their opinion, I believe, as well as that of Angelus, identifies the historian with the Quintus Curtius mentioned by Cicero. How does the serenity of the passage correspond with the state of Rome after the death of Julius Cæsar? Augustus unsheathed the sword, kindled the torch, and excited the tempest, of civil war†. His competitors fell, and tranquillity followed his triumph. “ Peace,
“ it is true, was soon after established: but what kind of
“ peace! The slaughter of Lollius and Varus stained
“ it in Germany; and the massacre of the Varros, the
“ Egnatii, and the Julii, made Rome a theatre of
“ blood‡.”

In the judgment of Raderus, Popma, and Perizonius,—the emperor alluded to, is Tiberius; and the

* Brutus. † Le Tellier's *Preface* to his edition of Curtius.

‡ Murphy's Tacitus, *Annals*, I. 10.

African proconsul of Tacitus is one person with the orator of Suetonius and our historian. But the circumstances leading to the accession of Tiberius, form a picture of repose*. There was no storm, or darkness, to be dissipated by the new sovereign as by a rising sun. Nor, to cite a stricture of the learned Casaubon, does the historian appear to have any thing in common with the proconsul.

Before noticing how fully circumstances attending the emperor Claudius coincide with the citation from Curtius, let us survey the grounds upon which conjecture has resorted to Vespasian and Trajan. Connected with the subject is a minute question respecting the import of the word "night:"—Does not, however, the subjoined phrase, "which we had nearly dated as "our last," decide it to be literal; for conceive it to be a figure for "a time of calamity," and the congratulation becomes absurd, as the Roman people would not be desirous of a second metaphoric night. On the contrary, a great perplexity is found in another part of the passage, if it be not figurative; and the commentators Rutgersius and Loccenius, are embarrassed by applying the word "star," literally, to one of the celestial bodies. For this servile construction, they compensate by a violent implication, proceeding to read:

* Tacitus, *Annals*, I. 11—13.

“ Incontestably, the rising of this [moon], not of the
“ sun, restored light to the shadowed world.” The
new star, (as they apprehend), is not a trope for the
prince unexpectedly installed, but is the moon sud-
denly rising, during a nocturnal engagement, fought
near Cremona, between the armies of Vespasian and
Vitellius. “ While the battle remained doubtful, the
“ night being far advanced, the moon rose, and illu-
“ minated the surface of things, with partial advantage
“ to Vespasian’s army. The light, shining at the back
“ of their lines, projected from the men and horses
“ such long shadows, that the Vitellians, deceived by
“ appearances, aimed at the wrong object : their darts,
“ consequently, fell short : — but the moon-beams,
“ playing on the front of the Vitellians, exposed their
“ bodies to the full view of their adversaries.” —
TACITUS, *Histor.* III. 23. Vossius and Freinshemius
concur in discovering, in Curtius, a retrospect to the
accession of Vespasian ; but these give the “ new star”
an unforced relation, as a figure for the emperor in-
tended. Although this is a natural office for the allu-
sion, almost every feature in the history of Vespasian,
discountenances and repels the suggestion of the four
last-named commentators. However modified, the
comparison fails. He did not gain the victory in per-
son ; his elevation to the throne occurred at a time long
subsequent, and the barbarities and horrors of intestine
war deformed the turbulent interval.

Nearly the same considerations which have excluded Tiberius, apply to Trajan, with these additional objections, that the latter emperor was destitute of offspring, and that in his reign, Latin composition had descended far in its decline. The silence of Quintilian respecting Curtius has been the solitary inducement, with one or two critics, in defiance of outnumbering reasons, to postpone the era of the historian to the reign of Trajan. The silence of Quintilian respecting the elegant historian Velleius Paterculus, who is known to have lived under Tiberius, proves that his silence respecting Curtius should have no influence whatever against a train of circumstantial deductions.

It appears, from the narrative of Josephus, (*Antiq.* ch. xix. 3, 4.) that the single night which passed between the assassination of Caligula by conspirators and the unpremeditated elevation of CLAUDIUS, was an interval of hasty debate, hostile defiance, confusion, and terror; during which, the senate, and the opposed members of the state, were trembling without a head. Had the nobles, who asserted rival pretensions to the throne, and the desperate factions which impatiently aimed to abolish the imperial government, come to the promiscuous conflict which was impending, the shock of Roman arms, embued in Roman blood, might have sternly desolated the queen of cities, the ambition of party leaders might have dismembered the august territory. Again; after Claudius was saluted emperor,

when the soldiers supporting him prepared, with uplifted weapons, to kill the consul Quintus Pompónius, because he had exhorted the senate to recover their liberty, Claudius, interposing, snatched the consul out of peril, and seated him at his side. How many firebrands did the new sovereign extinguish, how many swords sheathe, what a tempest dissipate, by this moderation ! To the senate, this eventful night had nearly proved the last ; and the influence of Claudius alone prevented the members, making a late submission, from falling victims to the enraged army.

The merit of thus appropriating the cited passage, belongs chiefly to the commentators, Lipsius, Brissotius, and Le Tellier. When the historian of Alexander the Great is admitted a contemporary of Claudius, an identity may be inferred between him and the Q. Curtius Rufus of Suetonius. In the fragment above mentioned, the *Summary of Contents*, still preserved at the head of each section, gives the names of several illustrious orators of which the biographies are lost. The order is that of time ; and it has been gleaned from another source, that M. Portius Latro, whose name is second in the bare list of names, died of a quartan ague in the fortieth year of Augustus : thence to the accession of Claudius intervened thirty years : The orator Curtius, who follows Latro, whether as a junior contemporary, or as belonging to the next gene-

ration, may, consistently with reason and experience, be supposed to have lived till the beginning of the reign of Claudius. This conclusion has the sanction of Casaubon; and is in full unison with a recommendation, by Erasmus, of the history of Curtius, as a repertory of formulas of eloquence not to be found in Cicero.

SILENCE OF ANCIENT AUTHORS: RESPECTING THE
HISTORY WRITTEN BY CURTIUS, CONJECTURALLY
EXPLAINED.

WAS the history suppressed by an act of the Senate, because the first two books contained offensive political reflections? That which in the shape of information had been credible, may deserve to be mentioned among conjectures. But inquiry flies to other mere probabilities. How would the moral independence with which Curtius writes, be received in the court of the Cæsars? The private character of Claudius is as little stained as that of any of the Pagan emperors except Antonine: but the almost Christian rectitude* which condemns the degeneracies of Alexander, must have displeased Nero and many of his successors. Anecdotes related by Suetonius, attest, that at Rome, the temple of fame was not far distant from the cave of oblivion: — Caligula permitted the historical writings of Titus Labienus, Cordus

* Romans, ii. 14.

Cremutius, and Cassius Severus, which had been proscribed by the Senate, to be universally circulated; and afterwards the august critic was preparing to banish the works of Virgil and Livy from public and private libraries: Domitian condemned to death Hermogenes of Tarsus for oblique reflections in his history, and crucified the clerks who had transcribed it*.

I shall now endeavour impartially to collect facts opposing, and facts countenancing, another conjecture, that the history written by Curtius was suppressed, through a political jealousy of Alexander's fame, connected with a creed, useful in the legions, that Roman triumphs were greater than other triumphs. Augustus spared Alexandria, from veneration for its founder: deposited flowers and a golden crown on his sarcophagus: and, in the middle-part of his reign, used a seal with the head of Alexander. The whimsical despot Caligula sometimes wore his breastplate: Nero, whose conduct is far less a criterion of state policy, named a new Italian legion the phalanx of Alexander†. From Nero's reign to Trajan's I do not know that any expression in honour of the Macedonian escaped any of the emperors. For the most part the Roman classics are not liberal to

* *In Caligul.* c. 16, 34. *In Domit.* c. 10.

† Dion Cassius, l. 51. Suetonius, in *C. August.* c. 18, 50. *Idem*, in *Caligul.* c. 52. *Idem*, in *Neron.* c. 19.

the ancient fame of subdued tributaries. When Curtius wrote, the servitude of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt, was growing mature,—but a government entrenched in jealous maxims might see, in a LATIN history of Alexander, an innovation calculated to awaken the national ambition of those provinces; an adoption from “*Lying Greek Fable*,” which would restore it to credit and lustre. The imperial legions had suffered severe defeats from the Parthians: and although the latter had, early, seized the divided Greek kingdom of Bactriana, and had driven the later Seleucidæ over the Euphrates, yet their military successes might be regarded as flowing from Macedonian institutions not altogether ceasing to operate in the East. That, in the Roman school of politics, these subjects had some connexion, appears from Livy*:—In a digression to prove, that his country, in the time of Alexander, possessed a band of military commanders, of whom any one was equal to that conqueror in genius, in resources, in intrepidity, and superior in some qualities of a leader,—Livy complains, that the silliest of the Greeks are fond of exalting the reputation even of the Parthians, at the expense of the Roman name. Parthian coins attest, that there was a bond of good-will and mutual estimation between the Parthians and the Greeks†. Horace immortalizes the

* Lib. IX. 17, 18.

† Pinkerton, *on Medals*, vol. ii.

extravagance of Parthian fiction, to discredit their victories or claims of dominion*. If, within four centuries of the present time, a prince of Irak bore the name Askander,—eighteen centuries ago the Parthian sovereigns might affect to be successors of the Macedonian. —Time abated all jealousy of Alexander's fame. Trajan, after subduing the Parthians, professed a consistent admiration of Alexander, and was restrained only by his advanced age from emulating him in the conquest of India†: In the following reign, Arrian wrote his *Expedition of Alexander* under the auspices of Hadrian; and the emperor expended his heroic fire in an *Alexandreid*, which has perished. • The Macedonian coins, struck under the Roman government, perpetuate vestiges of invidious policy and subsequent generosity. Early specimens correspond with the partition of Macedonia into four districts‡: The conquering state honoured its own greatness, when the vanquished were permitted to impress on their coins and funeral medals—the *Taming of Bucephalus*; the *Encounter with the chased Lion*; the *Head of Alexander radiated*; and other memorials of their ancient king. Eckhel, on strong grounds, contends, that the Macedonian coins under the Roman government, first received these devices during the op-

* *Ep.* II. 1, l. 112.

† *Vincent* after *Xiphilinus*.

‡ *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. ii. p. 63.

portunity given when Caracalla was styling Alexander the Eastern Augustus, affecting to be himself another Alexander, and multiplying medals and monuments of ambitious insanity *. Pellerine had supposed that permission to strike these coins was deliberately granted to the Macedonian community by the enlightened Alexander Severus. Meanwhile, the work of Curtius, if it had been politically buried, could not burst into day as soon as its appearance would be tolerated.

* *Ibid*, p. 111. The date "ΕΟC" which a few specimens bear, is an uncertain guide, because it cannot be decided from what epoch the year 275 should be reckoned. To make it coincide with any part of the reign of Caracalla or Alexander Severus, is to assume a beginning for the series when nothing occurred that could be an epoch to the Macedonians. As a stranger to antiquarian studies, I hesitate to point out the year A. C. 167, as the epoch: at which time the Romans, while they provided for the provincial subservience of Macedon, declared it an independent commonwealth. The 275th anniversary of this new settlement of the state, corresponds with the tenth year of Trajan. In comparing the workmanship of imperial coins under Trajan with that of Macedonian coins with the date "ΕΟC," I am not aware of any error in considering, that, up to an era later than Trajan's, the workmanship of Greek coins, struck at the same time with Roman, would be superior; and that as artists were attracted from Greece to Rome by the more liberal means of remuneration, the execution would here improve, and there decline, till the ratio of superiority became inverted. My most handsome acknowledgments are due to Mr. Edgar, who po-

There is a distinct cause, sufficient to entomb a manuscript for years or for ages—posthumous publication unduly postponed, or not performed by the parties to whom it was confided. To this Dr. Bentley attributes the long dormancy of the astronomical poem of Manilius. The accurate History, by Babour, of his own life and actions, remained in obscurity till the middle of the reign of his grandson Acbur*. The papers left in the closet of Peiresec supplied his heirs with a whole winter's fuel; and many of the labours of the learned Bishop Lloyd were consumed in the kitchen of his descendants. The history, by Swift, of the last years of Queen Ann, had perished through the negligence of his executors, had not a straggling manuscript fallen into active hands†.

EARLIEST NOTICE OF CURTIUS—ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS.

Petrus Blaesensis, writing about 1150, notices, that Curtius was then used in the schools. In the same century, was composed the *Alexandreid* of Gualterus

lately lent me a scarce coin from his collection; and I believe I may say that this suggestion is sanctioned by his concurrence.

* Davy's Letter on the authenticity of the *Institutes* of Timour.

† Idler, No. 65.

Beza, which is a versification of the history transmitted by Curtius, even to the adoption of his words. The resurrection of Curtius from the dust of a library must have taken place at least as far back as the year 900, because in 1702, according to the testimony of Montfaucon, the Colbertine manuscript was above eight hundred years old. Perhaps this, and the manuscript in the collection of the Medici, adjudged by Lucas Holstenius, in the preceding century, to be seven hundred years old, with a few other venerable time-worn relics, are transcripts of a mutilated original.

SUPPLEMENT BY FREINSHEMIUS.

The attempt of Brunus to fill up the chasms in the history, has been superseded by the masterly compilation of John Freinshem, better known by the latinized name Freinshemius. A native of Ulm, the latter died in 1660, aged about fifty-two. Among his well-received labours are to be recounted—Notes on Florus; Supplements to Livy; Notes, and Supplements, to Tacitus. His commentary on Curtius maintains an eminent character; and his supplement has so far satisfied critical judges, by its elegance and erudition, by the appropriate connection of the first two books, and

the happy intervention of small sections in the fifth, sixth, and tenth, as to gain admission into the Latin editions of subsequent commentators; and it has been followed as an authentic basis by translators. Thus we are introduced to the middle and end of Alexander's life and actions, by a luminous beginning. As, however, the extant books of Curtius transmit full and interesting details not to be found elsewhere,—the liberal derivation from other sources, substituted for what is lost, while it alleviates the inconvenience, cannot compensate for the damage literature has sustained by the mutilation of the original work; especially as there is reason to think that the author's first book contained some standard points and lines, marking what systems of Chronology and Geography he pursued, and connecting them with the history.

In the *Introduction*, Freinshemius, among reflections for Curtius finely imagined, adopts a sentiment from the Preface of Arrian, that Ptolemy, because he was a king, and had survived Alexander, was free from inducements to misrepresentation. A word dropped by Curtius*, would lead us to expect, in the enumeration of original authorities, a more discriminating and qualified tribute to Ptolemy. The author begs leave to refer to the *revised Supplement* for the alterations which

* *Translation*, vol. ii. p. 335.

he has made in adverting to some of the primary historians who might have been, and probably were, the original authorities of Curtius.

He has also corrected a few anachronisms into which Freinshemius had fallen.—See *Book I.* pp. 19, 40, ADD. NOTES (G)—and 218, n.†—and 251, n.‡—Likewise one or two errors in geography, *etc.* for which the authorities of Freinshemius, rather than himself, are to blame. Of this *Book II.* p. 263, is an example.

The speeches of Python and Demosthenes, introduced into the Supplement by Freinshemius, are not extant in any ancient author in the first person; but are founded on incidental notices in Plutarch, Livy, and Justin, and on hints given by the Athenian orator himself in subsequent orations. The Translator has ventured slightly to amplify them, and to add the paragraph with which the speech of Demosthenes concludes. As the preparatory sketch of Philip's relations with the Grecian states, also in the first book, consisted of little more than proper names, he has filled up the outline. In the Supplement, the cited authorities in the margin, mark additions by the Translator; where the margin is vacant, Freinshemius is the authority.

FORMER ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS——THE PRESENT
TRANSLATION.

There have been four translations of Curtius in

English. The first, by Robert Brende : was printed at London, *quarto*, 1553, 1561; *octavo*, 1570, *quarto*, 1584, 1592, 1614. The next version, by Robert Coderington, had three editions: London, *quarto*, 1652; *duodecimo*, 1670, 1675. The third English Curtius was the work of several hands; with an epistle to queen Mary, by Nahum Tate, being a comparison of some of the actions of king William with those of Alexander the Great: *octavo*, London, 1690. A fourth translation by John Digby, 2 vols. *duodecimo*, London, 1714, 1726, was revised, 1747, by the Reverend William Young.

Superior to its predecessors, the last is not so in proportion to the advantages of a more cultivated age, either in a patient consultation of difficult passages in the Latin, or in the style of the English. It creates some geographical errors, and unintelligible descriptions, by misconstruction; and slurs over such as belong to the original, without censure, apology, or explanation. A few specimens will justify an attempt at a new translation. Each quotation is from Young's Digby: the reference is to the parallel passage in the following volumes:—

I. “The back of the mountain where the sea presses in
“farthest, has three very narrow passes, by one of which
“you enter Cilicia.” vol. i. p. 289, l. 3, antepen.

“By reason of the declivity of the mountains toward the
“plain, there was a great gulf.” ii. 27, l. 4, antepen.

"About *three of the clock*, the tide, according to its
"ordinary course." ii. 358, l. 18.

II. "Thymodes, Mentor's son, was a brisk young man."
i. 281, l. 7.

"And that he might not do an ill thing, he was resolved
"to marry her lawfully." ii. 238, l. 6.

"The death of this man procured Alexander more ill will
"than that of any other, by reason he was a man of probity
"and learning, and had persuaded him to live, when (having
"killed Clitus) he had resolved to die." ii. 259, l. 17.

These examples may suffice.

Throughout the books of Curtius, the version is a closer companion to the original, than the Translator aimed to make the English, in relation to the Latin Supplement; and the competition between the two languages, unequal as it must be, is strenuously maintained.

If the Translator may speak in the first person: I have to ask pardon for two or three unusual inversions, not meant to possess the smooth tinkling of a dying paragraph, but to disturb the gentle reader in the midst of a flow of monotony, and relieve him by seasonable ruggedness. Against inexorable critics, I can plead ancient license for an opposite sacrifice to variety of cadence, the deliberate retention of morsels of verse accidentally escaping in composition; three feet of sapphic, and less than an epic line, cannot deserve a se-

vere fulmination. I must bespeak absolution, too, for using the word “transcend” in a sense correlative with “ascend” and “descend.” The consciousness that I have detected and avoided some slight alloy of error, in a variety of works connected with the illustration of Curtius, prevents me from hoping that care has preserved me from mistakes. The notes show my great obligations to previous commentators, and to some recent English writers.

VINDICATION OF CURTIUS.

The admirers of the historian are not uniformly just to other ancient classics: Cardinal Perron declared, that one page of his work was worth thirty of Tacitus. This extravagance is matched by Le Clerc, and surpassed by Rooke, in favour of Arrian. As the *Judgment* pronounced against Curtius by the learned Le Clerc, has been prefixed by Rooke to his translation of Arrian, and reinforced by satirical notes partaking of the pleasant manner in which Dennis rallies Addison, the information and the candour of both writers will be considered together. The great Geneva linguist wrote in an age, which, *in respect to the geography of Asia*, cannot be styled by courtesy half-enlightened: yet

Curtius is condemned wherever the historian's descriptions do not coincide with the critic's knowledge.

1. Entertaining the notion, that the heat or cold of a climate is to be estimated by the parallel of latitude, Le Clerc cannot believe that the Macedonians found the heights of the Parapamisadæ as cold as Curtius represents; and he securely ridicules the oppressive heat encountered in the desert on the hither border of Sogdiana, because this is farther North. But Niebuhr, in Arabia, and Parsons, in Syria, have experienced, in the same day, transitions analagous to diversity of season, by ascending from low-lands to elevated ridges: In the island of Ceylon, a chain of mountains separates opposite climates: and at cape Gardafan on the coast of Africa, the navigator passes from summer to winter in an instant.

2. Le Clerc tortures with the same eager severity the account, found in more than one passage of Curtius, of an imperfect degree of day-light arising from gelid mist or steaming vapour: He confutes an erroneous cause, falsely stated to be assigned by Curtius.—A phenomenon brought into notice by a late traveller, might contribute to the effect. He informs us*, that from the beginning of March to the end of May, a wind

* *Travels in Asia and Africa*, by Abraham Parsons, Esq. Consul at Scanderoon, p. 189.

from the N. W. usually prevails in the Persian gulf; during which a dry mist obscures the lustre of the sun. This mist is occasioned by that wind blowing rapidly over the deserts of Arabia for so great a length of time as to raise up and drive before it great quantities of sand, the minute particles of which are imperceptible to the naked eye. On the cabin-furniture, the dust every morning lay so thick, that it was usual to draw upon it devices with the finger. This is the more surprising, as the nearest part of the opposite Arabian coast is distant thirty leagues from Busheer. On land, it would hardly have been suspected, and could not have been ascertained, that the atmospheric light could be partly obscured by a volatile medium conveyed from an arid country equally distant.

3. Le Clerc argues, like a mere scholar, against the striking description given by Curtius of the violent *bore* in the Indus; and he consistently affirms, that the tide on the Indian coast is but SMALL.

4. The Genevan critic condemns every exercise, by Greek or Barbarian, of the organs of speech, as an improbable declamation; as if the business of the world could proceed without conversation or debate. The speech of the Scythians is the object of his unfortunate selection.—Dr. Gillies has * candidly testified, that this

* *History of Greece*, ch. xxxviii. note (62).

speech is sufficiently consonant to the manners of barbarous nations ; subjoining, that Le Clerc speaks with equal ignorance and severity, when, in arraigning the fidelity of Curtius, he says, “ Even the Scythians, totally destitute of literature, come equipped with rhetorical tropes.”—Rooke, instead of giving credit to the Latin historian of Alexander, for interesting particulars, deficient in Arrian, of the accusation and defence of Philotas, invidiously observes* : “ He has given us the several questions and answers, replies and rejoinders, with so much nicety, that one would almost swear he had been fee’d for counsel on one side or the other ; though, after all, I much doubt whether the greater part of what he has advanced upon that head be not fiction.” Gratuitous and candid ! If the reader should wish to inquire, whether we owe the speeches transmitted by ancient historians to the memory of the auditors, or to written reports of public clerks or private secretaries, a passage in Arrian, *on the division of the empire*, as preserved by Photius, will authorize the conclusion, that arranged facilities favoured the latter practice. During the insurrection of the soldiers against Antipater, related in the *Narrative* following the *Translation of Curtius*, Euridice, the wife of Philip Aridæus, made an oration against Antipater,

which (so the abridgment of Photius adds) Asclepiodorus the official writer took care to record. Now, if an unexpected speech, delivered in a turbulent scene, could be taken down,—there is no difficulty in believing minutes to have been made of the conferences held with ambassadors, the proceedings of a council, the pleadings before a tribunal.

5. Le Clerc inveighs against the historian's practice of transmitting remarkable localities attending rivers, some of which happen to be picturesque, as a vein of useless ornament. The drawing which Curtius has penciled of a section of the Hydaspes, has assisted Dr. Vincent * to fix the place where Alexander passed the river; and from many such impertinent pieces of scenery, information has been extracted for the map which accompanies this work.

6. There is scarcely an animadversion of Le Clerc entirely just and accurate in its rise and conduct; when happiest, he overcharges those errors, which other critics candidly notice to prevent them from misleading the reader. In other places, Curtius is justified by translating him differently.

7. Rooke takes more pains to asperse Curtius than to explain Arrian. In this spirit he comments: [vol. i. 189, note 1.] "Curtius then goes to work to de-

* *Nearchus*, 2d edit. p. 126.

“scribe the Caspian sea, and gives us the opinions of several, concerning it, which are all, now, well known to be false.”—The information, in Curtius, [*Translation*, vol. ii. p. 88,] that a strong north-wind brings an extensive local inundation from the Caspian sea, and that a south-wind sweeps the inundation back, is not found in Arrian or any other ancient author: but this striking topographical notice is confirmed by modern accounts.

8. Where, in the battle with Porus, Curtius represents the Indian archers to have been incommoded by the slippery state of the ground,—Rooke marks it among his important objections, because Arrian [book v. ch. 15.] describes the place where the Indian army was drawn up, as firm and sandy: but it is evident, from the beginning of that chapter in Arrian, that the field was interrupted and surrounded with slimy tracts.

9. In passages, where Curtius cannot be reconciled with Arrian, which are less numerous than Rooke supposes, I protest against the assumption that Curtius is necessarily inaccurate, for the following reasons:—because Arrian sometimes gives distinct versions of the same transaction, uncertain which original authority to prefer;—and because, in various places, where he gives but one account, he has evidently not discriminated so well as Curtius, who gives a different: In Arrian, for instance, the eldest daughter of Darius is

named Barsiné, confounded with the mother of prince Hercules; the imperial city of Persepolis is lost in the narrative confounded with Pasargada; the Dahæ are placed beyond the Tanais, or Jaxartes; the Chorasmii are removed to the vicinity of Colchis and the Amazons, on the border of the Euxine; and the Indian ocean is spoken of as communicating with the Hyrcanian sea. The last error is comparatively small; because it is not an error in the detail of transactions, but an opinion which might have been ingenious, though time has proved it to be false.

10. Curtius has to complain that later writers are not uniformly candid, in proportion to their information. The elegant historian, Dr. Gillies, thus adverts to the beautiful sketch of the Cydnus, which Le Clerc had reluctantly admitted to be in place: "From his laboured description of this river, it seems as if he imagined that water must have possessed very extraordinary qualities, which proved hurtful to Alexander." Curtius ascribes to it no morbid property; nevertheless, there are streams morbidly cold. Reinegg, having described the source of the Euphrates in the mountains of Armenia Major, to rise from innumerable holes, in a blackish kind of rock, says: "The water near the springs is so intensely cold, that neither man nor cattle can drink it: three minutes suffice to kill birds plunged in it up to the neck: I immersed my hand

“ for five minutes ; and, after suffering inexpressible
 “ pain, could scarcely restore it to its natural warmth
 “ in twenty-four hours *.” In a subsequent note, Dr.
 Gillies terms the sea-storm encountered at the siege of
 Tyre an imaginary storm. What is there incredible in
 such an incident ? Is the picturesque inconsistent with
 nature ; or has Arrian omitted no matters of fact ?

11. The report, by the Carthaginian ambassadors
 to the Tyrians, of an expedition from Sicily against
 Carthage contemporary with the siege of Tyre, is no-
 ticed in the commentary to the following translation of
 Curtius, as an apparent error ; but is it certain, that
 every momentous occurrence in the history of Carthage
 and Sicily is transmitted by ancient writers ? It ap-
 pears from the Adulitick inscription, that Ptolemy
 Evergetes had nearly conquered the whole empire of
 the Seleucidæ in Asia, — an historical fact of cardinal
 importance ; and yet his success in that invasion, so
 far from being detailed in its proper order and con-
 nexion by historians of the age, is only glanced at in a
 single sentence by Polyænus †.

12. I scruple to treat a geographical error in the
 text as a corruption of the copies : but it may be admit-

* Preface to WILKINSON'S *Translation of Reinegg's Caucasus*.

† Cited by BAYER under the article *Bactria*, p. 61.—VINCENT'S
Periplus, 2d edit. p. 531.—*Voyages and Travels by GEORGE VISCT.*
VALENTIA. London, 1809. Vol. III. pp. 192, 195, 200.

ted to be a just canon of criticism, that when a different part of the history proves the author to have been superior to the error, a corruption in the copy may be supposed.

In book vii. ch. iii. 12, the Caspian sea is mentioned; and then the Hyrcanian, as a distinct sea:—In book vi. ch. iv. 9, Caspian and Hyrcanian had been properly stated as names of the same sea; and in the section which contains the corrupted passage, the sea which washes Cilicia is noticed a few lines previously; to read, therefore, instead of *Hyrcanum*, where a sea distinct from the Caspian must be understood, *Internum*, one of the Latin names for the *Mediterranean*, is to correct the transcribers of the manuscripts by the knowledge which Curtius evidently possessed.

In book vii. ch. iii. 9, the territory of the Arachosians, according to the Latin copies, is represented to extend to the Pontic sea:—By comparing this with two other passages, it may be deduced, that the word which *Ponticum* has supplanted, is *Indicum*. In the next section, Curtius states, that the southern district of the Parapamisadæ slopes toward the Indian sea; and, in book ix. ch. vii. 23, he records, that two tribes seated on the river Indus paid tribute to the Arachosians.

13. Something relating to the character of the historian has mixed itself with every department of the

preface. As Rapin, negligent of elegance, is celebrated for the impartiality of his historical writings, his simple testimony to the impartiality which Curtius unites with elegance, has superior weight. “For historical honesty
 “Q. Curtius deserves high commendation; he relates
 “the bad, as well as the good, actions of Alexander*.”

Lipsius pronounces Curtius an uncorrupt and legitimate historian, if such ever wrote; and commends the grace of his narrative. Who better than Erasmus can judge of terseness and elegance? I had translated extracts from the numerous learned encomiasts of Curtius: but withdraw them, because they have a mixed relation to qualities which must be impaired in a translation. I retain the following testimony to his power of entertainment.

Alphonsus, king of Naples, was confined by indisposition at Capua; and while every one was devising amusements and attentions to relieve the royal patient, — summoned from Gaieta, I flew to his presence, carrying with me my juleps and catholicons, that is to say, such books as I knew would give him most pleasure to hear read, hoping to apply them under favourable indications, as the doctors say: among these, I administered Quintus Curtius. PANORMITA, *in facetiis Alphonsi Regis.*

COMMENTARY ON THE MAP.

RESearch into ancient authorities, and application for new information, have been exerted to collect materials for this geographical sketch; in which will be observed deviations from former maps, both as to points which have been ascertained, and points which remain doubtful. I owe some important limits and stations, newly determined, to the unexampled liberality of Mr. Arrowsmith.

Even in the best maps, the shape and position of the Caspian sea have varied to a perplexing degree, through the want of accurate observations. About two years ago, a new survey of that sea was ordered by the Russian government, upon which a hundred-sheet-map has been constructed. Not having access to this authority, or any draught founded upon it, I paused; unwilling to give the public an outline, avowedly uncertain and defective, of a coast which affects the extent, and relative position, of several capital provinces in the empire of ancient Persia. I made a request, for which an ardent desire to illustrate a chapter of ancient history is my sole apology. The Public will learn, with expectation, that Mr. Arrowsmith is preparing a new map of Persia. This comprises the Caspian laid down from the Russian chart, with points of latitude recalculated. Although unknown to this gentleman, as soon as I had explained to him, that I was translating Curtius, and sketching a map of Alexander's conquests, he politely showed me his map of Persia, unpublished, and but in progress. On inspecting it, I was confirmed in thinking, that a correct Caspian, introduced into a map with ancient names, would be a valuable contribution to classic science. When I requested permission to copy it on the reduced

scale of my own map, I stated, that I possessed neither distinction nor influence, and that it was very uncertain, whether it would ever be in my power to make such a return for an uncommon favour as the liberal may exchange with the liberal. Mr. Arrowsmith lent me facilities for copying it at his residence, and treated me as a friend.

From the same authority, I derived the positions of Bactra (the modern Balk), of Maracanda (Samarcand), and of Cogend (whether this be Alexandria or Cyropolis); the courses of the rivers Ochus, Oxus, and Jaxartes; the lower part of the Indus; the coast of the Delta of the Indus, of Gedrosia, and of the neck of the Persian gulf; the salt lake in Parthia, and the fresh-water lake in Drangiana. As the mountains were not then inserted in Mr. Arrowsmith's map, he gave me the latitude and longitude of the Caspian straits.

Although from the projection used, distances on the map will measure, in every direction, nearly as on a globe; yet they will, in general, be materially shorter than road distances, in varying proportions, on account of the constant curvature caused by marshes, hills, and other local obstacles, which turn the traveller. In mountainous countries, besides a very great lateral curvature, there is a recurring curvature up and down, which cannot be expressed on any map, far less can it be measured.

The distance from Aleppo to Bagdad, according to a journal of Parsons, is 900 miles; the distance is but 500, on the map, embracing every great curvature. This route, with other routes of modern travellers, was merely pencilled to obtain a principle, and effaced as having nothing to do with Alexander's campaigns. I consider the Macedonian engineers to have used the Olympic stadium of $94\frac{1}{2}$ toises; but in setting down the extreme points of a course of stadia, I regard every stadium of *direct distance* as measured by a flexile rod kept bent by a string,—frequently as short as 51 toises, the stadium which D'Anville supposes to have been employed; sometimes relaxed

to two thirds of its direct length ; and rarely, for small intervals, applied in its full extent, or quite strait.

Properly speaking, every place not visited by Alexander is out of the map ; yet, on account of their influence on interior positions, I have equally endeavoured to insert the surrounding points correctly. The great chain between the Euxine and the Caspian is regulated by the large and luminously particular map in Wilkinson's *Translation of Reinegg's Caucasus* ; and the German traveller's opinion respecting the extent of Hyrcania is in part adopted. It is decided, that the Taurus and the Caucasus approach, but are not connected. " The branch, from
" Caucasus, shooting S. S. E., winds at last southward : but,
" before reaching the banks of the Cyrus, is lost in the fertile plains of ancient Albania. Thus, then, the mountains of
" Persia can in no way be regarded as a continuation of the
" primitive chain of Caucasus.* They received their origin
" probably from the Mossian and Coraxian branches : but I
" do not know," observes Dr. Reinegg, " that ridges separated by plains more than one hundred versts [say twenty
" miles] broad, can be reckoned as a continuation of primitive mountains*."

The corrected latitude given to Sinopé, is derived from a note in Rennell's *Geography of Herodotus* : in the situation of the Oasis of Hammon, of the Fountain of the Sun, and of many scattered points too numerous to detail, the same classic geographer's maps and dissertations have been followed.

Myos Hormus on the Arabian gulf, and Petra Nabathœa, claim from me a tribute to the learned works of Dr. Vincent : but I reserve these and other acknowledgments, to accompany reasons for confessing, that I cannot adopt his views respecting the rivers of Susiana.

Such cities as were not built till the age following that of

* Vol. i. p. 7.

Alexander, have been generally excluded. Antioch, Seleucia Pieria, and a few others, whose names declare themselves, have been reluctantly retained, because common calculations depend upon their sites.

A break in a mountain, by two sharp strokes, is merely a symbol of a practicable road, which may lie through a fissure, or over a ridge, or penetrate an alternation of acclivities and declivities, with level defiles.

The pass into Syria (the plural Latin term is more correct) comprises four defiles. The following description, abridged from Parsons's *Travels*, shows that, in Alexander's time, it might contain but three. The second and fourth passes are natural: the first avenue is made practicable by art; the third, entirely artificial, has been opened by manual labour. In the road from Issus to Syria, from the point where the ascent commences, it continues, with little variation, steep and rugged:—onward, about a mile and a half*, a level interval of four hundred yards conducts to a steep stony declivity. At the bottom, the traveller has to penetrate a small grove, and is relieved by a plain one hundred yards over. The ascent is then gradual for two miles, afterwards steep for a third of that space, leading to an avenue twenty yards long, through which two camels cannot pass abreast. The road is artificially constructed of earth and stones, without cement: the removal of these would make an hour's difference by the circuit which must be taken. This is the first and least difficult pass. Hence, for a mile the road is good, and of gradual ascent: it is afterwards rugged and very steep for about a mile and a quarter,—when the second pass commences, between a steep rocky mountain on the left, and an appalling precipice on the

* Half an hour. Parsons gives sometimes the time, and sometimes the distance. When yards or feet occur, the measure is always from Parsons.

right. This defile, one hundred yards long, is not, where most spacious, above seven feet wide. Leaving the precipice, the road winds up a very rugged acclivity for four hundred yards. At the end of a small level on the summit, is the third pass, cut through a very high rock; to descend which, camels, as they did in ascending, take a zig-zag track. The avenue, twenty yards wide, and two hundred and seven long, is on the descent and crooked; crags, forty-five feet in height, hang over it. Opponents on the summit, by rolling down massy stones, might overwhelm the passenger. There is no other opening: but the native mountaineers climb the sides of the height with their arms slung about them. From the place where the pass curves, the ground is level, and expands so as to allow four hundred men to stand in battalion. At the bottom, an opening to the right presents a prospect of the plain between the ridge and the bay, of the bay, and of the mountains on the Cilician side. The road, here, intersects about an acre and a half of level ground, surrounded by lofty heights, frightful precipices and chasms. Now commences the entrance to the modern town of Bylan, a street entirely acclivity; the ground is covered by a sheet of water, which falls from a mountain on the right, and is prevented from spreading on the left, by a parapet wall fixed at the edge of a precipice. From the parapet is seen a small plain half a mile in diameter, enclosed by mountains so as to form an amphitheatre, whither the way is so steep that none ventures to ride down. The luxuriant plain is covered with perennial grass, interspersed with ever-green fruit trees, though the encircling mountains are, one-third of the year, encrusted with ice and snow. The principal street of Bylan extends, North and South, half a mile; the houses, on the left, are built against the mountain, with others immediately over them; those on the right, stand near a precipice. The mountain is too elevated to support vegetation, and no goat has climbed it. In

passing still on to the North [South] after leaving Bylan, commences the fourth and last pass, for distinction termed the grand pass into Syria. The road continues ten or fifteen feet wide for half a mile, with a height on the left, and a parapet wall on the right, skirting a precipitous chasm between two mountains. Where the road widens, the descent begins, which is rugged and crooked for five miles : a mile and a half tolerably level, is succeeded by the plain of Antioch, eighteen miles across.

This will serve as a picture of the complicated difficulties in a series of defiles.

Travellers preparing to pass Taurus from Cappadocia into Cilicia, lay in three days' provision; and the ascent and descent occupied Mr. Browne three days*.

Alexander's army was seventeen days in passing mount Parapamisus: but as it was afterwards six days in passing a river, the Oxus—the time must be considered as the combined effect of difficult avenues, and of the necessity of passing a large body in small divisions; or seventeen may be divided by six.

The Caspian streit is prolonged eight miles: its general breadth is forty yards; in the narrowest places, it is winding, and only wide enough for a carriage. The mountains on each side are very high; the bottom is generally level, and along it, at certain seasons, a considerable stream of salt water flows towards the desert on the south. The chasm does not bisect the great body of the Caspian mountains, but only inferior ridges†.

Some points of ancient geography are yet, and some will ever be, objects of speculation more or less founded on steps of modern discovery and ancient vestiges.

* Héylin's *Cosmography*, p. 622. Browne's *Travels*, p. 411.

† Rennell's *Geography of Herodotus*, p. 114.

Cyropolis is usually referred to the site of Cogend, on the Jaxartes, but its position is rather indicated to have been on the Polytimetus, by circumstances both in Curtius and Arrian, and particularly by the commemoration in Arrian, that the channel of the river running through the city was dry at the time of assault.

The tract assigned to the Parapamisadæ concurs fully with the hint in Arrian and the particular account of Curtius.

The patches of Arid Desert, in Gedrosia, are thrown in according to indications in the march of Alexander, as related by Curtius; and, where Curtius ceases to be particular, they are shaped to inferences from the course of march, as described by Arrian.

The kingdom of Abisares, a tract north of Porus, to which Alexander did not divert his march, I consider to be the modern Cashmere. The districts of the Oxydracæ and Malli fall rather lower according to Curtius, than according to Arrian: but as it is difficult to find space for all the powerful kingdoms and states which Alexander subdued in the narrow but long slip of region east of the Indus, this promotes the general arrangement. The sites given to tribes on the lower trunk of the Indus, correspond with short notes in the translation, where I have frequently used Dr. Vincent's name as equivalent to a dissertation.

As far as I am able to judge, such points as Dr. Vincent has laid down hypothetically, appear to be tenable, in proportion to the confidence which he expresses.

The following extract invites new suggestions from those whose pursuits embrace that division of his extensive subject:

“ Although D’Anville has proved, that the rivers which fall into the gulf [below Busheer] are all derived from the range which runs parallel with the coast, and forms the back ground of the Kermesir, he is undoubtedly mistaken in the

“ course and names he gives to some of those in the upper
 “ part of the gulf; and I am not fully furnished with mate-
 “ rials to correct his errors.” *Nearchus*, 2d edit. p. 315.

In the outline of the body of the Persian Gulf, the map follows Dalrymple's chart, except that every point of longitude is removed half a degree toward the west. The upper part is restored to its ancient state, as far as it can be collected.

It is recorded by Arrian, Strabo, and other ancient writers, that there was formerly a lake, (that is, a marine fen, or gulf within islets and shoals), at the head of the Persian Gulf, which received the mixed waters of the Tigris, of the Choaspes and Eulæus, and of the Pasitigris, before they reached the sea. D'Anville and De la Rochelle give this lake a direction parallel to the Tigris, and perpendicular to the gulf. I subscribe to Dr. Vincent's opinion, that it had a contrary direction, because Nearchus, already at the mouth of the Euphrates, when to approach the Pasitigris, he took a course nearly retrograde, in sailing through this lake, kept Susiana on his left hand. Reading Arrian's *Indica* by the medium of translations, may I propose to fill up an elliptical passage in the 42d chapter, bearing on this and other points; a passage in which Grecians acknowledge a remnant of difficulty? “ From [the beginning
 “ of] this lake to the river itself, [the Pasitigris,] it is six hundred stadia; where is a village of the Susians called Aginis,
 “ five hundred stadia distant from Susa. The whole length
 “ of the Susian coast [measured in two sections] to the mouth
 “ of the Pasitigris, [adding the distance between the Arosis
 “ and the Pasitigris to the six hundred stadia from the Tigris,]
 “ is two thousand stadia*.” We have, thus, three controlling

* The basis of this paraphrase is from Rooke: Dr. Vincent has withdrawn his original construction of the passage. Had he presented the substitute as removing every obscurity, I had implicitly followed it.

bearings to aid in fixing where the mouth of the Pasitigris was. I measure the distance from Aginis to Susa, as if the road were quite strait, a circumstance barely possible in a level country. Along the coast, I average a thousand stadia at seventy miles: Arrian makes the distance from the Indus to the Euphrates, about 22,500 stadia: on the map, measuring great inflections of coast, the distance is twenty-two degrees and a half. The apparent shortness of the stadium may arise from minute curvatures in the actual track.

According to Curtius, the Pasitigris is a distinct and primary river. Arrian states, that Nearchus ascended the Pasitigris a short undefined distance, to meet Alexander marching from Persis to Susa; that on their junction, the admiral, received with honouring courtesy, WALKED in a procession to Susa; in another book, he relates, as a subsequent occurrence, that Alexander conducted the fleet, which lay ready at Susa, down the river Eulæus into the sea: does the connexion of these incidents prove, that Arrian makes the Eulæus and the Pasitigris one river, — that the same writer has called the same united stream by different names? I think not: I suspect rather, that Arrian has omitted a trivial incident, that after Nearchus debarked, some ordinary seaman carried the fleet into the Eulæus, and up to Susa. Every thing else in Arrian respecting the Pasitigris favours such a view.

If passages in Strabo respecting the confluence of the rivers falling into the lake, which has since been filled up by alluvial sediment, gradually deposited, were construed strictly, they would make the Tigris confluent with the Eulæus, which it is decidedly not. I regard similar notices in different authorities, some obscure, and some expressed with doubt, merely to import that the Susian rivers converged and blended their waters in a general estuary.

With regard to the Arosis of Curtius, the journal of Nearchus will not assist us to determine its mouth, unless we can prove, that some river corresponding with the Arosis near

Persepolis reaches the sea. Book v. ch. iv. 13, of Curtius, contains a difficult passage, of which there are two readings: that, common to the MSS. is: *Medus, A MARI, ET AD MERIDIEM VERSUS, minor amnis eo quem accepit, evahitur.* Some German editions have: *ad mare et ad meridiem versus.* In the revised translation*, vol. ii. p. 24, I have followed the common reading, and translated it literally. By relying on the passage as it is, for it wants no conjectural emendation, some light may be drawn from it respecting the ancient course of the two rivers, and the distribution of their waters.

“ Through the plains, the river Arosis carries the water of
 “ many brooks to the Medus: the Medus, DIVERTED [by
 “ dams and canals for irrigation] FROM THE SEA, AND
 “ TOWARD THE SOUTH, flows on, a less river than that
 “ which it receives.” By the “ SEA,” I understand the lake Bakhtegan, now sometimes called the *Dirge Nemeh* (*brackish sea*;) Had. Curtius meant the Persian Gulf, he would have repeated the term “ Red Sea,” which he had employed a few lines above. We have no trace of this inland sea in any other ancient classic. The Arosis (the modern *Bund-Emeer*) after being partly intercepted, at this day reaches the salt lake.

“ The river *Bund-Emeer* takes its present name from a dyke
 “ (in Persian a *bund*) erected by the celebrated Ameer Azad-a-
 “ Doulah Delemi. It flows through the beautiful valley of
 “ Merdesht, in which stand the magnificent ruins of Persepo-
 “ lis; and on entering the rich and productive districts
 “ of Kurjan, is divided into numberless channels, for the pur-
 “ poses of irrigation. The part of the water, which is not
 “ expended in the cultivation of the land, runs towards the
 “ lake of Bakhtegan, and before entering it joins the Shamier,
 “ a small stream which has its rise in a hot fountain.”—KIN-
 NEIR’S *Memoir*, p. 59. The Persians have been always famous for giving an artificial direction to rivers; and the words of Curtius imply, that when his description was

* This part of the Commentary is re-written. 25th Aug. 1821.

originally taken, the river was still more completely intercepted and diverted, so as to prevent it from being ultimately lost in the salt lake; thus a great district to the west of the lake would be watered; perhaps a branch from the river might then communicate with that other Arosis which reaches the Persian Gulf. Its present course is ESE. "Our road, [in "returning from the Lake Bakhtegan to Shiraz along the "right bank of the Bandamir], was chiefly in a WNW. direction, through a country perfectly flat, with mountains "on both sides, and intersected by numerous drains cut for "the purposes of irrigation."—SIR W. OUSELEY'S *Travels in the East*, vol. ii. p. 179. Between the time of Alexander, and that of Azzad-ad-Douleh, the ancient works appear to have fallen into ruin; and from the boast of the latter, after constructing the dam which now exists—"I have erected a "mountain in the midst of a lake"—it may be inferred, that the vale between the present village of Bandamir and the salt lake was, by the stagnation of the surplus water, confounded previously with the lake itself.

Whether the ancient Medus and Arosis, after being DIVERTED TO THE SOUTH, was exhausted in fertilizing Cœle-Persis, or whether it pursued its way to the Persian Gulf, Curtius forbears to affirm. Nearchus found in the Gulf an Arosis, the largest river (he judged from its mouth) observed in his voyage. I cannot help connecting the Arosis near Persepolis with the Arosis of the coast: but I consider the intermediate section of river to be innavigable, and to penetrate a country not practicable in the same direction. Fryer, a Member of the Royal Society, who explored some part of the line of Alexander's marches, countenances this opinion. He says: "I crossed the river Bindamire, or the Araxes, famous for its "untraced windings upon the mountains, and sometimes "under their very bottoms, till, by its rapid course, it vents "itself into the sea."—*Travels in East India and Persia*, in 1672—1681, by JOHN FRYER, M.D. and F.R.S. p. 250.

GENEALOGY

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Paternal Line.

From Temenus, son of HERCULES, descended the Temenidæ, who long reigned in Argos; of this line, the last who bore the name of Temenus, was the father of CARANUS, also an Argive. Caranus, also called Archelaus; the sixteenth in descent from Hercules, flourished towards the year 772 before the Christian era; and was the founder of the Macedonian kingdom. From his brother Cœnus descended

TYRIMAS,
PERDICCAS I.
ARGÆUS,
AMYNTAS I.
ALEXANDER I.
PERDICCAS II.

He was succeeded by Archelaus an illegitimate son; and the latter by Orestes. But Orestes was slain by his guardian Æropus; under one of these, Pausanias claimed. Meanwhile the throne was filled by the third brother of Perdiccas, namely,

PHILIP THARATEUS,
AMYNTAS II.
ALEXANDER II., PERDICCAS III.
PHILIP, three brothers, reigned in succession.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Maternal Line.

With ACHILLES commences the ambitious pedigree; among the offspring of his son PYRRHUS, is numbered PIELUS, whose mother was Andromache, Hector's widow.

The imperfect memorial of descent passes now to ALCON, whose immediate progenitors are unknown but he is said to have been of the race of Pielus. From him descended

ADMETUS, king of Epirus;
ARYMBAS,
ALCETAS,
NEOPTOLEMUS,
OLYMPIAS,
ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

SUPPLEMENT
TO
QUINTUS CURTIUS;

CONSISTING OF TWO BOOKS:

BY
JOHN FREINSHEM.

WITH CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS,

BY
THE TRANSLATOR.

BOOK I.

THE BIRTH OF ALEXANDER.—THE BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA.—THE DEATH OF PHILIP.—THE DESTRUCTION OF THEBES.

CHAP. I.

Introduction. Philip had prepared facilities for the conquest of Persia. Birth of Alexander.

THE life and actions of Alexander, who wrested the empire from the Persians and transferred it to Greece, have been recorded by many Greek historians; of whom most were eye-witnesses—and some, as his associates and ministers, shared

in the glory—of his achievements. Alexander himself, from a desire of perpetual fame, commissioned several of his attendants to transmit to posterity memorials of his exploits. But though the simple facts were inherently great, the love of fable, natural to the Greeks, induced numbers of them to compose on this subject heroic rhapsodies, rather than biographies or histories. Among these, it is to be regretted that we must class Aristobulus*. He was a companion of Alexander in that expedition: but the many advantages he enjoyed for writing his master's life, were all counteracted by a want of fidelity to truth. Studious only to flatter the prince, whose character he did not understand, he ventured to solicit his attention to tracts professing to be narratives of his campaigns; which the magnanimous victor indignantly reproved as absurd and disgusting fictions. In one of these he had written, that Alexander fought a *single combat* with Porus, accompanied with other circumstances of monstrous exaggeration, beyond the facts of that memorable day

* This modified estimate, contrasting the characters of Aristobulus and Ptolemy, as original historians of Alexander: is substituted for the extravagant encomium on both which Freinshemius had adopted from Arrian's *Preface*. Arrian ascribes to the two an equal share of paramount authority, the union of which is to exclude all other primary writers from belief. For, he says, "Some things touched upon by others, I deliver only as reports."

when the Indian rajah was vanquished. Aristobulus happening to read that passage to the king when they were together navigating the Hydaspes, Alexander threw the book into the river, adding: "It behoves me, Aristobulus, so to treat thee also, who wouldst undertake such an exploit for me, and art killing elephants with a dart*!" This gross adulator of Alexander living, could not be transformed into an author of credit by the mere accident of surviving his master. Did he publish the original composition? This was notoriously falsified. Did he new-model his narrative after Alexander's death? So base a creature might attach himself to one of Alexander's successors as a partisan; and thus find a less noble patron, who would reward his ready talent at mendacity. I therefore regard the history of Aristobulus as useless; for where it agrees with other accounts, it cannot confirm any thing; and as to the incidents peculiar to it, who will believe them? I would rather leave a chasm in the narrative than supply it from such materials.

It is a relief, that among the original histories of Alexander, one is extant by Ptolemy, who was a distinguished lieutenant under the Conqueror of Asia; and afterwards the founder of the Greek dynasty which ~~reigned~~ in Egypt.

He was in Alexander's confidence till his death ; and to his military reputation added a character for learning and probity*. It may, indeed, be expected that he would not diminish his own share of renown in conducing to Alexander's victories†: on the other hand, we have a guarantee, in his prominent responsibility to his contemporaries as a royal author, that he would not transfer to himself the achievements which other great captains of Alexander were known to have performed. With regard to the closing scene of Alexander's life, he might be induced to suppress the gift of the signet to Perdicas ; for his interest, as an independent sovereign over Egypt, was irreconcilably opposed to the admission of that regent's claim to supreme power. In other respects the historical work of Ptolemy holds, in our estimation, the first place among the authorities extant ; but not to the exclusion of other writers, whose claims to general credit were admitted in the Grecian school of literature.

Some eminent authors among my own countrymen have depreciated both the achievements of Alexander, and the Greek histories in which they are recorded. If ever there was a time when a national jealousy of the power of Macedon, and ~~of~~ the influence founded on her

* Vossii *Histor. Græc.*

† Curtius, lib. ix. cap. v. s. 17.

military fame, might have been excused as a patriotic weakness, this feeling may be safely discarded, now that Macedon itself, and Syria, and Egypt, have fallen under the dominion of Rome*. But seeing that this invidious sentiment has stamped upon our literature many traces of its spirit†, I shall be guided in my estimate of the original historians of Alexander, by the evidence of Grecian monuments, and the testimony of subsequent writers born in Greece, and flourishing while their country retained independence; rather than by the charges and insinuations which might be gleaned from the pages of Roman poetry, history, or criticism.

Callisthenes, the Olynthian, a professor of philosophy, was, by the influence of Aristotle, appointed to attend Alexander in his expedition to the East. Whatever situation he was intended to fill, he appears to have assumed the dictatorial authority of a severe mentor. Among his works were: a *History of the Transactions of Greece before his own Times*; another of the *Trojan War*‡; and a third, which he did not live to finish, having been executed when

* Translation, vol. ii. *Narrative Sketch of the Successes of Alexander*, pp. 476 — 480.

† See at the end of the volume, ADDITIONAL NOTES, (A).

‡ Vossii—*De Historicis Græcis*.

both the work and the subject of it were in progress. His *History of the Actions of Alexander*, as far as it goes, cannot be suspected to err on the side of adulation; for he was a martyr to the determination to speak his mind to his master, however offensive his bluntness might be deemed*. I think we may rely upon his narrative of what he saw†. His style has not escaped the denunciation of several professed arbiters of taste. But if we are to adopt the too general conclusions of critics, founded on the exhibition of a few scattered faults, which appear venial till dislocated from their connexion, and brought together in a crude mass,—not one of the learned men in the train of Alexander, including the friend of Aristotle, knew how to write a history‡. We are to

* Curtius, lib. viii. cap. v. s. 19. — Justin, lib. xiii. 6, 7, tells us, that he was carried abroad by Alexander, on purpose to write his history.

† Notwithstanding, Polybius, lib. xii. 17, charges him with a total ignorance of tactics in his description of the battle of Issus. But see the censured passage in a note at the end of the volume, (B).

‡ Some of his expressions have been ridiculed as ambitious conceits; for they do not shine like stars, but glare like meteors. Longinus, *De Sublim.* Cicero says, that he wrote history in the style of an orator.—*Ep. ad Quintum*, 11, 12. His speech, however, as given by Curtius, *Translation*, vol. ii. p. 242, consists of a few forcible arguments in a concise style, and the figures are chaste and appropriate. It is a specimen of terseness and concinnity. Plutarch quotes his *History of Greece before his own Times* in his *Cimon and Agesilaus*. Strabo, lib. xvii. quotes his *History of the Actions of Alexander*. A spurious history, bearing the name of Callisthenes, is extant.

consider, too, that the last work of Callisthenes is a fragment, which wants the author's revision.

Clitarchus, also, attended the Conqueror in his expedition*; and composed a *History of Alexander*, which, if consulted with discrimination, may supply some deficiencies in Ptolemy and Callisthenes†. Where his occasional absence obliged him to describe a scene which he had not witnessed; his negligence, or his credulity, has left some inaccuracies; which we have detected by comparing the primary authorities‡. His style is vitiated by some extravagant figures, perhaps from a design to emulate the oriental standards of fine writing§.

Timagenes lived in an age severed by a long interval from all these: but he is a better

* Diod. Sic. lib. ii. 7.

† It is probable that Curtius had recourse to him but sparingly; for Diodorus in this place cites Clitarchus as making the circumference of the walls of Babylon 365 stadia: whereas Curtius gives us 368 stadia as the sum. Athenæus, lib. xii. p. 530, lib. xiii. pp. 576, 586, quotes his *History of Alexander*. So Strabo, *passim*; Ælian. *Hist. Animal.* lib. xii. 2, 22, 23, 25; and Pliny, lib. vi. 13, 6.

‡ Curtius, *Translation*, vol. ii. p. 335.

§ There is some discrepancy in the opinions of Cicero and Quintilian, as to the literary rank of Clitarchus. Cicero, *Ll.* i. 2, adduces Clitarchus, "as a specimen of the puerile style in history." Quintilian, *De Oratoria*, lib. x. 1, says: "His talents are acknowledged, but his veracity is impeached." Longinus, ix. 8, 15, blames his style as turgid, and lighter than a cork.

authority than this last; because by a new merit he restored that careful research in writing history which had been long in disuse*. He composed a biography of *Celebrated Kings*, which included the *Life of Alexander*†. In one instance he appears negligent, in not consulting all the authorities extant when he wrote‡.

Hitherto the Roman historians, neglecting to investigate the records of other nations, have been content to write on the affairs of our own country; because in our actions as a victorious people, they found a subject abounding with noble materials, suited to the majesty of history, and in their judgment more instructive to the members of the commonwealth. As I esteem the labours of those writers to deserve commendation, so I hope that I shall not incur censure, if I attempt to give my countrymen an outline of that monarch, who, in the course of his short life, conquered so great a part of the world. His rapid success had an obvious foundation, and the precipitate dissolution of his dominion as conspicuous a cause: from both we may conclude, that the felicity of no commander can be lasting who is deserted by virtue.

* Quintiliani, Institut. de Oratoria, lib. x. 1. † Stephan. in *Muscul.*

‡ Curtius, *ut supra*. See ADDITIONAL NOTES, (C).

Alexander was endowed with all the indications of genius, and inherited all the advantages of fortune, which might be expected in a prince destined to reach such an astonishing height of power.

The kings of Macedon derived their pedigree from Hercules ; and Olympias, the mother of Alexander, traced the origin of her family to Achilles. Her son, from his infancy, wanted neither allurements nor examples to excite him in the pursuit of glory. His father, Philip, by successful wars and able policy, had won a lofty rank for his country, despised until his reign ; and by forcing the Grecian republics into a confederate system under the ascendancy of Macedonia, he had erected a power formidable to all the bordering states. He afterwards laid the foundation of still greater results, which were completed by his successor : having decided on attacking Persia, he levied men, collected provisions, raised money, and organized an army, ready at a signal to commence the expedition ; and he had opened a passage into Asia by a separate detachment under Parmenio. His death, at this crisis, transferred to his son the great armaments and resources prepared for that war, and an opportunity to reap an undivided harvest of glory : which ~~some~~ have regarded as the work of fortune, ever auspicious

to Alexander. This prince excited so much admiration in his contemporaries, not only after he had completed his vast achievements, but even at the first stage of his career, that it was debated, whether it were not reasonable to ascribe his origin immediately to Jupiter, rather than to trace his descent from that deity by the medium of the *Æacidæ* and *Hercules*? After his visit to the temple of Ammon in Lybia, related in a subsequent book, nothing less would satisfy him than to be called the son of Jupiter. Many persons professed to believe, that ‘Alexander was the offspring of a serpent, which had been seen in his mother’s bed-chamber, and that the king of the gods had assumed that disguise.’ ‘This account,’ they urge, ‘had been corroborated by dreams and prophecies, and that when Philip sent to Delphi to consult respecting his son’s birth, the oracle answered by this admonition: ‘Highly revere Ammon.’ On the other hand, reflecting writers insist, ‘That the celestial side of his pedigree is entirely fiction: and that there is reason to suspect Alexander’s mother of adultery with Nectanebus, king of Egypt; who, when expelled from his kingdom, made not Ethiopia his asylum, as had been commonly believed, but proceeded to Macedon, to solicit support from Philip against the

‘ power of the Persians. That received at the
‘ court of Pella, he there triumphed over the
‘ virtue of Olympias by magical enchantments.
‘ That from the time of surmising this, Philip
‘ jealously surveyed her conduct; and the im-
‘ putation appeared to be the chief cause of
‘ their subsequent divorce. That at a feast
‘ made to celebrate the marriage of Philip with
‘ Cleopatra,—Attalus, the uncle of the new
‘ queen, insulted Alexander by an indirect al-
‘ lusion to the illegitimacy of his birth, while
‘ the king disowned him as a son. That the
‘ rumour imputing adultery to Olympias was
‘ not confined to Macedon, but had been dif-
‘ fused among the nations which Alexander
‘ conquered. That the fiction of the serpent
‘ was an imitation of ancient fables, in order to
‘ conceal the ignominy of the queen his mother.
‘ And that the Messenians had formerly circu-
‘ lated a similar story concerning Aristomenes;
‘ and the Sicyonians concerning Aristodamas.’
We know, indeed, that a parallel report pre-
vailed among our ancestors concerning that
Scipio who first triumphed over Carthage. So,
likewise, the birth of Augustus was attributed
to a divine cause. As to Romulus, why should
we go back to his extraordinary nativity; since
there is no nation so contemptible, as not to
derive its origin either from some god or the

offspring of a god? Still it should be recollected, that those who convert the fugitive Nectanebus into the father of Alexander, commit a perceptible anachronism; for Alexander was six years of age when the vanquished Egyptian monarch was dethroned by Ochus: but the impossibility of the account respecting Nectanebus, does not make the tale about Jupiter probable. Olympias herself, when relieved from apprehension by her husband's death, rallied the vanity of her son, who would have it believed that he was sprung from Jupiter; and she begged him in a letter, 'Not to expose her to Juno's indignation, as she had been guilty of nothing that deserved that punishment*.' However, during Philip's life, she is represented to have been the person most solicitous to confer credit and currency upon the fable. Even when Alexander was setting out upon his expedition into Asia, she admonished him, 'To be mindful of his origin, and to do nothing unworthy of so great a father.'

It is generally admitted, that between the time of his mother's conception and the birth of Alexander, several prodigies indicated that an extraordinary person should be born. Philip saw, in his sleep, the womb of Olympias sealed up with a ring, on which was engraven the

* *Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius*, lib. xiii. cap. 10.

figure of a lion; as a memorial of this, the city Alexandria in Egypt, subsequently founded, long bore the name of Leontopolis. Aristander, the ablest diviner of that age, afterwards the chief-priest of Alexander, interpreted this dream to portend, that the infant should excel in courage and magnanimity. On the night in which Olympias gave birth to this child, the temple of Diana at Ephesus, the most celebrated in Asia, was destroyed by fire: this conflagration was the act of a profligate incendiary, who, being apprehended and put to the torture, confessed, that despairing of fame by good actions, his aim, in perpetrating this impiety, was to transmit his name to after-ages by a stupendous crime. The Magi residing at Ephesus did not estimate this merely as a temporary ruin, but as presaging some great subversion of power; and they disturbed the city by reiterating this mournful prediction: "There is in some part of the world a torch kindled, which shall one day consume all the East." At the same point of time, Philip happened to complete the subjugation of Potidæa, a colony of the Athenians; received intelligence, that a crown had been awarded to him at the Olympic games, whither he had sent chariots: while a courier arrived from Parmenio, announcing a decisive victory over the

Illyrians. To the king, exulting in the fruition of his plans every where, the parturition of Olympias was now notified; and *Olymp. cvi. 1.* the diviners confidently predicted, *A. C. 356.*

‘ That the prince who was born amid palms
‘ and processions for so many triumphs, would
‘ be invincible.’ Philip, amazed at such a concurrence of happy events, and dreading the envy of the celestials, implored the goddess Nemesis, ‘ To be contented with revenging
‘ these indulgencies of fortune by a moderate
‘ calamity.’ Another remarkable incident has been recorded. ‘ In the city of Pella, two
‘ eagles sat, during a whole day, upon the
‘ house where the queen was delivered;’ a presage ‘ that Alexander should become master
‘ of the empires both of Asia and Europe.’ This interpretation might be assigned, without danger of mistake, after the event had occurred. I have also before me authors who say, that
‘ Alexander’s birth was attended with lightning,
‘ thunder, and an earthquake.’

The most accurate historians fix the date of this nativity on a day in the month of *Loiis*, as it was called by the Macedonians, answering to the twenty-first day of July, in the beginning of the 106th Olympiad, when Elpines was prætor of ~~Athens~~. At this era, our republic had subsisted nearly four hundred years; and the

Roman arms, exercised in wars with the contiguous states, were, by daily ascendancy, displaying a prelude to the subjugation of the world.

. CHAP. II.

Education of Alexander. He gives early indications of an heroic mind. Description of his person. Anecdote of Leonidas. Anecdote of the Persian ambassadors.

PHILIP now found an object for anxious deliberation in the education of his son. The wise and patriotic king perceived, that his own efforts to elevate Macedon would be unavailing, should his death, while his great designs were floating, leave the government in the hands of an uninformed and indolent prince. He reflected, that the permanence of his own celebrity might be affected by the character of his successor; and that the character of his successor might depend greatly on the talents and virtues of a preceptor. Under these impressions, he addressed a letter to Aristotle, of which the elegance is constantly acknowledged.

“ PHILIP TO ARISTOTLE. Health!

“ A son is born to me: I thank the gods,
“ not so much for making me a father, as for
“ giving me a son in an age when he can have
“ Aristotle for his instructor. I confide that
“ you will make him a prince worthy to suc-
“ ceed me, and qualified to govern Macedonia.”

Aristotle was at Athens, exercising his acumen in discussions with his master, Plato, when he received the invitation of Philip; with which he complied as soon as the young prince had attained an age capable of profiting from a superior course of instruction. Aristotle remained at Athens till Plato's death. The next three years he passed with Hermias, a fellow-student, who had become the minor sovereign of Atarna, a Greek city of Mysia. After his friend had been deposed by Artaxerxes, Aristotle escaped to Mytilene*; where he remained two years. Meanwhile Alexander was growing up under fostering advantages, calculated to prepare him for such a master. Leonidas, a relation of the queen, acted as the prince's guardian and tutor, conjointly with Lysimachus of Acarnania: the physician, Philip, another

* Diog. Laert. lib. v. s. 3, 9. Dion. Halic. *Epist ad Ann.* cap. 5.

native of that country, had the charge of his health: in Hellanica, daughter of Dropis, and sister of Clitus *, he had a nurse equally happy in the soundness of her constitution, and the correct tone of her manners. When he had been a few years under their care, Alexander promised to become that great king which he afterwards proved. Extraordinary fire and activity animated his tender limbs; and in the marks of heroic genius, he far outstripped his years. He despised the fopperies of dress, saying, 'That solicitude to adorn the exterior was becoming in women, who had no endowments more considerable than personal charms; and that if he could attain the first class in virtue, he should be sufficiently handsome.'

Symmetry moulded his infant form, and regulated his growth to manhood; the evident strength and firmness of his joints impressed the spectator with an idea of great vigor; and being but of middling stature, he was in reality stronger than he appeared. His skin was fair, except on his cheeks and his breast, where it was tinged with an agreeable red. His yellow hair waved in slight curls; his nose was aquiline; his eyes are represented to have been dissimilar in colour, the right appearing jet black, the left inclining to blue; some magical power in their

* Plut. in Alex.

expression, nevertheless, penetrated the beholder with respect and awe. He excelled in swift-running; an exercise which he continued after he became king, from experience of its great use in expeditions; and he frequently contended in a foot-race for a prize with the most agile in the camp. He bore fatigue with a persevering firmness that cannot be adequately described; and this quality repeatedly extricated both himself and his army from great extremities. Regular exercise, operating with his warmth of constitution, so dissipated the morbid humours which commonly loiter under the skin, that not only his breath was fragrant, but the effluvia from his pores had a congenial purity, which gave his clothes a grateful * odour. To his ardor of temperament, some attribute his irritability and propensity to wine. Statues and portraits of him are still extant, the works of superior artists; for Alexander, while he expressly authorized a few, prohibited all others from attempting, to take his likeness, lest the character of greatness in his features, should elude the vulgar pretender to the name of painter or sculptor. Selected from the first class in each profession, Apelles alone was permitted to make Alexander the subject of his pencil; Pyrgoteles ~~to~~ engrave him on gems; Lysip-

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (D.)

pus to model him for statues in marble and bronze

Leonidas, the governor of Alexander, is stated to have walked too fast; and his pupil, to have adopted that custom without being able afterwards to correct it. Aware that example strongly influences the young, I am yet inclined to attribute this trait in his carriage, rather to his native temper than to habit commencing in imitation; his impetuous spirit would naturally communicate to the movements of his body corresponding vivacity. His successors on the throne, so far from accounting this hastiness a blemish, studiously affected it: nor to this confining their servile imitations, they assumed his elevated tone; attempted his piercing intelligence of look; and descended to mimic an inclination in his neck towards his left shoulder: while they were too imbecile to emulate him in mind. Of many Macedonian kings, the long inglorious life, would furnish scarcely a trait worthy to be compared with one of the sentiments or actions which distinguished the childhood of Alexander. The manly boy never expressed or perpetrated any thing approaching to meanness or turpitude, but preserved a superiority of conduct agreeing with his subsequent fortune. Highly ambitious

* The name of Polycletus, which Freinshemius had joined with that of Lysippus, the Translator has suppressed as an anachronism.

of praise, he did not affect to draw it indifferently from every thing: but courted fame only as it is allied to excellence in laudable pursuits; sensible that plaudits bestowed on sordid actions, are dishonourable gratuities, and that emulation is noble, and victory illustrious, in proportion to the greatness of the competitor. On its being suggested to him, 'That his being an excellent runner should induce him to enlist at the Olympic games, after the example of a king of his name, in order that the fame of his swiftness might circulate over Greece:' the magnanimous youth answered: "I would dispute the prize there, could I have kings for competitors." While Philip was constantly adding some opulent city or strong military position to the national possessions, while victory after victory filled the Macedonian people with exultation,—Alexander was frequently the solitary subject of grief which he was unable to conceal, and which urged him to utter this complaint among boys of his own age: "My father will leave nothing for you and me to do when we come to be men." He had a stronger passion for honour than for riches; and regarded accessions of power and revenue which he had not contributed to effect, as diminishing his opportunities of glory.

He was naturally satisfied with short inter-

vals of sleep; and increased his wakefulness by art: whenever a subject required uninterrupted meditation, he rested only his limbs, with the extremity of one arm out of bed, holding a silver ball over a basin, that its fall might disturb him, should he slumber.

From infancy he delighted to worship the gods by splendid offerings: once, at a sacrifice, he flung so much incense into the fire, that the severe and parsimonious Leonidas, to check his profusion, exclaimed: ‘ You may burn incense ‘ in this manner, when you conquer the coun- ‘ tries where it grows.’ When, afterwards, Alexander had reduced some emporium of incense-bearing Arabia*, remembering this reproof, he sent to Leonidas many talents in weight of this perfume; desiring his former Mentor, ‘ To be more liberal for the future, in

* *Quum postea thuriferam Arabiam pacâret.* FREINSHEMIUS. Alexander conquered Arabia as he conquered the world, that is, he reduced, or awed, such parts of it as lay contiguous to the track of his great expedition. He made an incursion into the north of Arabia, while he was besieging Tyre; it is thought that he then took the emporium, Petra Nabathæa:—and he founded a city on the borders of Arabia Deserta, during his survey of the Chaldean marshes, just before his death:—but even when master of Persia he made no preparation for traversing the interior of the vast Arabian peninsula; and he did not live to send a fleet round the fragrant coast of “Araby the blest,” as he appears to have designed. Compare Curt. B. IV. ii. 10.—X. i. 2.—X. v. 11.

Respecting the tree which produces *Olibanum*, see ADDITIONAL NOTES (E).

‘ paying to the gods the honors of sacrifice, since
‘ he may now perceive that they remunerate,
‘ with bounteous increase, cheerful oblations.’

While a child, Alexander gave multiplied indications of penetration and superior genius. Artaxerxes, surnamed Ochus, was at this time king of Persia: Artabazus and Menapis, two satraps of that monarchy, with Memnon of Rhodes, a general of reputation, revolted in concert, and marched an army against their sovereign: but they were defeated by the royal forces; on which they fled from Asia to the court of Philip. Alexander, who had not attained seven years of age, delighted in the society of the strangers, from whom he often sought information, concerning the affairs of Persia; his questions, the reverse of puerile, were of this tenor: ‘ Whether the inhabitants
‘ of that country were valiant, and what description of arms they used? What was the
‘ distance from Macedonia to Susa, and in
‘ how many days might a traveller reach that
‘ capital? What kind of life the king led?
‘ What were his exercises and diversions?
‘ What his character with respect to bravery
‘ and virtue?’ After the Persian fugitives had resided sometime in Macedonia, their sovereign pardoned ~~them~~, through the mediation of Mentor, the brother of Memnon, and brother-in-law

of Artabazus, who had intermarried with their sister. The ambassadors deputed from the court of Susa to that of Pella, to demand of Philip the recalled officers, frequently saw and conversed with Alexander: his qualities and attainments, contrasted with his tender years, struck them with admiration: one of them exclaimed to his colleagues: "This young prince is great: ours is rich."

The future conqueror of Darius owed his superior talents not more to nature than to cultivation. Philip, conscious of his own obligations to the lessons of Epaminondas; and sensible that he had effected more by his eloquence and knowledge than by his power;—made enlarged provisions for educating his son. He renewed his princely overtures, inviting Aristotle to reside at his court, there to unfold to Alexander the elements of literature, of the liberal arts, and of science, and with every stage of these to connect moral instruction*. "May he be taught," said Philip, "to avoid those errors which I have committed, and of which I now repent †." The founder of the Lycæum at length accepted the important office of teaching a prince how to reign.

* Plut. in Alex.—Isocrat. Lit. ad Alex.

† Plut. in Apophth.

Each of the masters of Alexander excelled in his department; their concurring instruction imbued his mind with elevated sentiments; while their discipline brought his body to such a temperament, that it was adequate to every kind of military exercise, and could surmount all varieties of fatigue: nor was he frivolously employed, when engaged at tennis, or in a manly description of dance; for these recreations did not so much relax his mind as prepare his limbs for important occupations.

Lysimachus had already, either to flatter his pupil, or from a presentiment of his greatness, called himself Phœnix; Philip, Peleus; and his pupil, Achilles *.

CHAP. III.

Progress of Alexander's education. Philip's reward to Aristotle. The Philosopher long retained an influence over his former Pupil. Anecdotes of Cassander. Timotheus. Anaximenes. Alexander slights comedians and pugilists; a general patron of other arts.

AS Alexander approached the age of puberty, and became capable of serious studies, it ap-

* Plut. in Alex.

peared fitting that Aristotle should be constantly with him. The prince had the benefit of the sage's society, from the time when Philip recalled Aristotle from the city of Mytilene till Alexander, having succeeded to the throne, commenced his expedition into Asia; an interval of eight years*. During that time, he thoroughly studied every branch of knowledge in which so eminent a master could instruct him. In particular, he sought information in Natural History, with an intensity which increased as events fortified his expectation of attaining the empire of the world. When he had ascended the throne, he furnished Aristotle with facilities for cul-

* Freinshemius has not defined the interval, perhaps because he found statements very contradictory. Alexander was about thirteen years old when Aristotle commenced the office of tutor. The chronology, adopted in the text, is deduced from a letter addressed to Ammæus by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, already referred to, p. 16, *supra*. Aristotle—born at Stagira, and educated at the court of Pella, where his father was king's physician—went to reside at Athens in his eighteenth year, A. C. 367. There, as the scholar or assistant of Plato, he continued near twenty years. On the death of his master, A. C. 348, Aristotle left Athens; and spent three years at Atarna, and two at Mytilene. He returned to Pella in the forty-third year of his age, A. C. 343. After having been employed eight years in the education of Alexander, he again visited Athens, A. C. 335. There he taught during twelve years in the Lycæum. Having discontinued his public labours, he, in the year following, died at Chalcis, ætat. sixty-three, A. C. 323, and a year after the death of Alexander.

tivating that science, and collecting specimens on an august scale; placing under his direction such of the inhabitants of Greece and Asia as subsisted by hunting, fowling, or fishing, or who possessed skill and experience in those arts, that their services might enable the philosopher to frame a treatise, free from error and doubt, respecting the nature of animals. The king advanced the naturalist eight hundred talents to defray the charges of the undertaking. The gratification felt by Alexander in contributing to the progress of Natural History, led him to expend vast sums in sowing the seeds of information, of which it was not probable that he would live to reap the fruits. An hundred years after his death, deer were taken with golden chains about their necks, which had been affixed, by his orders, to enable posterity to explode or confirm the accounts assigning extreme longevity to those animals.

After the conquest of Babylon, Alexander found in the archives of Chaldean science, a series of astronomical observations, which had been carefully registered in that ancient capital for above nineteen centuries. By his order, a faithful copy of them was transmitted to Aristotle

* Porphyr. apud Simplicium, in Aristot. de Cælo, l. ii.

When Alexander heard that Aristotle had published an abstract of his *esoteric division of science*, which opened to the student all the ultimate attainments of the master, in the search for and discovery of first principles; although the king was then on the point of overpowering Darius by the progress of his arms, in Asia, he wrote to his former preceptor, complaining that he had divulged these sublime doctrines. Andronicus, the philosopher, has preserved the * correspondence.

“ALEXANDER TO ARISTOTLE. Health!

“You have not acted well in publishing
“your Acroatic Lectures; for wherein shall
“I hereafter excel, if the instructions which
“I have received from you be made common
“to all? I would rather be the greatest in
“honourable attainments, than the most eminent in power. Farewell.”

The founder of the Lycæum replies in the same style of elegant brevity:

“ARISTOTLE TO KING ALEXANDER. Health!

“You have written to me concerning my
“Acroatic Lectures, thinking that they ought
“to be preserved and not communicated:—

* Aul. Gell. *Attic. Noct. lib. xx. cap. 5.*

“ know that they are communicated, but not
“ made public; for they are in the possession
“ of those only who hear me. Farewell.”

With a similar jealousy, lest knowledge should be profaned by unveiling it to the vulgar, the Macedonian prince, when he demanded from the philologist his books on rhetoric, prohibited him from communicating these tracts to any other person. Ambitious to be no less preeminent in the arts and sciences than in power and greatness, he could not endure that the lowest of mankind should share with him in their milder light and glory.

There is also internal evidence in his letters, that he had been instructed in the medical art, by another person named Aristotle, the son of a physician descended from Æsculapius.

But to return to the founder of the Ly-cæum: the royal pupil so heartily cultivated that branch of Ethics which teaches self-command, as a chief qualification for commanding others; that he is considered to have effected the subversion of the Persian empire, that immense fabric of power, rather by magnanimity, prudence, temperance, and fortitude, than by his riches and arms. Alexander him-

self acknowledged, ' That he owed as much to ' Aristotle as to Philip; from the one he had ' derived life—from the other the principles of ' living virtuously and honourably.' Nevertheless, some moral writers have suggested, not without foundation, that the ambition which naturally glowed in the breast of the Macedonian hero, was stimulated to an ungovernable flame by the excessive value which Aristotle assigned to honour and glory, the philosopher having classed them with things which he termed 'essential goods. That Alexander not only multiplied wars to extend his dominions, but ultimately required* that his fellow-men should worship him as a god,—they ascribe to this false estimate of fame.

Aristotle had not to wait till the accession of Alexander for distinction and reward: in Philip's lifetime he received, in the reestablishment of his country, an invaluable recompense for his services in forming the mind of Alexander. The city of Stagira, where the philosopher was born, being a dependency of the republic of Olynthus, was involved in the misfortunes of that city: the Olynthians had displayed inveterate hostility to Philip; for, being neighbours of Macedon, which they had hitherto rivalled in power, they could not patiently see this politic and martial king proceed

in acquisitions of territory and revenue, which might enable him, eventually, to inflict destruction or impose servitude upon the adjoining states. The minds both of the encroaching and the resisting party were inflamed; and their stubborn contests, ferociously conducted. Philip at length obtained a decisive victory, which he sullied by a vindictive triumph. The city of Olynthus he plundered and levelled to its foundations: he sold the inhabitants as slaves. With the other dependent cities, Stagira equally suffered these severities: but Philip afterwards evinced his affection to Aristotle by giving him funds to rebuild it. When the city was repopled, Aristotle framed for the inhabitants a code of laws which was permanently observed. Thus the wisdom of one citizen restored from ruins a city which the efforts of many brave men could not preserve, when it stood a flourishing place, from pillage, fire, and desolation. To crown his favours to the tutor of his son, Philip set apart, in the vicinity of Stagira, a park laid out into shady walks, interspersed with alcoves, and ornamented with statues, for the use of the Peripatetic school*.

Philip frequently admonished the prince, such was his estimation of Aristotle, to be strenuous in the pursuit of wisdom under so great

* Plut. in Alex.

a master, lest he should hereafter commit many acts which might excite remorse and entail infamy. Nor did Alexander's deference for his preceptor terminate with the season of tuition : after the prince had undertaken the supreme duties of government, he maintained an epistolary correspondence with Aristotle ; soliciting not only explanations of *arcana* in the sciences, but correctives for his manners. Aristotle on one of these occasions replied, ' That the best way Alexander could take for making himself and his subjects happy, was to remember that great power was not given him to injure mankind, but to do them good.' The philosopher, knowing the monarch to be subject to paroxysms of rage, added, ' That he would do well to set bounds to his anger ; that it was below him to fly into intemperate sallies against his inferiors ; and that he had not an equal to provoke his indignation.' This plainness was well received. Eventually, however, when Alexander suffered pride to usurp over reason, his deference to Aristotle declined, and was at last displaced by contempt and aversion : the latter became rooted, after he had ordered the death of Callisthenes, which he conceived must have made Aristotle his enemy. After this act, he imagined that the Stagyræite, incited by revenge, vexed him with disputes, which had no

foundation in just principles, under a pretext of despising human grandeur and ambition. At the same time, Alexander discouraged in others the custom of arguing according to the method invented by the philosopher. When Cassander, a little before the Conqueror's death, was endeavouring to vindicate his father from a series of weighty charges; Alexander, interrupting him, exclaimed, ' That he had become acquainted with the artifices of the logic introduced by Aristotle, which taught the disputant to elude well-founded complaints by fallacious quibbles.' He added, ' That he would inflict exemplary punishment on them both, if he found the accusation against Antipater true.' This he pronounced in so angry a tone, and with so severe a countenance, that when, long after the king's remains were in a mausoleum, Cassander, who had become master of Greece, saw a painting of Alexander at Delphi, his whole frame trembled; so vividly did the picture remind him of his former danger. The explanation by Cassander of the strange effect of the picture occasioned a turn in the conversation unfavourable to Aristotle, and a reiteration of the popular rumour, that it was by his contrivance that the poison which killed Alexander was carried to Babylon in a horse's hoof.

Alexander naturally delighted in music, and from infancy cultivated it with earnest application, till such time as his father asked him, 'Whether he was not ashamed to play so elegantly?' From this moment, he neglected it as an art in which, to finger like a professor, would not reflect lustre on a diadem. This revolution in his taste happened in the midst of a lesson from his music-master; by whom being afterwards desired to touch a particular string, according to a scientific principle, "What will the consequence be," said Alexander, "if I should touch this?" pointing to another. The teacher replied: "It matters not with a per-sonage who is to be a king, but it concerns a pupil who would be a good performer." Alexander afterwards listened with delight only to music of a bold and manly character, and manifested an antipathy to soft effeminate airs, as tending to corrupt the manners. Thus discriminating, he warmly patronized Timotheus, a celebrated professor: this unequalled master consulted Alexander's taste in his scientific compositions; and on one occasion, when performing on the lyre, so ravished the conqueror by Phrygian airs, that the effect resembled inspiration: fired by the sound, the king started to seize his arms, as though the enemy were approaching.

Before Alexander received the three books of rhetoric from Aristotle, he had studied eloquence under Anaximenes, the Lampsacanian. This circumstance afterwards conduced to preserve the city of Lampsacum, when Alexander resolved to destroy it, because it had espoused the interests of the Persians. The king, beholding Anaximenes while approaching without the walls, and apprehending that the rhetorician intended to petition for an amnesty to his country, swore, by the deities of Greece, ‘ that he ‘ would not grant that which he should request.’ Anaximenes, having overheard this, with great presence of mind, implored the conqueror “ to “ destroy Lampsacum.” Alexander, bound to mercy by his oath, and charmed to generosity by his old preceptor’s address, spared the city, and received the inhabitants into favour.

In his early youth, Alexander despised COMEDIANS: but afterwards conforming to the taste of Greece, he patronized them at public entertainments*. Pugilists generally acted prominent parts in the games and spectacles of Greece: but these likewise were neglected by the son of Philip, perhaps because he would not encourage them to live in pampered idleness, to waste, in sports upon a stage, that vigour of muscle which would have been usefully exerted in the service of their country.

* See ADDITIONAL NOTE, (F).

He, however, attentively cherished all arts incontestably beneficial, without narrowly regarding their affinity with his own studies. Hence there was at his court a confluence of talents and skill from all parts of the world; the first men in each profession came either to exhibit specimens of art, or to dedicate to him monuments of genius; for which they commonly received immense sums, from a munificent king whose fortune was as expansive as his mind. And it was the common practice of Alexander to transmit liberal presents to inhabitants of remote places who were eminent for virtue or erudition. This fostering patronage so conducted to multiply learned men and excellent artists, that scarcely in any age, did useful employments, elegant arts, and scientific studies, flourish more extensively. As the manners and pursuits of the people are commonly influenced by the example of the prince; so, almost universally, the improvement, or declension, of a nation, reflects honour, or disgrace, upon those who govern.

CHAP. IV.

Alexander's admiration of Homer. Sketch of his manners. He tames Bucephalus.

ABOVE all the monuments of antiquity, Alexander esteemed the works of Homer; whom

alone he considered to have perfectly described the wisdom by which empires subsist; and he made him such a bosom companion, that he was called Homer's lover. He was accustomed to carry the Iliad and Odyssey always with him; and on retiring to bed, laid them, with his sword, under his pillow; he styled them his "military Viaticum, and the elements of "warlike virtue." He accounted Achilles happy in having such a herald of his fame.

Among the treasures taken at Damascus, was a casket of elegant materials and workmanship, in which the Persian king had kept rare and costly perfumes. Alexander's attendants, presenting the box, asked him, 'To what use 'it should be applied?' He answered: "I "use no perfumes, but shall put into it some- "thing more precious*. We will dedicate it "to Homer; for the most valuable production "of human intellect will be fitly preserved in "the finest piece of manual art." Hence the most correct copy of that poet's works, which Alexander had obtained after much research, was called "the edition of the casket."

Once Alexander saw a messenger hastily approaching, with his right hand presented, and anticipated welcome in his countenance, as if confident that his intelligence would please. "What news can you tell me," said the king,

* Aul. Gell. *Attic. Noct.*

“ that is worthy so much joy, unless it be that “ Homer is restored to life ? ” The Macedonian hero, on the summit of success, desired this alone to complete his happiness — a writer qualified to perpetuate his glory.

By repeatedly reading the poems of Homer, Alexander had them nearly all by memory; so that he quoted them familiarly and appositely; and no person could judge of them more justly. He was charmed with the moral beauty of the verse, wherein Agamemnon is praised, both as A GOOD KING AND A BRAVE WARRIOR. Feeling this to be a great incentive to virtue, he made it the standard of his manners.

Imbued with this discipline of the heart, Alexander preserved in his deportment a dignity suitable to his fortune; while he avoided the haughty and libertine conduct which usually accompanies the possession of power. His habiliments and personal comforts scarcely distinguished him from a private person; for he considered that a prince ought to surpass his subjects rather in beneficence than in exterior ornament. His temper was cheerful; and he was affable to his attendants, without sinking to familiarities that would have made him little. He affected no distaste for wine, but avoided intoxication; and when relaxing with his friends, preferred conversation to drinking. He appeared to have extinguished voluptuous wishes,

rather than to have regulated them; and from his indifference to the charming half of society, his mother, at one time, apprehended that the house of Macedonia would be left without an heir. Afterwards, he held it as an inviolable law, that he ought not to invade a subject's conjugal rights. To these maxims of life and manners he long adhered; and acted the part of a great and worthy king, till a torrent of success shook his moderation, WHICH by degrees he entirely lost.

The young prince astonished his father and the court, by his dexterity in managing the horse Bucephalus, a name given to the animal from his being marked with the figure of an ox's head. Thessaly was then famous for its breed of fine horses, yet none of that country could be compared to Bucephalus for beauty or vigor; Philonicus, a Pharsalian, considering the noble animal to deserve an illustrious master, brought him to Philip, and offered to sell him for sixteen talents. The parties proceeded to a plain to try the horse's speed and temper; when one of the king's grooms attempted to mount him, the animal refusing to be touched, reared and plunged violently; and his fierceness made other attendants who approached to manage him, relinquish the attempt. Philip, regarding so wild and unmanageable an animal as useless, desired that he might be led away. Alexander, on

hearing this order, cried out: "What an excellent horse are we going to lose, for want of address and boldness to mount him!" The king at first considered this exclamation to proceed from juvenile rashness; but on Alexander's insisting that it was practicable to ride the horse, permitted him to make the experiment, on condition that he should forfeit the price demanded for it if he failed. The young prince, exulting, advanced to Bucephalus, and seized his bridle. He had observed that the animal had started at the motion of his own shadow, he therefore turned his head toward the sun. But the horse's fury is not much abated; Alexander strokes his mane, and speaks to him in a soothing voice. Still the horse foams with rage; but the heroic youth having gently thrown aside his cloak, vaults into the saddle. Bucephalus, unused to obey, plunges, rears, strikes up his hind-feet, tosses his neck and head, and struggles to dislodge the bit, in order that he may dart away ungoverned. Alexander relaxes the forward rein, at the same moment spurring the horse, and with cheering tones animating him to exert all his swiftness. After flying over a long space, the wearied animal showed an inclination to stop; the prince, again spurring him, kept him at full speed till his spirit was entirely subdued. After which, he returned with the horse

gentle and tractable. When he alighted, his father, embracing him with tears of joy and kissing him, said, "My son, seek a larger empire, for Macedon is too small for so vast a spirit." Bucephalus ever afterwards obeyed his master with uniform submission, while he maintained his original fierceness toward other persons. "Alexander taming his horse," was a subject which the chief artists of that age were emulous to celebrate.—[See ADDITIONAL NOTES, (G).]

CHAP. V.

Alexander subdues the revolted Medari. Siege of Byzantium raised. Expedition against the Getae. Sedition of the Triballi. Sketch of Philip's career and policy. The Athenians oppose Philip. Both parties send ambassadors to Thebes.

BY these and similar proofs of genius and courage, Alexander won the estimation of Philip. When the king marched to besiege Byzantium, such was his confidence in the abilities of his son, then but sixteen years of age, that he appointed him to govern in his absence. The Medari, a tribe in Thrace, subject to Macedon, seized this opportunity, as favouring a revolt which they had long meditated. The young prince, not displeased with an occasion for dis-

playing his military talents, promptly moved upon the rebels with the chief officers whom his father had left under him. Having taken Medari by storm, and exiled the insurgents, he gave their city to a colony drawn from various nations: and the new inhabitants named it Alexandrinopolis after the founder. Though Philip viewed the result of this affair with satisfaction, still he feared that the gallantry of Alexander, if left to its own impulse, might engage him in some undertakings above his ability, not without disaster; the king, therefore, sent for his son, in order that, under his own tuition, the young hero might learn to moderate ardor by prudence, while he assisted in reducing the cities of the Chersonesus by his firmness and alacrity.

The siege of Byzantium, a strong city, was still protracted; the brave resistance of the inhabitants, manfully fighting for their liberties, seconded by succours from Chios and Rhodes, had prevented Philip from reducing the place; at length a reinforcement of Athenians, under Phocion, debarking in the city, deprived him of all expectations of success. Hence Philip was compelled to study but one object—how to retire without further loss; and he found a pretext, under which he sheltered his military honour.

Previous to this, Atheas, king of the Getæ, had applied for the aid of Philip, to repel a

formidable inroad of the Istrians; promising, if the Macedonian arms should drive the invaders from his territory, to make Philip his heir. Soon after, however, the sudden death of the Istrian general relieved Atheas from apprehension; and he sent back the Macedonian forces, which had been detached to support him, with this insulting message, ‘That he
‘neither wanted their assistance, nor Philip as
‘an heir; that he had troops sufficient to de-
‘fend his territory, and a son to succeed him.’ Philip, incensed at his duplicity, proclaimed a resolution to take immediate vengeance; raised the siege of Byzantium; and marched his troops into Scythia. In a general battle, he defeated the Barbarians by the masterly disposition of his army, notwithstanding their superior numbers. All the fruits of this victory, were long trains of captive women and children, with vast herds of cattle, which had moved with the army of the Getæ, and constituted the wealth of a people, who, content with daily food, reckoned freedom from other riches among the conveniences of life; a proportion of arms and war-chariots, only valuable as trophies; and twenty thousand mares, kept for breeding war-horses, which Philip proposed to transport to his stud at Pella. This spoil, altogether, rather encumbered than enriched the victors.

To Philip, on his way to Scythia, had been

granted an unconditional passage through the country of the Triballi, who then displayed every appearance of submission. These people, however, in order to extort a share of the booty, with which Philip was returning,—having seized all the defiles, opposed his march in a glen near the Mæsiian mountains, where his immense equipage and baggage embarrassed his movements. This unexpected attack threw the Macedonian army into confusion. Some Greek mercenaries made a similar demand with the Triballi, and flew to arms to enforce it: this produced a sharp conflict between the mercenaries and the native Macedonians. The king rushed to the spot where the tumultuous carnage was most violent, and for a long time fought with prevailing bravery. At length his horse sunk under him, wounded; and the same weapon which disabled the beast, pierced the thigh of the rider, who now lay senseless on the ground, surrounded by ferocious enemies. The young prince Alexander flew with his attendants to the rescue of his father. He himself covered him with his shield; the enemy was repulsed, and the king conveyed in safety from the tumult. The Triballi now fled and dispersed: but, during the disorder of the Macedonians, they had carried off the greatest part of the booty.

Philip's wound left a permanent lameness;

which he at first endured with great impatience. Once, when a peevish expression escaped him, Alexander calmed him by an answer, since deservedly celebrated: "How can you, Sir, regret an accident which, at every step you take, reminds us of your valour?"

At this stage of his career, Philip had received a variety of wounds, and had encountered dangers in the field sufficient to repress an ordinary courage; and his acquisitions of power and fame might have satisfied his ambition, could such a spirit have borne repose. He had triumphed over Pausanias* and Argæus, two active competitors for his throne, and thus secured its peaceable possession. Macedonia, when he undertook the government, was pressed, and in great part overrun, by four formidable enemies; the Pæonians, the Thracians, the Illyrians, and the Athenians; these his arms and policy had vanquished, converted into allies and tributaries, or neutralized. The calamities of the previous reign had drained the country of gold; and at one time Philip reckoned a solitary cup of that metal so great a treasure, that, for safe custody, when he retired to rest, it was placed on his pillow: this public penury he had transmuted into opulence: between the mountains of Thrace and the coast,

* For these additions to the sketch of Fréinshemius, the Life of Philip, by Leland, is the authority.

near the isle of Thasus, stood the new city, Crenidæ, built by the Thassians: they had scarcely occupied it before he expelled their colony, planted another of Macedonians, and named the city, after himself, Philippi; in the territory belonging to it were gold mines, from which he derived an annual revenue of one thousand talents. ^{£225,000.} The important city of Amphipolis he had reunited to Macedonia. His KINGDOM, including Thessaly, was now bounded by the lake Lynchitis, on the north-west; whence it extended on the opposite point to the Thracian sea; the Pindus chain of mountains formed its south-western frontier; the angular curve of those mountains left the Thessalian part of his territory a narrow limit, on the south, touching Locris and Phocis; and its eastern boundary was the Ægean sea. The *Chalcidian* territories Philip had acquired rather by bribes than force of arms. He had reduced *Olynthus* and its dependencies, by influencing the banishment of Apollonides, an upright and able general, and by corrupting the leaders, Euthykrates and Lasthenes, who betrayed the city. The *Thessalians* had lost their freedom by calling in Philip to support it; he had divided the country into four districts, and appointed the governors: their cavalry, the best in Greece, were compelled to attend him in his wars; the direction of their revenue he

assumed; their ports and shipping were, by treaty, at his disposal; he intruded Macedonian garrisons into Magnesia and Pagasæ; and by intriguing with Eudicus and Simo, occupied the fortress of Larissa; two other corrupt leaders in Thessaly, Agathocles and Thrasideus, whom he flattered with small commands, connived at his holding Pheræ and Echinus; lastly, he had publicly purchased the town of Antron, which commanded the Euripus of Chalcis. Pursuing, in *Thrace*, a course of alternate conquest and encroachment, after appropriating Philippi, he took the city of Methone, situate on the Thermaic bay, forty stadia from Pydna; succeeded in reducing Pydna and Potidæa, another maritime city; was master of the promontories Pallene and Ampelus; and occupied the cities of Ganos Ergiske: ceasing to dissemble with his ally Cersobletes, he deposed him, confined him to the Sacred Mount, and took his son as an hostage: the Macedonian king, liberal of protection, had erected forts in the dominions of Cithelas, another petty sovereign of Thrace, and imposed a tribute on the people amounting to a tenth of the revenue. Under similar pretensions, he had amused, and now governed, the inhabitants of *Cardia* in the Chersonesus. He reduced Illyria; made successful incursions into Dardania; and had disposed of the crown of Epirus.

As a step to sovereignty over GREECE, he had attained the important object of being admitted a MEMBER OF THE HELLENIC BODY, entitled to send representatives to the council of the Amphictyons. *Sparta* and *Athens* were the powers most able to oppose his enterprises : but he had weakened and embarrassed both. His profession of readiness to succour the oppressed, had drawn from the *Argives* and *Messenians* a request, that he would interpose for them against *Sparta* : assert their rights to govern themselves as distinct states ; and settle the boundaries between them. He landed a force in *Laconia* ; the *Peloponnesians* crowded to his standard ; this cooperation enabled him to reduce the fortress of *Trinasus*, and to dictate to *Lacedæmon* a treaty, marking a boundary favourable to *Argos*, and recognising the separate sovereignty of *Messenia*. He embraced *Sicyonia* in the league ; placing at the head of the confederate cities, men devoted to him. By a similar process, *Megara*, after being alternately subject to the *Spartans* and *Athenians*, now possessed nominal independence, under the auspices of *Philip*. The *Achæans* and *Ætolians* made him arbiter in a dispute respecting the city of *Nau-pactus* ; which deposit he retained. Sapping further the outworks of *Sparta*, he had loosened, and nearly destroyed the dependence of *Arcadia* upon the principal state. Still he feared directly

to assail Sparta, having experienced that her public men were uncorrupt. Luxurious *Corinth* felt not in her extremities only, but in her bosom, the effects of his system; Philip reduced the city of Leucas, a colony from the Isthmus; while, by his creature Demaratus, and other agents in Corinth, he governed the parent state. Visiting this city, as a spectator at the public games, by the people who regarded his presence as an insolent act, he was received with demonstrations of disgust; an affront which he had the policy to overlook at the moment, though he wanted the magnanimity to pardon it, for, at the destruction of Phocis, he involved Corinth in a deprivation of privileges, and by transferring them to himself increased his own ascendancy. In the SACRED WAR—as the contest for the possession of the temple at Delphi was termed,—so stubbornly maintained between the *Phocians* and their allies against the *Locrians* and their allies,—Philip long concealed his intentions to interfere, satisfied to cherish the general indignation against the Phocians. When the object of his military preparations could not be disguised, he amused the Athenians, (to whom Phocis was a barrier,) by leading them to hope, that he would merely punish the sacrilegious individuals, without subverting the Phocian state; while by artful representations, he effected in the minds

of the Phocians themselves, a distrust of Lacedæmon their public-spirited and powerful ally *. Under the pretence of supporting the cause of Apollo, Philip's army now advanced: Phaleucus, who, with eight thousand Phocians, was charged to defend the pass at Thermopylæ, was allured to a negociation; and the indecision of this general surrendered, without a struggle, the key of Greece, merely stipulating for the advantage of retiring unmolested †. The trembling inhabitants, destitute of defence, signed a treaty, implicitly submitting the punishment of the violators of the temple to the decision of the Macedonian invader, with a vague reservation that the state should be spared. Philip convened the Amphictyonic council to determine the fate of Phocis; the deputies of the Thessalians, Locrians, and Bœotians, all devoted to him, only were present. Under their decree, or rather under the latitude of advantages which the prostrate and desperate condition of the Phocians gave to their vindictive enemies, twenty walled cities, the ornament and boast of Phocis, were dismantled, and reduced to hamlets of sixty houses each; of the wretched inhabitants—who saw their public edifices, their

* *Æschin. de fal leg. sect. 41. Dem. de fal leg. sect. 18.*

† *Dem. Phil. ii. sect. 4. De pace, sect. 5. Lucchesini in Phil. 2. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 59.*

temples, and the tombs of their ancestors destroyed—the bulk were driven into slavery. The transfer to Philip of their privilege to send representatives to the council of the Amphictyons, greatly increased his influence over Greece: from the Corinthians, as allies of Phocis, at the same time were torn the privileges of presiding at the Pythian games, and of superintending the oracle; which were to be thenceforth exercised by Philip, by the Bœotians, and by the Thessalians conjointly*. Philip delivered the custody of Thermopylæ to the Thessalians, and garrisoned Nicæa with Macedonians, by which he in effect commanded those important streits†; thus he was enabled to intimidate *Thebes* towards an alliance with him, and into a dereliction of the alliance of Athens. Further, by the possession of Thermopylæ, he had made an opening for a DIRECT incursion into *Athens* at the moment which he might select. His CIRCUITOUS hostilities against Attica, were not confined to his proceedings in Olynthus, or in the Chersonesus, or to the other encroachments already related: he had taken the islands of Lemnos and Imbros‡, and the

* Dem. de fal. leg. sect. 21. Dem. de Corona, sect. 12; et Phil. iii. sect. 8. ° Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 60. Pausan. in Phoc.

† Dem. Phil. iii. sect. 3, 8. Dem. Orat. in Lit. sect. 2.

‡ Leland's Philip. iii. 1.

island of Halonesus*; he had subjected all the tract between the rivers Nessus and Hebrus, whence pursuing his encroachments, he might soon grasp the cities on the Propontis†: from the Athenian dependency of Eubœa, indeed, his forces, with his creatures Hipparchus, Clitarchus, Philistides, and Automedon, had been expelled by the policy of Demosthenes, seconded by the military skill of Phocion‡: but while Philip had footing there, he had demolished the fortifications of Porthmus, and arranged measures for invading the island at a future time||. Even as a naval power, Macedonia had begun successfully to rival Athens; Philip's fleet had surprised several transports of the Athenians; Amyntas, his vigilant admiral, by successful enterprizes, disconcerted their naval expeditions; making a bold descent on the coast of Attica, he had insulted the Athenians by capturing the sacred galley at Marathon; he had debarked forces at Salamis, and other islands under the protection of their state, whence he had carried away numerous prisoners; and he had defeated their fleet off Byzantium§. But the most lamentable symptom of debility in Athens, was

* Epist. Phal. † Dem. Phil. iii. 4. Oliv. lib. xii. p. 196.

† Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 74. || Dem. Phil. iii. 12—14.

§ Leland's Philip iii. 1. Dem. de Corona, 23. Hesychius de situ Orb.

the profligacy of the public men: her orators, by whom proceedings relative to the state were materially influenced, were, the major part, in the pay of Philip; and Athenian ambassadors at the court of Pella, had been found flagitious enough to expose to the intriguing Macedonian the weak parts of their country

At length, the people of Attica, alarmed by the encroachments of Philip, were, by the eloquence of Demosthenes, confirmed in the resolution to oppose his progress; the Athenian community now perceived, that the most solemn pacific engagements would not prevent him from acting as an enemy in the calm of peace, if, by a sudden stroke, he could seize an advantage; and their great orator impressed on them the danger of inactivity, while the bold and politic Macedonian was pursuing his plans. On the other hand, Philip saw it necessary no longer to dissemble his resentment against the Athenians, who had caused his late miscarriage at Byzantium, by exciting the citizens of Chios and Rhodes to pour succours into the place, and by sending thither, on their own part, a fleet of an hundred and twenty sail, with land-forces under Chares, a commander who was afterwards superseded by ~~Phocion~~†. Philip, while the

Dem. de fal. leg. sect. 42. De Corona, sect. 48, 49.

† Plut. in vit. Phocion.

wound which he had received in the country of the Triballi was under cure, had made formidable preparations for war, incessantly but covertly; intending to fall upon the Athenians when their suspicions should be lulled, and their means of defence low. For keeping on foot a large army, his constant pretext had been, that it was a mere measure of vigilance against the Illyrians; and that fierce people, impatient of subjection, had, in truth, attempted to break the yoke which he had imposed.

Alexander had, meanwhile, been detached against these Barbarians, whom he soon defeated and dispersed. This success, and his judicious measures to prevent them from again revolting, together with a recollection of his previous achievements, inspired his countrymen with high expectations from his fortune and ability: nor did he materially differ from them in their estimate of the "great young prince," for he began to conceive himself competent to the conduct of a campaign, or the government of a province, unassisted by his father's direction. These transactions happened during the extraordinary military preparations in Macedon, which proceeded unremittingly for two years.

The politic Philip also employed the war upon the Amphisæans, in which he professed to interfere as the vindicator of the Amphictyons

and Apollo, as a mask for assembling an army, more, in a vast disproportion, than adequate to that object. He had been appointed general of the Greeks by a decree of the Amphictyons, to chastise the insolence of a part of the Locrians called Ozolæ, inhabitants of Amphissa, who, in contempt of the authority of the Amphictyonic council, continued to occupy the territory of Cyrrha, a tract of land dedicated to Apollo. The Amphissæans, at first, to gain time, dissembled submission, and entered into a treaty with Cottyphus, the general sent with the concurrence of Philip against them: but they afterwards refused to execute the treaty; and, in a skirmish, wounded Cottyphus, and destroyed or dispersed his attendants*.

Now, Philip had completed his preparations, and the recent conduct of the Amphissæans furnished him with a pretext for transporting his army into Greece. He had induced the Athenians to remove their fleet from a station where it would have obstructed the descent of his armament, by contriving that they should intercept letters from himself to Antipater, signifying that commotions in Thrace required his presence there†. While the people of Attica reposed on his being engaged in a distant expedi-

Æschin. in Ctes.

† Polyæn. lib. iv. cap. 2. stratag. 8.

tion, he, in the spring of the year, debarked unmolested near Amphissa.

Philip was at that time in alliance with the Athenians; but this they viewed as a slender security, if the king could derive any advantage from perfidy*. A body of ten thousand mercenaries, which they had hired to assist the Amphissæans, were, in the mean time, defeated†. The Athenian people perceiving that the Macedonian army, under pretence of completing the vengeance of the god, was ready to enter Attica with fire and sword, resolved to send an embassy to Philip to demand a truce, though at this time no declaration of war had proceeded from either party. The ambassadors were commissioned to exhort him, ‘To preserve that harmony, and to adhere to those engagements, which had hitherto subsisted between them, or at least to refrain from hostility till the spring was advanced to the month Thargelion. In the mean time, the Athenians would deliberate on measures that might prevent or accommodate apprehended differences.’

The inhabitants of menaced Attica sent another embassy to Thebes; proposing, by a vivid picture of the common danger, to engage that state to coöperate in asserting the independence

* Dem. in Ctesiphon. 52.

† Ibid. Dem. de Corona.

of Greece. But Philip preserved his connection with the Thebans, through the mediation of his partizans; the chief of whom, Timolaus, Theogiton, and Anemætas, had great influence over their countrymen. Having already overcome the Locrians and their confederates at Amphissa; and confident of reaching his ultimate object, should he have to contend with the Athenians only, he transported his army, by forced marches, into Phocis. He surprized Elatea, a station commanding equally the borders of Thebes and Attica, which he fortified and garrisoned, as though the vicinity were marked out to be the seat of war. The news that Philip had taken possession of Elatea first arrived at Athens late in the evening; the whole city was filled with consternation, which was so long in subsiding, that when the people had assembled early the next morning, and the cryer had invited any person to offer his sentiments as to the measures which might conduce to the publick safety, no individual stood up to speak. At length Demosthenes, to whom all eyes were turned, arose: he concluded a short oration, altogether suited to the crisis, by proposing, ‘That
‘ a fleet of two hundred vessels should be equipped to cruise in the streits of Thermopylæ;
‘ that the cavalry and infantry should march
‘ under their respective generals to Eleusis; and

‘ that ambassadors should be sent to the states
‘ of Greece, particularly to the Thebans, whose
‘ confines Philip more immediately threaten-
‘ ed.’ Under a decree adopting this proposi-
tion, Chares and Lysicles were appointed to
command the forces, and Demosthenes was na-
med at the head of the embassy to Thebes.

Philip, whose vigilance these proceedings
could not elude, was convinced that he should
be involved in a difficult war, should the two
states confederate; for the Athenians were still
opulent and powerful; nor were the numbers,
and skill, and courage, of the Thebans to be
lightly estimated; Fame still spoke of the battle
of Leuctra, which had wrested the sovereignty
of Greece from the Lacedæmonians. In order to
foil the Athenian politics, and to confirm his Gre-
cian allies, Philip sent to Thebes, as his ambassa-
dors, Amyntas and Clearchus, natives of Mace-
don, accompanied by Python, the celebrated ora-
tor of Byzantium. The Thessalians deputed
Daochus and Thrasidæus, two creatures devo-
ted to the court of Pella. Separate ministers
went thither also on the part of the Ætolians,
the Dolopes, the Ænians, and Phthiotæ*.

Now, at Thebes, the popular assembly was
convened. The representatives of Philip had the

* Plut. in Dem.

distinction of first addressing it; and Python, in the name of this prince and his allies, delivered this artful harangue :

CHAP. VI.

The Speech of Python.

“ IF you were not in alliance with Philip,—if
“ the Athenian army now possessed Elatea,
“ while the king remained inactive in Macedonia,—yet, even then, I can have no doubt
“ that you would be desirous of his friendship
“ and alliance. For, indeed, who would not
“ prefer the coöperation of a brave and powerful king whose exploits are innumerable, to
“ connection with a republic whose reputation
“ and illusive splendour are superior to its
“ strength? But, now, since that prince, who
“ has victorious troops stationed in what may
“ be considered the very gates of your city, is
“ your friend and protector;—and since you
“ have, from the earliest times up to this period, received multiplied affronts and injuries
“ from the Athenians, the last of which are too
“ recent to require to be named,—it would be
“ an insolent attempt to persuade you, by an
“ alliance with them, to condemn and forfeit

“ the friendship of so illustrious a king. But
 “ the people of Attica, who excel every nation
 “ in pride and vanity, conceive, that they alone
 “ are intelligent and prudent, and that all the
 “ rest of mankind, but especially the Bœotians,
 “ (for it is chiefly you that they insult,) are
 “ stupid, and impolitic, and incapable of dis-
 “ tinguishing what is profitable or honest.
 “ Thus they confidently expect to allure you
 “ into a conduct into which you can never
 “ plunge without sinking really into the fatuity
 “ imputed to you by malignant rivals; they
 “ expect you to choose friends and enemies
 “ according to the dictates of their caprices, in
 “ opposition to your own benefit, relying on a
 “ flourishing verbiage, in which consists all
 “ their strength. But no man in his senses
 “ ever preferred words to actions—especially in
 “ war, wherein the hands are serviceable, but
 “ the exercise of the tongue is impertinent.
 “ Whatever reliance they may place on their
 “ eloquence, the fortune and virtue of Philip
 “ must always continue superior: His native
 “ forces, brave, disciplined, experienced; the
 “ auxiliaries who cordially and ably second him,
 “ are both assured of conquest guided by his
 “ military talents. Plainly speaking, it is hard
 “ to say, whether the folly or the impudence of
 “ their demands be greatest. *Thebans!* say

“ they, *expose your heads to the thunder that*
“ *hovers over Athens ; and at the hazard of ruin*
“ *that will else never reach you, make war upon a*
“ *king who is your friend and ally, that we may*
“ *continue in safety. Stake your lands, your*
“ *lives, on a desperate chance, to prevent Philip*
“ *from retaliating injuries from the Athenians !!!*
“ Are these the demands of men who are in
“ their senses, or who think that the parties
“ addressed retain the use of theirs? Those
“ people who, but very lately, seized every oc-
“ casion to oppress you ; who carried reproach-
“ es, outrages, and hostilities, against you, to
“ the utmost limits of their power ; founding
“ on your dangers and misfortunes their ascend-
“ ancy and happiness ; those same people have
“ the effrontery to propose to you to perish
“ with them, rather than to be victorious with
“ Philip.

“ This great prince, who was once in the
“ bosom of Thebes as your guest and foster-
“ child, who was educated under your celebra-
“ ted leader, Epaminondas ; this prince, whose
“ life and morals are fair as white-robed Can-
“ dour, has from his infancy imbibed an affec-
“ tion for your city, and the economy and
“ manners of its inhabitants. Philip revenged
“ the injuries done to you and to Apollo in the
“ Phocian war, when the Athenians, out of

“ hatred to you, sent succours to a native of
“ your country who had committed both rebel-
“ lion and sacrilege. The king, invited a second
“ time, by the unanimous decree of the Am-
“ phictyons, to act as their general, revenged
“ the contempt of the same deity upon the
“ Locrians. He has marched hither to consult
“ your interests, nor proposes to depart till he
“ has delivered you from the fear of that rival
“ city which has always been your enemy. If
“ you are inclined to promote this design by
“ your common councils and forces, his plan
“ will allot you a share in the booty, rather
“ than a share in the war. Should you prefer
“ remaining neuter, he solicits only a passage;
“ unassisted, he is able to revenge all your
“ common injuries: even in that case you shall
“ reap equal fruits of victory. The flocks,
“ herds, and slaves, won from the enemy, will,
“ by a natural division, mostly be assigned to
“ you, as immediate neighbours of the Athe-
“ nians: thus you will be compensated for the
“ loss which you sustained in the Phocian war.
“ Waving every influence but that of reason, I
“ leave you to decide, whether this will not be
“ more to your advantage, than to have your
“ fields wasted, your towns ~~stormed~~, set on fire,
“ dilapidated, and plundered, and all your con-
“ cerns involved in that irreparable state of de-

“ rangement and ruin which will gratify the
“ national jealousy of the Athenians.

“ Nor harbour unworthy apprehensions of
“ Philip ; unjustly to suspect sincerity, is often
“ to convert it into rage ; and the purest good-
“ will, slighted, aspersed, or attacked, insensi-
“ bly takes the appearance, if not the feelings,
“ of bitter revenge. I do not say this, as up-
“ braiding you with ingratitude, of which I
“ trust you will betray no symptoms ; nor to
“ influence your decisions by terror, a stimulus
“ of which I am confident your manly natures
“ are unsusceptible,—but I place in review
“ Philip’s good offices towards you, and yours
“ towards him, merely to convince you, that
“ those alliances only are firm and perpetual,
“ which it is the interest of both parties to ob-
“ serve. If he, by undisputed services, has
“ merited more from you, than you have yet
“ had an opportunity to return, by benefiting
“ him ; it will be virtuous in you to display a
“ correspondent goodness of disposition, and
“ to use every effort to rival him in this re-
“ spect. In his estimation, the most gratify-
“ ing recompense for all his labours, is his
“ having contributed to the protection of
“ Greece ; for the safety and honour of which,
“ he has been engaged in unremitting hostili-
“ ties with the Barbarians. Would to the gods

“ the madness of the Athenians had permitted
“ him to obey the genuine impulses of his
“ mind. You would have heard, by this time,
“ that his arms, which he is now constrained to
“ employ in Greece to repress the disturbances
“ of the seditious and ill-designing, were tri-
“ umphant in Asia. He might certainly have
“ been on friendly terms with the Athenians, if
“ he had not thought it degrading to himself,
“ and holding a bad example to others, to be-
“ come tributary to this Demosthenes, and
“ some other turbulent speakers, who drive the
“ ignorant multitude whither they please, by
“ the breath of their orations, as the winds
“ drive the waves of the sea. Doubtless had
“ they any sense of honesty, or value for ho-
“ nour, they would do their duty without being
“ bribed to it. But they who are accustomed
“ to vend their reputation, make no distinction
“ between what is beneficial and what is pernicious,
“ between justice and injustice, provided
“ they can extract as much advantage from
“ wickedness as from integrity; their moving
“ principle is interest, not the love of virtue or
“ their country, nor respect for gods or men.
“ In vain will you desire any thing from those
“ men, that shall prove substantially good or
“ reputable; they who have the interest of
“ their country so lightly at heart, can never

“ feel a sincere concern for your interests ; they
“ will involve you in a repetition of the calamities
“ from which you have been so lately extricated by the fidelity and courage of the
“ Macedonians. Or, rather, they would involve
“ you in calamities much weightier ; as Philip
“ would, as an enemy, be more formidable to
“ you than Philomelus or Onomarchus was.

“ Consider, too, that where a military command is holden on the precarious tenure of
“ popularity, the schemes of an able general are
“ as liable to be disconcerted by his own countrymen, as by the enemy. Whereas no one
“ dares to oppose or disobey a king ; his will is
“ the rule by which his people are governed :
“ and of what importance in war a prompt and
“ implicit execution of orders is, you all know.
“ Nor is that advantage of the Macedonians
“ dependent on the life or talents of one person :
“ though fate should deprive us of Philip,
“ we have an Alexander to rise up in his stead,
“ who in the spring of youth has given such
“ proofs of genius and courage, that we have
“ firm grounds for expecting that he will equal
“ the most renowned generals. On the contrary,
“ among the Athenians the power of making
“ peace ~~of~~ war resides in all the people
“ promiscuously ; there, the most impudent
“ pretender assumes it as the prerogative of

“ him who is bold enough first to seize it.
 “ There, government is managed rather by
 “ starts of passion than by the impulses of wis-
 “ dom communicated after counsel and delibe-
 “ ration: men who design evil, persuade; and
 “ the ignorant decree: war is undertaken with
 “ more heat than it is pursued; and treaties are
 “ broken with the same ease and levity with
 “ which they are made.

“ At this hour, the Athenians are engaged
 “ by treaty to Philip: the inviolable sacred-
 “ ness with which they keep it, appears in
 “ their behaviour. Not satisfied with staining
 “ their own characters with perfidy, they la-
 “ bour to infect you with the contagion; but
 “ your firmness, O Thebans! which has con-
 “ tributed not less to your celebrity and great-
 “ ness, than your talents and courage crowned
 “ so often by victory have, leaves no room to
 “ doubt that you will prefer the alliance of a
 “ king, of whose friendship you have had re-
 “ peated proofs, to hazardous connection with
 “ a city, which, from envy of your glory, has
 “ often been your open, constantly your secret
 “ enemy; always more your enemy than she
 “ has dared to avow, even in actual war.

“ Will Hercules, the averter of evil, the na-
 “ tive deity whom your city adores, the hero
 “ who is venerated as the fellow-citizen of the

“ ancient Thebans, suffer you to fight on the
“ side of injustice and impiety, against a king
“ who is his descendant, and who has been
“ the successful vindicator of the cause of
“ Apollo?

“ As for the deputies of the other allies,
“ now surrounding me, you may learn from
“ themselves what value they set upon Philip’s
“ friendship.”

Python delivered this speech with extraordinary heat and violence, as if dictated by sincere conviction. The representatives of the other allies were next heard; applauding and echoing the sentiments of Python, they exhorted the Thebans, “ To coöperate with the
“ great and pious prince, the protector of the
“ religion and liberty of Greece, rather than
“ with the Athenians, the disturbers of its
“ peace.”

CHAP. VII.

The Speech of Demosthenes.

DEMOSTHENES arose. This statesman and patriot thus addressed the assembly :

“ I was not ignorant that those mercenar-
“ ies of Philip would spare neither their praises

“ of him, nor their reproaches against us: for
“ they who have dismissed the troublesome
“ sense of shame, are not solicitous how far
“ they outrage truth or propriety, to gain their
“ point. But, O Thebans! if I correctly esti-
“ mate your temper and principles, these emis-
“ saries will find expectations by which they
“ dishonour you, disappointed; and they will
“ be the mortified messengers to Philip of a re-
“ solution on your part, worthy of your virtue
“ and of the discipline of the Greeks. In the
“ meanwhile, let me prevail upon you fully to
“ weigh, and to pursue to their consequences,
“ the opposite propositions which may be sub-
“ mitted to you. That your whole fortune de-
“ pends upon this day’s deliberation, I shall
“ show by invincible arguments, and not by
“ the magic of words, by which they pretend
“ to fear that a reflecting assembly may be de-
“ luded. They may lay aside apprehensions, by
“ which they asperse *you* rather than *me*; for we
“ who speak on the part of Athens, do not feel
“ it necessary to endeavour to be more eloquent
“ than they; which in us were a useless ambition.
“ A bad cause, indeed, must owe every chance
“ of success to the power of eloquence, which
“ may so disguise impudent misrepresentations
“ fluently uttered, that even the intelligent do
“ not hear them with the disgust which false-

“ hood ought to excite: but when a speaker
“ can be secure of prevailing by unadorned
“ truth, if he is judicious, he will not have re-
“ course to a trifling and meretricious flourish
“ of words.

“ As to Philip, we have no immediate con-
“ cern with his character; his relation to us
“ ought to remain too distant to enable either
“ the Athenian or Theban public to pronounce
“ whether he resembles the picture which his
“ encomiasts have drawn; without too inti-
“ mate an examination, let us admit that he is
“ handsome, eloquent, and convivial; for some
“ persons have praised him even for these qua-
“ lities, and thus confessed his want of title to
“ real glory.

“ But I feel astonishment not to be suppres-
“ sed, that his ambassador should deliberately re-
“ proach us, the representatives of Athens, in your
“ presence, with things, which if they are crimes
“ or weaknesses, affect the Thebans with op-
“ probrium as strongly as ourselves. They
“ have expatiated on the inconveniencies of a
“ popular form of government; of which both
“ you and we are sensible of the imperfections;
“ and yet we prefer this form of government to
“ regal despotism. They have spoken to you
“ in such a strain as if they intended to tickle
“ the ears of a Macedonian assembly, or as if

“ their instructions were to reconcile slaves to
“ degradation, or prisoners to restraint—not as
“ if they had been sent to a free city, respect-
“ fully to execute the office of ambassadors.
“ We knew, before, the irreconcilable hatred
“ which kings and their slaves have to free cities
“ and independent states; and they have acted
“ very foolishly, in reminding us of this: their
“ avowed hostilities against liberties which we
“ enjoy in common, Thebans! should make us
“ more vigilant to defend our laws and pri-
“ vileges.

“ It should be the general wish and prayer,
“ above all things, that those who are called
“ to agitate or administer affairs in common-
“ wealths, were engaged in no other than this
“ glorious contention—*Who should propose mea-*
“ *sures most effectively promoting the public in-*
“ *terest; and who should execute with most fide-*
“ *lity and success, the plans which the delibera-*
“ *tive bodies had adopted.* Then none would
“ prefer his private advantage to the public
“ good; none would consult his individual re-
“ putation rather than the glory of the state;
“ none would receive bribes; and none would
“ betray his country to Philip, after the ex-
“ ample of these deputies. But, Thebans! per-
“ fect, unalloyed felicity, was never the lot of
“ any man or any state: he is the happiest,

“ whose circumstances are freest from misfor-
“ tunes. It is past dispute that Athens has
“ had bad citizens; and such are now in her
“ bosom; nor have you, Thebans! been with-
“ out them at former times, nor are you at this
“ time. If this were not so, Philip, so far
“ from threatening our liberty, this day, from
“ Elatea, would have to contend with us for
“ the possession of Macedonia. However, we
“ are not destitute of good citizens, and these
“ are more numerous and more powerful than
“ the bad. Do you want a proof of this? We
“ are free: we are not Philip’s slaves, as you,
“ Python! shall be disappointed in making
“ your Byzantines: but as for you, Daochus!
“ and you, Thrasidæus! ye have sold your
“ Thessalians to the king. In effect, Thebans!
“ you behold Thessaly languishing at this mo-
“ ment under servitude to Philip; and if I mis-
“ take not, you deplore, as deeply as we, that
“ they should have sunk under oppression. As
“ to Byzantium, it owes no grateful return to
“ Python, if it has not been reduced to the
“ same level with Olynthus: its deliverance
“ was effected by us. Philip, the pious pro-
“ tector of Greece, venerable on account of his
“ disinterestedness; in the paternal exercise of
“ power so extensive as to excite general alarm,
“ but for his moderation; suddenly resolved to

“ subdue that Greek city, when, reposing on
“ the sufficient security of alliance with him,
“ it had no apprehension that its independence
“ would be attacked. Behold in what consist
“ the astonishing intelligence, the ennobling
“ qualities of this applauded ruler! With him,
“ cunning and duplicity are the essential founda-
“ tions of policy; perjury is a liberal art;
“ perfidy, a master virtue.

“ If this be not the clue to the source of
“ our miscarriages and his elevation, we would
“ beseech him to inform us by what steps he
“ climbed to his formidable height. Let him
“ tell us, whether he has not surprized the con-
“ fiding Greeks by fraud? whether he has not
“ overcome his friends by stratagem, and his
“ allies by confederating against them? whe-
“ ther he has not bought victories of the Bar-
“ barians with gold, oftener than he has won
“ them with the sword? whether he ever hesi-
“ tated to plight his fidelity, or to violate it?
“ whether, if he could prevail on himself equi-
“ tably to fulfil an engagement, he would not
“ deceive the Thebans and Athenians, who
“ now begin to penetrate his character?

“ To him these deputies give the title of
“ protector of Greece, and call us the disturb-
“ ers of it! But what absurdity or excess will
“ be avoided as shameful, by men who had ra-

“ ther impute to us their own crimes, than
“ make a candid confession of their guilt? If
“ any one, I address myself to y^{ou}, O deputies
“ from Philip’s abused allies! had committed
“ treason, or had taken bribes, it would in you
“ be in character, and consistent with your in-
“ terest, to defend him by the shield of silence
“ from the punishment of the laws. By cla-
“ morous accusations against us, of which you
“ can bring no proof, you do but remind the as-
“ sembly of your own notorious corruption. If
“ you make us remember that you are Philip’s
“ creatures unintentionally, where is your pru-
“ dence or common sense? If, in your previous
“ deliberations, you have decided that each one
“ of you shall make the experiment, whether
“ his colleagues can stand without confusion,
“ and hear the public mention of bribes and
“ treason, what have you done with the faculty
“ of shame?

“ It is a sufficient vindication of my inno-
“ cence, and of theirs who are embarked in the
“ same cause, that you yourselves admit that
“ we have received nothing from Philip; for
“ had we shown a willingness to be gained by
“ presents, we should not have left his court
“ empty-handed, if he is the liberal king which
“ you pretend him to be. Would a politic in-
“ triguer, who thought it worth his while to

“ corrupt you, forbear to engage us by bribes,
“ if it were practicable? .

“ But you have just now admonished the
“ Thebans not to follow the counsel of those
“ who have not at heart the interests of their
“ country. From this moment, I cease to op-
“ pose them, Thebans! if they really urge that
“ advice from principle. In that single senti-
“ ment I can join them; and I exhort and en-
“ treat you, with the earnestness of a sincere
“ friend to the liberties of Greece, I conjure
“ you, as you value the independence of Thebes,
“ to embrace that proposition. If you act upon
“ it, you will not put it in the power of the ene-
“ my to sell you in droves, like cattle; nor to
“ make your houses your prisons; nor shall you,
“ at home, and on your own estates, be reduced
“ to a state of thralldom below the condition of
“ the Pæonians and Triballi. For should the
“ despotism of the Macedonians embrace you
“ in the mildest manner, they would require
“ you to confine yourselves to the management
“ of flocks and slaves, as the highest employ-
“ ment to which you ought to aspire; and they
“ would force you, not as extorting a sacrifice,
“ but as conferring a reward which might sa-
“ tisfy captives, to abjure and abandon your
“ wives, your children, your parents, your li-
“ berty, your reputation, your faith, and, in

“ fine, every thing that is sacred and venerable
“ among the Greeks. Incontestably, Thebans!
“ you lose all these for ever, unless you unite
“ with the Athenians in resisting the fraud and
“ violence of Philip.

“ If you should imagine that you will be pro-
“ tected by the endeavours of others, without any
“ effort of your own, I fear that you will find your-
“ selves egregiously mistaken. If Philip should
“ accomplish the ruin of Attica, (an event
“ which I contemplate with horror, as a Greek,)
“ can you doubt that all Greece, and neces-
“ sarily your city, would be deprived of liber-
“ ty? Who, but men who had an inclination
“ to perish, would entrust their existence
“ to a prince destitute of faith? But if vic-
“ tory should declare for us, reflect on what
“ you ought to expect from a people, whom
“ you had deserted and abandoned, when both
“ their safety and their glory were at stake—
“ were that people any other than the generous
“ Athenians. Whatever course the Theban
“ state may decide on pursuing, we are deter-
“ mined to venture all in the great cause; for
“ the Athenians will never lose their liberty
“ but with their lives. Nor do we distrust our
“ strength, to which if you will join yours, we
“ shall, united, be superior to the enemy; at
“ the same time, opposition to him by either of

“ us singly, will be attended with hazard;
“ should we let this opportunity pass, the com-
“ munication between us will be cut off, and
“ each of us must submit without an effort, or
“ fight separately against him, when all his
“ means of subduing the Theban and our state
“ will have augmented.

“ The Athenians are not ignorant of the ex-
“ tent of his power, which they foresaw while
“ it was rising and increasing: we took up the
“ cause of Greece; and had all the Greek states
“ been unanimous in supporting that cause,
“ such a just and natural confederacy might
“ easily have set limits to his dominions. We
“ waged war with him, a long time, not for
“ Amphipolis or Halonesus, as many asserted,
“ but for the safety and liberty of Greece; till,
“ abandoned by all, and attacked by some mem-
“ bers of the body which we were benefiting,
“ we were forced to make a necessary rather
“ than an honourable peace. But, now, the
“ goddess Minerva, the guardian of our city,
“ and the Pythian Apollo, the native god of
“ our country, with all the adored circle of our
“ national deities, have, I trust, loosed the ban-
“ dage from the eyes of the Greeks, and raised
“ the courage of all their worshippers to join in
“ defending the liberty and independence of the

“ whole Hellenic body, and the ancient privileges transmitted by our forefathers.

“ Surely, Hercules could not hear without indignation, the impiety of the ambassadors, when they derived Philip’s pedigree from that god. Will that celestial own, by his auspices, the contemner of all religions? Can a Greek acknowledge for his descendant, a Macedonian? Can a power who abhorred tyranny, who punished and extirpated it, own a tyrant? This made the actions of Hercules illustrious and memorable. Philip, on the contrary, exercises an unjust dominion over Greece; and has appointed domestic tyrants over several of its cities; such as Philistides over Oreum, Hipparchus over Eretria, and Taurosthenes over Chalcis. For this reason, the Eubœans, Achæans, Corinthians, Megarensians, Leucadians, and Corcyræans, have declared for us. Others wait the event, an indecision which has hitherto supported the power of Macedonia, which will fall rapidly of itself, after union and firmness among the Grecians have made it begin to decline. The Thessalians, by whom Philip is now supplied with cavalry, have frequently changed sides; and their present connection is forced. The Illyrians and other Barbarians on the distant

“ frontiers of Macedonia, naturally fierce and
“ savage, and enraged at their new servitude,
“ will, on any disaster happening to Philip, by
“ declaring for us, relieve us considerably from
“ the pressure of the war.

“ We entreat you and the other states to co-
“ operate heartily with us in a glorious effort
“ to preserve the freedom of Greece; in the
“ meantime, cease to agitate, or even to recol-
“ lect, the dissensions which, from slight causes,
“ frequently arise between neighbouring states.
“ Let us hope that expiring enmities from old
“ quarrels, will be lost in mutual benevolence
“ and general joy, when success crowns our en-
“ deavours; or if we must give vent to unrea-
“ sonable passions, let it be at a time less dan-
“ gerous than the present, when it may operate
“ to the prejudice and dishonour of us both,
“ without destroying us entirely. Nay, if we
“ have ever contended as noble rivals, let us
“ now unite against a subtle and inveterate
“ enemy, who proposes to extinguish all emu-
“ lation between us, who shall be the freest or
“ the greatest, by reducing both of us to sla-
“ very.

“ Let us not be confined to inaction by too
“ great an apprehension of the artifices of Phi-
“ lip: if we pay no credit to his promises, and
“ keep our hands undishonoured by his bribes,

“ we cut the very sinews of his policy. Plain
“ sense will preserve us against a cunning
“ which has made its tricks gross by repeti-
“ tion ; and if we have in our hearts the love
“ of liberty and of Greece, he will in vain as-
“ sail us with his pernicious gifts.

“ As the discords of the Greeks have raised,
“ so their union will overthrow him. Besides,
“ as his temerity is excessive, which frequently
“ exposes him to complicated danger, the
“ chances of war may take him off. In this
“ event, the aggression and encroachment which
“ has convulsed and despoiled Greece, will ex-
“ pire with him ; for the false estimate of glory
“ which has made him a general disturber, has
“ been attended with evils, which must make
“ his subjects pant for tranquillity. Perhaps,
“ however, you feel distraction and terror on
“ account of Alexander, because the partizans
“ of Macedonia, through a contempt which
“ arises from an ignorance of your discernment,
“ have attempted to frighten you with the
“ name of a boy.

“ On you, O Thebans ! the eyes of Greece
“ are fixed. The inhabitants of this renowned
“ nation, at present free, at the same moment
“ equip armies for the field ; send out, in the
“ great cause, fleets to sea ; and implore, by
“ their representatives, the assistance of your

“ gallant sons and experienced warriors against
“ the violence and ambition of the Macedonian
“ oppressor. They would have you see your
“ danger and your interest; they exhort you
“ to remember your duty; and, by me, they
“ anxiously inquire, whether you will embrace
“ the last occasion that may be presented,
“ of acting consistently with your ancient
“ glory *?”

CHAP. VIII.

*The Thebans accept the alliance of the Athenians.
The battle of Chæronea. Philip is elected general of the Greeks.*

THE Macedonian partizans, confounded by Demosthenes, were unable to concert a reply; the power of his address was as visible in the sudden change which it effected in the Thebans. They who, a little before, had heard Philip's ambassadors with attention, and with applauding expressions of assent; now resolved to unite with Athens,—and they declared, that they should regard Philip as an enemy, unless he immediately withdrew from their frontiers and from those of their allies. A decree to this

* Dem. de Corona. Dem. pro. Ctes. sect. 43.

effect was executed in form. "Arms and honour"—"Thebes and Athens"—"Greece and liberty!"—echoed through the assembly*.

Afterwards, however, the fluctuating temper of a popular government occasioned an embarrassing proposition by the magistrates of Thebes in favour of pacific measures; while strongly recommending these to the Athenians, they countermanded the march of their own forces: this obliged Demosthenes to appear once more in their assembly. He enforced his former arguments, and by additional motives, animated the leaders and the people. "If," said he, "the Thebans are still undetermined, insensible of the common danger, and uninfluenced by patriotic affection to Greece,—there is at least one people that remember the principles and actions of their ancestors. The unsisted Athenians, though deserted by their countrymen, cannot abandon the sacred cause of liberty; if left to support the contest by themselves, they must at least demand a free passage through the Theban territory, that by themselves they may march against the enemy of Greece, and gloriously fall in its defence†."

This appeal occasioned the deliberations of

* Theopomp. in Plut. vit. Dem. Dem. pro. Ctes. sect. 63.

† Æschin. in Ctes. sect. 47.

the Thebans to conclude in a resolution for war, which nothing could afterwards shake. They expelled from the city all that were known to be in the Macedonian interest; while their own forces were encamped without the walls, they received into their houses, and lodged with their families, the Athenian troops, who repaid, by regularity of conduct, this extraordinary confidence. Deserving of particular mention, is one trait, in the Athenian conduct, moulded by the counsels of Demosthenes, which seems equally to belong to greatness of mind and good policy. Though two-thirds of the expense of the united land-forces, and the whole charge of the maritime preparations, were borne by the Athenians, they freely permitted the Theban state to hold the first rank, and to be considered as the leading member of the confederacy.

Philip was not so disconcerted by this cordial union between Thebes and Attica, as to abandon his enterprize, though the event were rendered precarious.

The allied Greeks now boldly moved to meet the enemy, and encamped within two days' march of the Macedonian army. The season was unfavourable for grand operations: in two

* Dem. pro. Ctes. sect. 63.

detached actions, parties of the Macedonians were driven back to their camp. Philip, relying on his superior talents over those of the allied generals to conduct a general engagement, decamped and led his army to the plain of Chæronea. He took up a position, in view of a temple dedicated to Hercules, the author of his race, with the small river Thermodon, which fell into the Cephissus, in his front; a spot which some ancient oracles pointed out as the scene of some great calamity to Greece*. His army was now formed of thirty-two thousand men, well disciplined and long inured to the toils and dangers of war: but this army was composed of different nations and countries. The army of the confederates did not amount to thirty thousand complete; of which Athenians and Thebans constituted the greatest part; the rest were Corinthians and Peloponnesians; all animated by the same motives, and resolved to conquer or die in defence of liberty: unhappily the command of this illustrious body was entrusted to men unworthy of so important a charge; elevated to the station, not because they possessed experience and reputation, but because they could avail themselves of faction and secretly direct intrigue. The Thebans were

* Plut. in vit. Dem.

commanded by Theagines, a man of but moderate abilities in war, and suspected of corruption; the Athenians were led by their two generals Lysicles and Chares, according to the historians, or Stratocles according to the orators*.

In the morning of the day which was to decide for ever the liberty and empire of Greece; both armies, before the rising of the sun, were ranged in order of battle. In the army of the confederates, the Thebans had the post of honour on the right wing, with that famous body in front, called the SACRED BAND: the centre was formed of the Corinthians and Peloponnesians: the left wing was composed of the Athenians. The left of Philip's army consisted of a chosen body of noble Macedonians, supported by the famous cavalry of Thessaly; this wing was commanded by Alexander, then but nineteen years old; but his father, to curb his ardour and to direct his valour, surrounded him with experienced officers. In the centre were placed those Greeks whom coercion had united with Philip, on whose courage and attachment he had not complete dependence: the king himself commanded on the right wing, where his renowned phalanx stood to repel the

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. sect. 86. Dinarch. in Dem. Plut. in Pelop. Strabo, lib. ix. p. 414.

impetuosity with which the Athenians were known to assail *.

The charge began, on each side, with all the courage and violence which ambition, revenge, the pursuit of glory, and attachment to liberty, could excite. Alexander, at the head of the Macedonian nobles, with great ardour and decision fell on the sacred band of Thebes, who sustained the attack with a bravery and vigor worthy the fame of that institution †. The gallant Theban youths, too far behind whom their countrymen stood to give them close and immediate support, bore up, during an unparalleled interval, against the enemy, till, overpowered by superior numbers, they sunk down on that point of the field where they had been originally stationed, each by the side of his immediate friend, forming a bulwark of bodies, which for a moment checked a tide of assault flowing in impetuously. But the young prince and his forces, animated to enthusiastic courage by success, proceeded over the heaps of slain, and furiously attacked the main body of the Thebans, which resisted with determined valour: the contest was, for some time, supported with mutual tenacity ‡.

* Oliv. lib. xv. p. 368. Diod. Sic. ut supra.

† Plut. in Alex.

‡ Plut. in Pelop.

The Athenians, posted on the right wing, fought during the same time with a spirit and intrepidity worthy of their character and cause. The bravery exerted on each side kept the result suspended—at length, the centre of Philip's army, and even the left wing, except the phalanx, yielded before the impetuous attack of the Athenians, and fled with some precipitation. It had been well for Greece, if the ability of the Athenian generals had equalled the spirit of their soldiers: but the champions of liberty were conducted by the creatures of intrigue and cabal. Elated by the present advantage, the presumptuous Lysicles exclaimed, "Come on, my gallant countrymen! the victory is ours; let us pursue these cowards, and drive them to Macedon!" Thus, instead of seizing the opportunity of attacking the phalanx in flank, a manœuvre by which, as it remained unsupported, it must have been broken; the Athenians pursued the flying enemy with a precipitation which threw them into disorder. Philip perceived this fatal error with the promptness of an accomplished general; and coolly observed to the officers round him, that "the Athenians knew not how to conquer." He directed his phalanx, by a sudden evolution, to gain an adjacent eminence. Marching down hence in a firm order, they fell collectedly on

the Athenians, now confident of success, and blind to their danger. The shock was irresistible: the Attic forces were at once overwhelmed: many were pierced by the active weapons of the enemy, many were trodden down: the rest escaped from wounds and slaughter by a flight urged with disgraceful impatience, bearing down, and hurrying away with them, those troops which had been stationed for their support*.

While Philip was recovering from a severe repulse and rising to victory, Alexander continued the conflict on the other wing, and at length broke the Thebans, in spite of all their acts of valour: these, now flying from the field, were pursued with carnage. The centre of the confederates, exposed by the defeat and dispersion of both flanks, was thus totally abandoned to the fury of a victorious enemy. But slaughter and rout had proceeded far enough to decide the battle: more than one thousand Athenians lay dead on the field, and two thousand had been made prisoners: the loss of the Thebans was not inferior. Philip therefore concluded his important victory by an act flowing apparently from clemency, but dictated by policy and subservient to ambition; he gave orders

* Polyæn, lib. iv. cap. 2.

that the Greeks should be spared, expecting soon to be the leader of that confederacy of states, which he had subdued*.

The time of the battle seems to have been an entire day. In the evening, Philip received the congratulations of his officers; to whom, with the ambassadors of his allies, he gave a magnificent entertainment. Some of the most eminent Athenian prisoners, and the individuals deputed to demand the slain, were politely invited to the feast, which was continued with decent and corrected joy till the Athenian deputies retired. Now Philip and his Macedonians gave a freer course to gaiety and festivity. They sat till the approach of day, when the king and his companions proceeded to the field of battle, crowned with garlands, and inflamed with wine. Coming first to the quarter where the Thebans had fought, they beheld the bodies of the three hundred who had been united in their lives by sacred friendship; united also in their deaths, they lay in ranks unbending and unbroken, corresponding to their original order in battle. The affecting sight subdued their conquerors; Philip hung over them with astonishment, veneration, and pity. Melted into tears, and raising his hands with passionate

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 415, edit. 1775.

energy, he pronounced a solemn curse on those who could be base enough to suspect their friendship of any thing unworthy*.

The scene where the Athenians had contended, struck the king with vivid impressions of his late danger, the happiness of his escape, the importance of his success. He forgot his dignity; bounded from the earth in ridiculous triumph; and began to chant the declaration of war which Demosthenes had drawn up. His courtiers not daring to recal him to himself, he was in danger of being permitted to forget the king, and to expose Philip, till the fit had subsided: but Demades, the Athenian orator, his prisoner and guest, who had not acquired the habits of slavery, could not restrain his indignation: "Sir," said he, "you are acting the part of Thersites, when fortune had enabled you to appear in that of Agamemnon." If there was courage in this pointed reproof, there was address in its flattering allusion to the practicability of Philip's appearing at the head of the Greeks, like that ancient king. Philip, awakened from his extravagance, blushing, tore the chaplet of flowers from his brows, and threw it on the ground: warmly professing friendship and esteem for

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 418, 419, edit. 1775.

Demades, he pronounced him free. After the king had returned to his tent, he was the first to reclaim the company to dignity, by serious and judicious reflections upon the late events. His flatterers represented to him, that Athens, which had accumulated enemies and dangers round him, was now in his power, and that his honour and security required him to crush that turbulent state, and raze its walls to their foundations. Philip's reply flowed from juster views: "Have I encountered all these toils and dangers for glory, and shall I destroy the theatre of that glory? Ye gods, forbid it*!"

By moderation and condescension, he designed to gain the affections of the conquered Greeks. He gave the Athenians full permission to solemnize funeral rites in honour of their dead; and he dismissed the prisoners taken from them without ransom. The prisoners, thus released, boldly desired that he would be pleased to add the favour of restoring their baggage. "Indeed!" cried Philip, smiling, "these men imagine that I have only conquered them at some sport:" without further hesitation, he had the courtesy to comply with their request. The Thebans, indeed, were not treated

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 419—421, edit. 1775.

with the same lenity. With a general disposition to clemency, he imagined that his dignity required that he should show some sense of their ingratitude; for so their conduct was termed, and perhaps regarded, by Philip; and he considered, that an instance of severity would seasonably intimidate those of his confederates who might be tempted to revolt. The Thebans, therefore, he obliged to purchase both their dead and their prisoners: the principal leaders and partisans who had opposed his interest in Thebes, he punished with death, or banishment and confiscation; and three hundred exiles, who had suffered for adherence to his cause, were recalled and entrusted with public offices and the administration of government*.

The citizens of Athens, upon learning the event of the battle of Chæronea, in a paroxysm of disappointment and consternation, adopted a decree proposed by the orator Hyperides, by which they suspended or abrogated several of their institutions, in order to increase the number of their soldiers: they granted to strangers the rights of citizenship, restored infamous and degraded Athenians to rank and honour, and gave freedom to the slaves, on condition that the

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 421, 422, edit. 1775,

promiscuous crowd, thus adopted or reinstated, should take up arms*. The city was put into a state to sustain a siege; and the faithful and experienced Phocion was appointed commander of the forces, now the time for achievement was past†. Demosthenes, from whom the confidence of the Athenians was not withdrawn, expended, from his private fortune, a considerable sum on the fortifications, for which he was honoured with a crown of gold. Lysicles, to whose incapacity as a general the disastrous results of the war were attributed, was, at his return to the city, dragged before the public tribunal. Lycurgus, the orator, addressed the criminal in a strain of dignified accusation and overpowering reproach: "The enemy have
 " erected a trophy to the eternal dishonour of
 " Athens; and Greece, prostrate, expects the
 " abhorred yoke of slavery. You were the
 " commander on that fatal day: and you yet
 " live: you enjoy the sun's light: you appear
 " in our public places, the monument of the
 " disgrace and calamity of your country." If Lysicles had concerted any apology for his fatal error,—confounded, struck mute, by the penetrating justice of these severe words, he at-

* Dem. de Corona, sect. 57. Plut. in orat. x. vit. Hyper.

† Plut in Phocion.

tempted none: he was led away by the people to instant execution*.

Philip had shown so much respect to the Athenians, as to send home the bones of their soldiers who had fallen at Chæronea, in order that they might be honourably buried; and he had appointed his son and Antipater to attend as his deputies on the occasion†. These distinguished Macedonians, who still remained in the city, gave assurances of Philip's intentions to conclude a peace beneficial to the Athenians. As an earnest of his friendship, he confirmed them in possession of Oropus, which the Thebans had at length consented to resign. But it was not consistent with his plans to leave them in possession of the empire of the sea, with which they might make new efforts at ascendancy: he therefore seized the island of Samos by a stratagem. This mortifying stroke first made the Athenians sensible of their fall: yet peace was still offered to them on terms which could not but be regarded as favourable and advantageous. Their laws and constitution were preserved to them; and they were to retain their territories and dependencies as far as to the isle of Samos: and the only condition re-

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 88.

† Leland's Philip, chap. v. 2. p. 428, edit. 1775.

quired by the conqueror, was, that they should send deputies to a general council which Philip had convened at Corinth, on an affair interesting to every state of Greece. Phocion, though not averse to peace, yet recommended that the people should not explain themselves, on this last article, until the particulars of Philip's scheme, and his intention in calling the assembly, were communicated. But Demades, now returned at the head of the prisoners who had been treated so generously, urged the people to comply with the terms proposed by Philip, whose kindness and moderation he extolled. His opinion, seconded by the necessity of their affairs, prevailed*.

As soon as the peace with Athens was ratified, Philip went to Corinth, where Grecian deputies from every state except Sparta, waited to receive his overtures. In the Amphictyonic council Philip declared his design of marching into Asia, to destroy the Persian monarchy, which had ever been formidable to Greece. "It is become necessary," he observed in an address which his eloquence qualified him in person to deliver, "to go and meet the Barbarians, whose ungovernable pride already affects universal empire; therefore we must

* Leland's Philip, book v. 2. p. 432, 433, edit. 1775,

“ submit to be slaves for ever, or resolve on a
“ timely opposition. The question is not, whe-
“ ther the Greeks are to have war or peace?
“ but, whether they shall carry the war into
“ the enemy’s country, or receive it in their
“ own? Nor does it behove us merely to re-
“ venge former injuries, nor to be satisfied with
“ preventing newly meditated insults and at-
“ tacks: it is our duty immediately to liberate
“ the Grecian colonies in Asia from Persian
“ tyranny and rapacity. This desirable object
“ might easily be gained, were the affairs of
“ Greece adjusted, and an understanding esta-
“ blished amongst all the states, so as to enable
“ us to employ our confederate strength wholly
“ in the transmarine war. The employment in
“ a remote expedition, of those restless and
“ audacious spirits, who, as a relief from inac-
“ tivity, plunge into sedition and commotion,
“ would introduce into Greece the advantage
“ of complete domestic concord. Do we for-
“ get, that when Greece was even in a divided
“ state, Agesilaus, with an inconsiderable army,
“ gave law to the satraps of the Persian king?
“ Do we forget the triumphant actions, and
“ the glorious retreat, of the ten thousand? Is
“ it needful to recur to the jealousies which
“ Persia has constantly fomented in our coun-
“ try, to the animosities which her intrigues

“ have bred and nourished, in order to arm
 “ Greek against Greek? Let us turn to the
 “ plains of Marathon! Is there any thing
 “ wanting to inspire us with the highest ex-
 “ pectations of success, now that the whole
 “ force of this brave nation can be exerted
 “ against a people, enervated by luxury, and
 “ depressed by slavery*?” He concluded, by
 declaring himself a candidate for the high post
 of their general-in-chief in the expedition; and
 desired that the assembly should regulate the
 contingent which each state was to furnish;
 he, on his part, engaging to employ all the for-
 ces of his kingdom in the glorious cause †.

The Amphictyonic deputies, gained over by
 the arts of Philip, or influenced by their feelings
 as Greeks, received these propositions with plau-
 dits. The representatives of the Grecian colo-
 nies pathetically and vehemently seconded Phi-
 lip. A war against the Persians, if once resolved
 on, seemed naturally to devolve to the manage-
 ment of a prince who, in two religious wars,
 had already vindicated the honour of the gods;
 and none appeared so competent to conduct the
 enterprize as the king. The assembly in gene-
 ral were too sensible, that Philip possessed pe-

* Justin. lib. ix. 5. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 89.

† Leland's Philip, book v. 3. vol. ii. p. 443, edit. 1775.

netration, decision, valour, and military talents, to hesitate in the choice of a commander. The *expedition itself* wanted no recommendation to those Greeks who exultingly turned the brightest pages of their country's history, and aspired to emulate their ancestors. In the absence of representatives from Sparta, who, sullen or magnanimous, refused to let her voice be heard among the fallen Greeks,—the Arcadian deputies alone had the boldness to vote against conferring the command on the king: but they were soon silenced and discouraged by loud acclamations expressive of a general consent, both to engage in the expedition; and to constitute Philip the leader*.

When the number of forces to be furnished by each state was ascertained, it appeared that the whole army, thus contributed, would amount to two hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, exclusive of the Macedonians†; a prodigious force, and one which the Greeks had not, previously, a conception that their united efforts could raise‡.

During these proceedings, Philip had sent

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. vol. ii. p. 444, 445, edit. 1775.

† Compare this gigantic estimate with the force which Alexander led into Asia, [*infra*, book ii. chap. 3.] Modern calculations of armies assemoled on paper are not more delusive.

‡ Leland's Philip, book v. 3. vol. ii. p. 446, edit. 1775.

a letter to the Lacedæmonians,—in which he reproached them for detaching themselves from the affairs of Greece, and deserting the common cause; he demanded their concurrence, and intermixed some menaces to intimidate them. Their answer to him, was simply:

“ If you imagine that your victory hath
“ made you greater, measure your shadow.”

Philip made no reply to this surly morsel of sophistry: but pursued those negotiations with the other states, which we have traced to a close. Gratified by the attainment of an object to which his ambition had long been directed, he lavished on the Grecian deputies munificent presents, and other expressions of friendly and liberal intentions towards them; and having employed his utmost address to induce them to spread among their countrymen sentiments favourable to his character, he dismissed them and returned to Pella*.

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. vol. ii. p. 448, 449, edit. 1775.

CHAP. IX.

Dissentions in the family of Philip, who repudiates Olympias and marries Cleopatra. Pausanias assassinates Philip.

THIS prince, adored by his subjects and his army; revered or dreaded, and admired, in Greece and the surrounding countries, was not exempted from domestic misfortunes. His repeated violations of the marriage-bed, his open and abandoned licentiousness, inflamed the temper of his queen Olympias, naturally severe and haughty: at length, according to some representations, she revenged his infidelities, while, at the same time, she continued her reproaches and complaints. This conduct, calculated to extinguish all remains of affection in her husband, estranged him totally. He had had a succession of favourites*: he now resolved to marry Cleopatra, niece to Attalus, his kinsman and one of his generals. Alexander, when apprised of this intention, remonstrated against it; representing that his father, by divorcing Olympias in order to contract a second mar-

* Athenæi, lib. xiii. p. 557.

riage, exposed him to the danger of having competitors for the crown, and rendered his succession precarious. Alexander might intend an indirect allusion to the number of Philip's children by his concubines, who were now growing up. "My son!" said the king, "if I surround you with competitors, you have left open to you a glorious opportunity to surpass them in merit: thus shall their rivalry by no means affect your title*."

The king's marriage with Cleopatra was now declared in form, and celebrated with magnificence. The young prince, required to attend* a round of solemnities and rejoicings, with the occasion of which he was dissatisfied, sat in silent indignation at that feast which proclaimed that his mother was degraded, and implied that she had been criminal; circumstances which must have made his youthful and impetuous mind exquisitely alive to the slightest irritation. Attalus, the uncle of the new queen, forgetting the politeness or the prudence which should have carefully abstained from any affront to the prince, and intoxicated by the elevation of his kinswoman, and perhaps literally intoxicated by bacchanal excess, was rash enough to call loudly on the Macedonian nobles, 'To of-

* Plut. in Alex. Plut. in Apophth.

‘fer libations to the gods, and implore, that the
‘happy fruits to the king of the present nup-
‘tials might be legitimate heirs to his throne.’
“Wretch!” cried Alexander, his eyes sparkling
with fury and vexation, which he had till now
restrained, “dost thou call me bastard?” and
instantly darted his goblet at Attalus, who re-
turned the outrage with double violence. Cla-
mour and confusion spread through the com-
pany; and the king, who sat at another table,
unsheathed his sword, in a sudden tempest of
rage, and flew towards his son. His impatient
haste, his lameness, and the effects of freedoms
taken with the wine, occasioned him to stum-
ble, and happily disappointed his unpaternal
purpose. While he lay extended on the floor,—
Alexander, with insolence not to be palliated,
cried out: “Macedonians! behold the king
“who is preparing to lead you into Asia.—See,
“in an expedition from that couch to this, he
“is fallen to the ground*.”

The serious complexion of the accident con-
tributed to recover the party from disorder;
Alexander retired. Quitting, soon after, his
father’s court, he conducted his mother Olym-
pias into Epirus, whence he himself passed into
Illyria. The preceding mark of disrespect to

* Plut. in Alex.

his father and his king merits censure emphatic and severe: and his retiring into a country where Philip was regarded as an enemy, wants the pretext of sudden irritation to excuse it, and can escape the charge of deep in-grained guilt only by supposing that Alexander considered, that in the territory of an ally of Macedonia, if his father, instigated by Attalus, were to prove unappeasable, he might be delivered up a helpless victim. It is not ascertained, it seems ridiculous to suspect, that Alexander fought in the army of the Illyrians, now actually engaged in hostilities against Philip: but he resided at the court of Pleurias, the Illyrian king, when the latter, undazzled by Philip's power and reputation, now at the highest, made a last effort for the independence of his country. Philip marched into Illyria at the head of all his forces, and gained a complete victory, after an obstinate conflict, in which he was personally exposed to imminent danger. The enemy's forces had poured collectively against him; and at a moment when he appeared on the point of sinking under their resolute attack,—Pausanias, a young Macedonian of illustrious birth, remarked in the court for the gracefulness of his person, interposed himself before the king, and without holding the shield before his own front, suffered the furious assailants to bury those wea-

pons in his body, which were directed against his royal master. Dying in the field, he disclosed the secret of this desperate generosity to Attalus, his friend. He told him, that a young Macedonian, also called Pausanias, his companion and fellow-soldier, had stigmatized the affection which the king entertained for him, as springing from a shocking passion, which degraded its object below the rank of humanity; that, impatient of the unjust reproach, he had formed the resolution of proving, by his death, that his attachment to his prince was of the most virtuous kind, honourable to him as a man and a soldier. Attalus, deeply grieved at the cause of this desperate sacrifice, determined to revenge it on the surviving Pausanias*.

Philip, on his return to Pella, found there Demaratus the Corinthian, whom he received with the respect which he habitually paid to individuals of consideration and influence in the Hellenic states. In a serious conversation on the affairs of Greece, the king asked him, whether that people had forgot their animosities, and lived in harmony and amicable intercourse? Demaratus answered with a freedom which proved his regard to Philip: "How can you, Sir! "affect an attention to the tranquillity of

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 453, 454, edit. 1775.

“ Greece, when your own family is distracted
“ by jars and dissensions?” The king, roused to
reflection by this ingenuous reply, confessed his
error, and declared an earnest resolution to ex-
tinguish his domestic quarrels. He immediately
sent Demaratus into Illyria, to endeavour to
recal Alexander to his duty: this amiable
peace-maker brought Alexander to Pella. Olym-
pias also appeared once more in the court of Phi-
lip; where, while she seemed to be satisfied with
the titles of “ queen,” and “ mother of the heir
“ presumptive to the throne,” she secretly che-
rished an inveterate resentment against her hus-
band and her rival, and laboured to inspire her
son with corresponding sentiments*. She pres-
sed on Alexander, how politic it would be, “ To
“ increase the number of his friends by a win-
“ ning carriage, and by presents; and to fortify
“ himself against his father’s anger, by alliances
“ with men who had command and authority.”
The king either penetrated these counsels, or ob-
served their effects, as he admonished his son,
‘ That faithful servants were not to be gained by
‘ corrupt arts †.’

Some time afterwards, Pexodorus, king of
Caria, made an offer of his daughter in marriage

* Leland’s Philip, book v. 3. p. 454, 455, edit 1775.

† Plut. cap. 15; et Apophth. cap. 33. Plut. Apophth. cap. 31.

to Aridæus, one of Philip's natural sons, whose understanding had been impaired, in his childhood, by a poison given to him by Olympias, jealous of the affection which his father expressed for him. It was represented to Alexander by Olympias, seconded by her adherents, that this overture was perfectly agreeable to Philip, who intended to transfer Alexander's right of succession to Aridæus; they persuaded the prince to apply, therefore, privately to Pexodorus, and to offer to espouse his daughter himself, as the king of Caria could not hesitate in preferring his alliance to that of the idiot Aridæus. Of the private treaty which followed these suggestions, Philip was soon informed; he went to the apartment of his son with Philotas, one of Alexander's principal favourites, in whose presence he reproached him with his abject degeneracy, in courting the alliance of a native of Caria, a country held in such contempt as to be derided in a proverb: a conduct unworthy of his birth, and of the throne which his father reserved for him as his undoubted right. Alexander was unable to answer this charge: but Philip, in order to effect a complete reconciliation with his son, appeared to forget all animosities, and suffered the blame of this affair to fall entirely on the agents and assistants.—Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius, and Ptolemy, Macedonian no-

bles, who had assisted the young prince by their counsels, were banished; and Thessalus, the principal agent, was, under the king's order, seized at Corinth and sent in chains to Macedonia*.

While Philip indulged his ambition with schemes of greatness and renown, insensible of the dangers impending over him from the unrelenting hatred and revenge of Olympias; an occurrence, which raised considerable commotion in the court, furnished his repudiated queen and incensed son with a powerful assistant to their designs. Attalus had concealed, till now, his purpose—of revenging the death of the self-devoted Pausanias in Illyria, by an infernal retaliation on the surviving Pausanias. With an appearance of friendship for the latter, he invited him to a feast: here, when he had, by wine and revelling, rendered him insensible and incapable of resistance,—with a horrid exultation, he called in his menial servants, and exposed the unhappy young nobleman to their detestable insults. Pausanias, when sensible of this brutal outrage, with the fury and indignation of a generous mind, hastened to the king, urged his wrongs, and loudly called for justice and vengeance on Attalus. The cause of this

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 455, 456, edit. 1775.

vile transaction had, probably, been disclosed to Philip; which, operating with his regard for the uncle of his new queen, unfortunately influenced him more than the just complaints of an injured subject. Eluding the demand of Pausanias for redress, he endeavoured to dissipate his vexation, and vainly imagined, that the conferring on him a higher command in the army would allay the irritating recollection of his wrongs. But the wounds inflicted on the honour of Pausanias were not thus healed; and the disappointment of revenge added Philip to the objects of his resentment*.

The partisans of Olympias and Alexander, in officious interviews with Pausanias, who was alternately subject to rage and dejection, expressed the deepest sense of his injuries; representing that the king, by denying justice, made himself an accomplice in the guilt of Attalus; and that the abhorred outrage could not be atoned without signal and illustrious vengeance†.

The secret emissaries of Persia appear to have availed themselves of this chain of odious circumstances, as an opportunity to free their country from a formidable enemy; making Pausanias the principal instrument of a conspiracy against the life of Philip‡.

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 458, 459, edit. 1775.

† Ibid. p. 459.

‡ Arrian. lib. ii. cap. 14.

This unhappy youth, brooding over the degradation of his character with a distracted and corroded mind, went accidentally into the school of Hermocrates, a professed teacher of philosophy; to whom he proposed the following question: "What shall that man do, who proposes to transmit his name with lustre to posterity?" Hermocrates, either because he had been drawn into the vortex of the conspiracy, or from the natural malignity of his temper, replied: "He must kill him who hath achieved the greatest actions: thus shall the memory of him who slays, be joined with that of the hero, and both descend together to posterity." The mind of Pausanias, so far from being in a disposition to revolt at this proposition, greedily received it. Thus various accidents and circumstances concurred to prompt him to the dreadful purpose of satiating his revenge with the blood of Philip*.

In the meantime, the king, confiding that he had restored the tranquillity of his family, turned his whole attention to his schemes of greatness, and the expedition against Persia. He already began the war, by detaching Attalus and Parmenio to the Grecian colonies in Asia, where expelling some of the Persian garrisons,

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. 94.

they restored the inhabitants to freedom and independence*.

Previously to embarking in the enterprize with the entire strength of his kingdom and allies,—Philip consulted the Delphic oracle, confiding that the prediction respecting the event of the undertaking would be such as to animate his soldiers to a sanguine height. The inquiry drew this answer from the Pythian priestess :

“ In fatal pomp, now stands the victim crown’d !

“ The arm already rais’d, that deals the wound †.”

It did not require much overstraining accommodation to interpret the victim to be the Persians, as marked out a sacrifice to the gods, to atone for the profanations which those Barbarians had formerly committed on the temples in Greece.

Just as the king was on the point of departing on the expedition, his queen Cleopatra was delivered of a son. Nearly at the same time, another gratifying domestic occurrence completed his satisfaction : he concluded a marriage between one of his daughters, named, like his new queen, Cleopatra, and Alexander, king of Epirus, the brother of Olympias : by this new tie, he conceived that he had secured himself

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. sect. 91.

† Ibid.

against any attempts of his first queen, to disturb the tranquillity of his kingdom through the assistance of her brother. Philip, in his exultation at these joyful events, ordered solemn games and festivals to be celebrated; and selected Ægæ as the scene of magnificence. Thither, on his invitation, deputies from every Grecian state, and all the individuals honoured with marks of his particular consideration and friendship, repaired. The concourse was great and splendid: the Grecian cities vied with each other in expressing respect and affection for the leader of their armies. Many of them presented him with crowns of gold: Athens, in presenting her crown, took so conspicuous a part as to proclaim, by a herald, her interest in the preservation of Philip's life, and a determination to exclude the man who should make an attempt against it an asylum in her territory*.

To the games succeeded a magnificent banquet. His great designs so filled the mind of Philip, that, surrounded by gaiety, he asked Neoptolemus if he could repeat any verses applicable to the affairs of Persia: The player, to flatter his master, recited a passage from a tragedy called *Cinyras*, which, he conceived, could apply only to Persian pride and ambition:

* Justin, lib. ix. 7. Pausan. in Arcad: Diod. lib. xvi. 91, 92.

In dazzling pomp, O fatally elate!
Whose towering hopes, whose thoughts, (how great!)
Excursive, grasp imaginary sway
O'er realms and nations vast and wide,
With vain, delusive pride:
Yea, seize heav'n's concave in their airy way:—

Lo! where, in unexpected direful hour,
Death comes, inexorable pow'r!
To blast these hopes, amidst their fairest bloom;
Led by pale horror and despair,
He stops this mad career,
And buries all in night's eternal gloom*.

The day succeeding the feast was assigned to entertainments of the theatre, to which the guests and attendants of Philip began to move by dawn, marshalled in stately order. Twelve statues of the gods were borne in procession; a thirteenth statue followed, of more exquisite materials and workmanship, representing the king of Macedon, by which it was presumptuously indicated that he was not unworthy to rank among the divinities. When the Greeks and Macedonians were seated in the theatre, Philip came out of his palace, attended by the two Alexanders, his son and son-in-law. Clothed in a white, flowing robe, the kind of habiliment in which the Grecian deities were usu-

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 463, 464, edit. 1775.

ally represented,—he moved exultingly forward, evidently gratified by the applauses of admiring crowds. His guards had been ordered to keep at a distance, in order to show the confidence of the king in the affections of his people, and in the loyalty of the states and nations his allies. Philip had now arrived at the entrance of the theatre, where in a narrow passage he found a young Macedonian nobleman waiting his approach; it was Pausanias; the king reached the spot; Pausanias drew his poniard, and plunged it into his heart; and the conqueror of *Olymp. cxi. 1.* Greece, and terror of Asia, fell *A. C. 336.* prostrate, and instantly expired *. *Ætat. Alex. 21.*

The murderer flew towards a gate of the city, where were stationed horses prepared for his escape. In the tumult and confusion of the scene, some of the Macedonians crowded round the fallen king with ineffectual attention, while others pursued Pausanias. Among these, were Perdiccas, Attalus, and Leonatus; the first, who excelled in swiftness, came up to the assassin, as he was just ready to mount his horse: but one of the feet of Pausanias entangling in some vines, a violent effort to break away, brought him to the ground. As he prepared to rise, Perdiccas confined him, and, with his companions,

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 465—467, edit. 1775.

soon dispatched him by repeated wounds. His body was immediately hung on a gibbet: but, in the morning, it appeared crowned with a golden diadem; an appendage, by which Olympias betrayed her implacable resentment to Philip. In a few days, she more explicitly published her exultation in her husband's fall, by dividing, in an equal degree, to the corpse of Pausanias, the funereal honours prepared for Philip: both bodies were burned on the same pile, and the ashes of both deposited in the same tomb. She is said to have prevailed on the Macedonians to solemnize annual obsequies to Pausanias. She consecrated to Apollo the dagger which had been the instrument of the fatal deed, having inscribed it with the word "Myrtalis," her name before the loves between her and the king began*. Thus died Philip, king of Macedon, at the age of forty-seven years: after a reign of twenty-four, spent in sudden strokes of policy; deliberate schemes of prospective greatness, many of which he saw matured; enterprizes of difficulty and danger, seldom abortive, never calamitous to his arms, and mostly fortunate; in insinuating encroachments; bold aggressions; wars, chiefly offensive, and for the sake of conquest; intervals of

* Leland's Philip, book v. 3. p. 467, 468, edit. 1775.

peace, in which the lap of peace was used as a couch for hostility to refresh and recover strength; remote expeditions, which made the chastised Barbarians, on every frontier, shrink from renewing their invasions, converted from marauders to patient tributaries; well concerted campaigns against the Greeks, and decisive victories over their disciplined armies. He enlarged Macedon as a territory, and exalted it as a state. He excelled his courtiers in accomplishments; and was superior to his ministers and generals in polity and tactics. He shone as a master of address and eloquence, on no occasions more than when replying to the speeches of a legation of Attic orators. With talents that might have made him truly great, he often sacrificed humanity and justice to false glory. The historian who should descend to all the particulars of his private life, would have sometimes to dip his reluctant pen in infamy.

Olympias, taking a cruel advantage of the king's death, forced Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, to hang herself; and the child, which that queen had had by Philip, born a few days before his death, she murdered with circumstances of atrocious barbarity, and unwomanly revenge, roasting it in a brazen vessel. Not satisfied with this, she extended to the relations and dependants of the queen, whose death made

further rivalry impossible, the excesses of her raging implacability; and she took, in their fall, a gratification proportioned to the degradation and misery which she could inflict.

CHAP. X.

Difficulties under which Alexander commenced his reign. He punishes the conspirators against Philip.

AT this crisis, Alexander appeared, as a star of benevolent influence, to allay a tempest, which, extending its concussions beyond the agitated court, shook the kingdom. The Greeks whom Philip had subjugated, already conceived hopes of liberty: the neighbouring Barbarians had recommenced their troublesome inroads: and those affairs which depend on a steady and vigorous government, were sinking into confusion. Atalus, who was at the head of no contemptible army, had insinuated himself into the affections of the soldiers; and his consanguinity with some of the principal families in Macedon, gave him great influence over them; and this connection he had extended, by contracting to marry the sister of Philotas: it was impossible for Alexander

to rely on this commander, after the indelible and injurious acts of insult and hatred which had mutually passed between Attalus on the one part, and Alexander and his mother. The stability of the untried sovereign's power, was more strongly menaced by Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, Philip's elder brother: this prince, who had been made one of Philip's sons-in-law, by receiving Cyna in marriage, aspired to the succession, to which he intended to step by the murder of Alexander. A great part of the people, from aversion to the tyranny of Olympias, or from propensity to novelty, while they participated in disaffection to Alexander, were divided by attachment to the clashing factions of Attalus and Amyntas. There were others, whose opposition to Alexander rested on foundations still more remote; not scrupling to assert, that, in the preceding age, Amyntas II. had unjustly seized the throne, an usurpation which Philip had continued; and that the crown, now, ought to revert to Alexander the descendant* of Æropus. No faction ever had

* He is usually called the "son" of Æropus, which it is possible he was: however, as the reigns of PAUSANIAS, AMYNTAS II. ALEXANDER II. PERDICCAS III. AND PHILIP, intervened between the reign of Æropus and that of our Alexander, after whose name the ordinal distinction "the Third" is lost in that of "the Great;" it is probable that he was at least as distant, in the descending line, as the degree of grandson. And it is equally probable, that the

recourse to a weaker pretext: as *Æropus* appears, from history*, to have been an usurper of no ordinary presumption and infamy; atrociously supplanting *Orestes*, (the son of *Arche-laüs*,) about whose person he had been employed as a tutor.

The individuals forming the army, the jealous natives of various nations, disagreed in their counsels and diverged in their courses, as they felt a disposition to support the pretensions of this or that party. *Alexander* was new in his government, and *Philip's* sudden death had denied time to provide against the impending commotions; and though the abilities of the prince might have justified the highest expectations, many regarded only his youth, in their undervaluing and invidious estimate. ‘They could not imagine, that a person barely twenty years of age, could support such a weight as the *Macedonian* government.’ To increase the difficulties of *Alexander*,—money, one of the principal nerves of war and political influence, was wanting: while the *Persians* were enabled,

word “*Æropus*” was the material part of his patronymic to many historians, who seem to have introduced it merely to distinguish him from the son of *Philip*, indifferent about his exact relation to *Æropus*, as they mention, without canvassing, his claim. Suspecting “son” to be inaccurate, the Translator has substituted a word of comprehensive latitude.

* *Diod. Sic. lib. xiv. 37.*

by their great riches, to maintain in activity, throughout Greece, emissaries corrupting the people. To close this catalogue of embarrassing evils, the Tuscan pirates infested and plundered the maritime parts of Macedonia.

Alexander summoned his confidential adherents, to deliberate with him on the state of public affairs. Some of these advised, ' That suspending attention to Greece, he should endeavour, by mildness and insinuation, to recover to their duty, both the disaffected Macedonians and revolted Barbarians; that, the intestine murmurs and commotions being allayed, he might with the more ease repress any disorders in the dependent and tributary states.'

But the young prince, with magnanimity and decision, rejected these timid counsels. He told the proposers of them, ' That he should be *for ever* exposed to the contempt of all the world, if, *in the beginning of his reign*, he suffered himself to be despised; that that impression of his character, which he should stamp upon general opinion, at his entering upon the government, would influence the tenor of his whole life. That the death of Philip was no less unexpected to the rebels than to himself; that, therefore, while they were yet in the disorder of hurry, and irresolute as to their measures, the insurrection

‘ might be easily suppressed: whereas, delay
‘ would encourage the authors of the sedition,
‘ and give time to the wavering to join with the
‘ openly disaffected; and that it would be doubly
‘ difficult to reduce an enemy thus prepared
‘ and confirmed. At present, the event of the
‘ affair depended less upon strength than upon
‘ anticipation and expedition. That if he show-
‘ ed any fear of the tributary states, while they
‘ were single and disunited, what would protect
‘ him when a timid, impolitic forbearance should
‘ have invited them to attack him with confe-
‘ derated forces?’

To the people he, afterwards, made a speech
to the same effect; adding, ‘ That he had pro-
‘ ceedings in contemplation, which should
‘ make both his subjects and his enemies ac-
‘ knowledge, that, by his father’s death, the
‘ name and person only of the king was
‘ changed; that, with regard to conduct and
‘ courage, they should not find him a different
‘ commander. That notwithstanding some ma-
‘ lignant spirits had taken that opportunity to
‘ excite disturbances, they should, shortly, be
‘ punished suitably to their demerits, if the Ma-
‘ cedonians would lend him the same courage
‘ and nerves with which they had, for so many
‘ years, assisted his father, and by which they
‘ had reaped glory and victory, followed by

‘ permanent benefits. That to encourage them
‘ to take the field with cheerfulness and ala-
‘ crity, he discharged them of all duties, except
‘ that of military service.’

Fortune seconded the king’s designs, which he executed, in every particular, with as much energy as he had imparted them. He took at once measures for his personal safety; and vindicated his loyalty to his father. He defeated the treasonable practices of Amyntas; and he took off Attalus, by the agency of Hecataeus and Parmenio. Of the conspirators against Philip, he pardoned only Lyncestes; who was distinguished by this lenity, and permitted to attend Alexander when he entered upon the sovereignty, because he had been the first that saluted him “ king.” He ordered the execution of all the rest; conceiving that, by thus severely avenging Philip, he should promote his own safety, and effectually silence the report that he had been privy to his father’s death.

The frequent dissensions between Philip and Alexander, had obtained partial reception for a rumour, that Pausanias had disclosed to the prince his wrongs and his discontent, and that Alexander had wickedly spurred him on to execute his half-avowed desperate design, by quoting a line of Euripides, in which Medea threatens

to involve in one great sacrifice to her resentment,

THE FATHER, BRIDE, AND HUSBAND.

At a subsequent era of his life, Alexander, in a letter to Darius, throws the odium of Philip's assassination upon the Persians, asserting that Persian gold had corrupted the murderers. And just previous to his death, in order to leave a solemn and permanent testimony against the suspicion, that he could have connived at so foul a transaction, he had it in contemplation to build a magnificent temple in honour of his father. This, like many of his meditated works, though he left an explicit memorial of his intention, was neglected by his successors.

CHAP. XI.

Alexander prevents the revolt of the Thessalians. At Thermopylæ; at Corinth; is elected to succeed his father, as general of the Greeks. His interview with Diogenes. Accepts an incidental expression of the Pythian priestess, as an oracle. Reduces Thrace. Omens of his good fortune. In an expedition against the Triballi his success is incomplete.

ALEXANDER, perceiving that to retain the sovereignty of Greece, which Philip had so re-

cently acquired, was essential to the prosecution and completion of greater projects, marched an army, with unhalting celerity, to the frontiers of Thessaly, before the people of that country had time to concert any formidable opposition. Some of the Thessalians had begun to lift their views up to independence; and having possessed themselves of the streits at Tempe, obstructed the march of Alexander through that important pass. Between the mountains, Olympus and Ossa, which constitute a barrier between Macedonia and Thessaly, a small opening left by nature forms this valley, not more celebrated by the historians than by the poets. The river Peneus enriches it with permanent verdure; on each side of the current, which falls with a melodious cadence,—inviting green alleys, arbours of laurel, grottoes excavated in the hill-sides*, are heightened in their romantic effect by the warbling of birds; to breathe the salubrious air, is to respire refreshment and happiness; the picturesque scenery is a “festival for the eyes;” the ancients honoured the place with sacrifices, as the most delightful on earth. The military track through an asylum of sequestered amenity, which should not have been disturbed by the clashing of arms, extended in length

* Translation of Anacharsis' Travels, vol. ii.

forty stadia* ; in the narrowest parts it will hardly admit a loaded horse, so that ten men are a garrison for the pass. But Alexander made his way over rocks, which had been deemed impervious, cutting steps up the side of mount Ossa, resembling a winding staircase, and so terrified the people by decision and celerity, that, without farther opposition, they decreed him the tributes and revenues, together with the sovereignty, on the same conditions on which Philip had enjoyed them. The king, on his part, granted an immunity from all duties to Phthia, because it had been the birth-place of Achilles, the founder of his family; declaring that that hero should be his model, as though he were his companion and fellow-soldier, in the war he was about to undertake against the Persians.

From Phthiotis, Alexander marched to Thermopylæ, where was sitting the grand council of Greece; termed, whenever this *gate* of Greece was the place of convention, the *Py-læic* council. At this public assembly of the states, he was solemnly created captain-general of the Greeks, in the room of his father. He had the policy to confirm to the Ambraciots their liberty, which, a few days previously,

* About a league and a half.

they had recovered by driving out the Macedonian garrison; assuring them that he should have spontaneously restored them to freedom, if they had not prevented his intention.

Alexander now led his army to Thebes; where, after having subdued the pertinacity of Bœotia and Athens, the two states who had most opposed his measures, he ordered all the Greek deputies to meet him at Corinth. At this assembly, the former decree of the Amphictyons was confirmed; and he was, by their suffrages, commissioned to succeed Philip as captain-general of Greece. At the same time, the council declared the amount of force which each state was to furnish in the Persian war.

In the city of Corinth resided Diogenes, who had embraced voluntary poverty; according to the principles of the cynics; preferring a free mind, under self-controul, to riches and cares. The eccentric philosopher was sunning himself in a cypress grove, planted in the Craneum, a part of the suburbs of Corinth, when Alexander, drawn by strong curiosity, approached. The king, in a condescending manner, inquired, in what he might gratify or oblige him: "Move on one side," said the cynic, "and do not intercept the sun-beams." Surprized at this unexpected reply, the Macedonian could not refrain from admiring the

man, whom a monarch in the height of prosperity had it not in his power to oblige; exclaiming, that "He should choose to be Diogenes if he were not Alexander." For that elevation of mind with which the philosopher looked down upon all those things in the pursuit of which the rest of mankind sacrifice themselves, did not escape the penetration of the youthful sovereign; at the same time, he was too blinded by insatiable desires to be able to comprehend how much better it might be to resign superfluities than to possess necessities; or rather, than to possess those conveniencies, which, in the overrating opinion of mankind, are considered as necessities.

14. On leaving the Peloponnesus, the sanguine leader of the Greeks visited Delphi, to inquire from Apollo the event of the Persian expedition. The virgin priestess having declared it to be unlawful to consult the deity for some days, Alexander went to her, and seized her with his own hands, and was proceeding to drag her forcibly to the temple. In her way thither, after silently reflecting that the custom of the country had been overcome by the king's singular procedure, she cried out: "Thou art invincible, my son!" At which words he stopped her, saying, "That he accepted the omen, and that there was no occasion for any further oracle."

These transactions of Alexander in Græce, passed in a small space of time. Returned to his kingdom, he vigorously applied himself to vindicate the dignity of the Macedonian sceptre. Every thing prepared, he marched from Amphipolis in the beginning of the spring, against the unsubdued inhabitants of Thrace; and in ten days arrived at mount Hæmus. A great body of Thracians, to obstruct his progress, had taken possession of the summit of a mountain commanding the pass. Round their camp they had planted war-chariots so as to resemble an entrenchment, intending to roll them down upon their assailants. Alexander penetrating the stratagem of the Barbarians, gave orders to his soldiers, 'That upon the furious advance of the chariots, they should open to the right and left, and thus let them pass without mischief; and such Macedonians as could not move in time, should fall flat upon the ground, covering themselves with their bucklers, as its impenetrable shell covers the tortoise.' Thus, they rendered abortive the enemy's stratagem; for a great part of the chariots rushed through the avenues made for them; and those which whirled over the Macedonians couching under targets; flew with too bounding and rapid a course to crush by their weight the individuals whom they touched. Thus the tempest rattled by

with harmless thunder. When delivered from this terror, the Macedonians with eager acclamations began the charge. The archers from the right wing, advancing, galled the protruding van of the Barbarians with incessant flights of arrows. So that the phalanx was covered while it moved up to the summit of the mountain: here they had no sooner rendered their footing firm, than the victory ceased to be doubtful; and they had merely to drive or disperse the enemy, who were either naked or but slightly armed. But the circumstance of not being loaded with accoutrements, which had exposed the Barbarians during the engagement, promoted their flight; and the greater part escaped without difficulty, being well acquainted with the country. About fifteen hundred men were killed; a great number of women and children were taken; and the conqueror obtained a booty which appeared ample, contrasted with the known penury of the country. He sent the plunder and the captives of both sexes, escorted by Lysanias and Philotas, to be sold in the maritime cities on the Euxine*.

Having opened a passage through mount Hæmus, he penetrated into the interior of Thrace. The inhabitants of that country had

* Arrian. *Alexand. Expedit* lib. i. p. 2, et seq.

a grove consecrated by their ancestors to Bacchus, whom they held in peculiar veneration. Here, while Alexander was sacrificing according to Barbarian rites, there arose from the wine which he poured on the altar a column of flame, which mounting above the roof of the temple, seemed aspiring to the heavens: hence the spectators inferred, that the king's glory was to have no other bounds. Another prodigy countenanced the interpretation of the preceding. In the country of the Odryssa, in the interior of Thrace, stands the mountain Libethrus, which gives its name to the city renowned as the birth-place of Orpheus: here, the statue of the poet, carved of cypress wood, and watched with deifying attention, was observed to sweat profusely. Witnesses of this phenomenon reported it to the king. Many were fearfully solicitous to know what it portended. Aristander dissipated their anxiety, by announcing, that the perspiration of the statue prefigured the arduous employment which the exploits of Alexander would create for future poets, and was a symbol of the generous heat with which so ennobling a subject would fire them*.

The Triballi, a brave people, inhabit the re-

* *Quibus decantandis alumni filique Musarum multum desudaturi essent.*—FREINSH.—To translate this literally, might, in these days, injure the reputation of Aristander, as a conjuror.

gion which lies beyond mount Hæmus. Syrmus, their king, apprized of the Macedonian expedition, had fled to Peucé; an island in the Ister, carrying with him all incapacitated by sex or age for service in the field: the river, which had steep and rugged banks, availing Syrmus as a fortification, contributed, with the vigilance and bravery with which it was defended, to foil the attack of Alexander, who had few ships. What fleet Alexander had, he had just received from Byzantium*. The Macedonians were forced to retire, without adding the reduction of the island to their successes. In their approach to it, they had attacked a separate army of the Triballi, and, losing scarcely fifty men, had killed three thousand of the enemy.

CHAP. XII.

Alexander's expedition beyond the Ister against the Gætæ. Embassy from the Germans: whose alliance he accepts. He grants peace to the Triballi. Guards against commotions in Thrace. Defeats a rebellion of the Illyrians.

RELINQUISHING the attempt to reduce king Syrmus, Alexander turned the fury of his

* Arrian, ut supra.

arms against the Getæ, who, on the opposite bank, seemed to challenge him with four thousand horse and ten thousand foot, drawn up in order of battle. He undertook this dangerous enterprize not so much for any useful influence which it might have on the war, as from a desire of fame, and that he might enjoy the triumph of having effected over the largest river in Europe, a passage which ferocious nations stood armed to dispute. Having embarked as many cavalry, fifteen hundred, as could be received in a few vessels collected from the natives, who had employed them in fishing, commerce, or piracy,—he transported four thousand infantry, partly in boats obtained in the same way; and partly—on hides filled with straw, on bladders, and other buoyant materials. Night favoured their passage, and fields of high and thick corn masked their landing. He directed the foot to march through the corn with transversed spears, to facilitate their passage through it, and to promote their concealment*; the cavalry moved in the rear, till the Macedonians had penetrated to the plain, when the cavalry advanced to the front. The Getæ, struck with terror at the unexpected appearance of their enemies, scarcely bore the first charge of the

* Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

cavalry ; and no sooner arrived the phalanx under Nicanor, than they fled in precipitate disorder to a town four miles distant from the river. Though the king did not pursue without skirting the river, to avoid the danger of an ambush, they had barely time to escape to the northern desert with their wives and children, and such things as they could hastily transport on horses.

The booty which they had abandoned, was consigned to the care of Meleager and Philip. In the same day,—Alexander demolished the town ; erected on the banks of the Ister, altars to Jupiter and Hercules, and to the god of the Ister, because it had been propitious in his passage ; and retired with the army, satisfied with a bloodless victory.

He was followed by messengers, as well from king Syrmus as from the bordering nations, bringing presents, and soliciting peace. There now, also, reached him ambassadors from the Celts or Germans, who inhabit the whole region which lies between the Adriatic gulf and the source of the Ister ; rising in Germany, this river, in the language of that country, is called the *Danube*. The king suppressed his astonishment at their large stature ; and to chastise their evident haughtiness of spirit, asked them, what, of all things, they most dreaded ? expecting

them to acknowledge, that his victories had intimidated them. But they replied, 'That they were not greatly afraid of any thing, unless it were that the heavens might fall upon their heads; at the same time, they had a value for the friendship of brave men.' Struck with so unexpected an answer, he was silent for an interval, or consumed the interval in whispering to his attendants: "The Celtæ are an arrogant nation." He then declared them his friends, and entered into that alliance which these rugged negociators had come to seek*.

He granted peace to Syrmus, and the nations bordering on the Triballi.

Feeling that he had sufficiently asserted the honour of his arms in these inhospitable regions, he turned his mind to the expedition against Persia, where the prize was higher, while the difficulty and danger were less. His uncle, Alexander of Epirus, surnamed Molossus, afterwards reflected on him as having directed his arms eastward from this motive. The king of Epirus, who in several severe campaigns invaded our rising state, while Alexander of Macedon was over-running Persia, complained of the inequality of their lots, observing: "I con-

* Arrian, lib. i. p. 5. Strabo, lib. viii. p. 208, 209.

“tend with men; my nephew, with women*.”

On his return, Alexander carried with him the chieftains of Thrace, and such of the inhabitants as were distinguished by their riches, activity, or courage, lest they should attempt any innovation in his absence. He led them in his train under the pretext, that they were selected to be his companions in the Persian war. He knew that faction becomes a motionless hydra, when deprived of its heads.

In his course homeward through the countries of the Agrians and the Pæonians, Alexander received intelligence of a commotion in Illyria. To trace back for an interval the history of Macedonia and Illyria,—When Philip, on the death of Perdiccas, assumed the government, he found part of Macedon in possession of the victorious Illyrians, and the remainder subject to a disgraceful tribute. To rescue the independence of his country, Philip waited only till he had disposed of his other enemies, before he marched an army of ten thousand foot and

* The description of the Persian army, *infra*, book iii. chap. 3. sect. 7. will justify Alexander of Epirus in calling them women. Still the extraordinary brilliancy of his nephew's exploits in an expedition, an obligation to prosecute which, descended to him with his crown, appears too conspicuous to require vindication.

six hundred horse against the Illyrians. Bardyllis, by talents and valour, had risen from the obscure condition of a collier to be king of Illyria, a post in which he had established himself by remarkable equity in partitioning the spoil with his soldiers. This leader, now at the age of ninety, sensible of the extraordinary abilities and vigour of Philip, now in the summer of life, proposed a peace on the basis, that each party should retain his present possessions. Philip, on the contrary, insisted that Bardyllis should immediately evacuate all his conquests in Macedon: Bardyllis answered by advancing into the field: the two armies met; and, after a sanguinary conflict, the Illyrians were totally defeated with the loss of seven thousand men killed, among whom fell their warlike leader *. In consequence of this battle, Illyria sunk into a province dependent on Macedon; and so remained, without an effort to rise till the present era of Alexander's life. But Clitus, the son of Bardyllis, conceiving it to be a favourable moment to burst from subjection, while Alexander was engaged with the powerful nations beyond the Ister, prevailed upon the Illyrians to revolt, and concerted an alliance with Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, another Illyrian tribe. Fur-

ther, Clitus had gained to his desperate purpose the Autariatæ, who undertook to fall suddenly upon the Macedonians during their march. Langarus, king of the Agrians, who, in the life-time of Philip, had corresponded with Alexander, remained true to his interest, imparted what he knew of the design, and entreated Alexander to commit the management of the latter people to him, promising that the Agrians should furnish the Autariatæ so much employment, that, in the necessity of defending themselves, they would cease to think of disturbing the Macedonians. The king encouraged this young prince with high commendations of his fidelity; honoured him with magnificent presents; and, on dismissing him, promised, that should Langarus perform the service which he had undertaken, he should receive in marriage Cyna, Alexander's sister, whom Philip had had by an Illyrian woman, and had given to Amyntas. The Agrian chief was faithful and successful: but died before he could be put in possession of the promised reward.

The Autariatæ counteracted and reduced, Alexander advanced, without opposition, as far as Pellion, a town in Dessaretia, situate on the river Eordaicus. The Autariatæ here, indeed; presented a countenance as determined to give him battle, rushing out of their fortresses with

every demonstration of fury: but they fled before Alexander could commence the action, notwithstanding they had possessed themselves of all the advantageous posts, and of the roads which were rendered difficult by extreme narrowness, or dangerous by the neighbourhood of woods. The Macedonians now met a spectacle to disgust and shock them: Three boys, as many virgins, and three black rams; all slaughtered together; lying in a confused heap: The blood of these the Barbarians, incited by a horrible superstition, had mingled, in their cruel rites, as a sacrifice to the gods, in order to obtain courage in battle: but the offended deity revenged the inhumanity and impiety of these guilty wretches, by refusing to animate them with courage, and by causing them to expose their extreme cowardice.

The king having driven them within their fortifications, proposed to confine them there by raising an outward wall; but the arrival, on the following day, of Glaucias, chief of the Taulantii, with a great force, dissipated all his expectations of taking the town, and obliged him to plan a safe retreat. Meanwhile, Philotas had been sent out with an escort of horse, to forage with the cattle used to transport the baggage: Alexander was now informed that the detachment was in danger; for Glaucias,

who had seized the heights which surrounded the plain, was waiting to fall upon it. The king, therefore, leaving a part of his army in the camp, to prevent any sallies from the town, marched promptly with the rest of the troops to support Philotas : by this movement he intimidated the Illyrians, and safely conducted the foragers to the camp.

In his line of march, he had to provide against many obstacles and dangers ; for the river, on one side, and steep and craggy heights, on the other, left so compressed an interval for a road, that, in places, it was difficult for four men to march abreast ; and Glaucias had posted, on the overlooking hills, several companies of archers and slingers, with a considerable detachment of heavy-armed soldiers. This induced Alexander to place two hundred cavalry before the right, and as many before the left wing of the phalanx, directing both these covering parties, ‘ To keep their spears erect till a preconcerted signal ; then to present them to the enemy, facing to the right, or to the left, as in the act of making a charge.’ This stratagem kept the enemy in suspense. The phalanx, divided into two bodies, at the same time pressed quickly forward. At length, reuniting the phalanx, Alexander drew it up in the form of a wedge, and fell furiously on the Illyrian forces, who,

amazed at the promptitude and generalship of the movement, fled hastily towards the town. The few enemies which remained on the mountain which the Macedonians had thus passed, the king now dislodged, and with two thousand Agrians and his archers took possession of the post, in order to cover and facilitate the passage of the phalanx over the Eordaicus. Nor was this unobserved by the enemy, who having watched till the completely-armed of Alexander's force had passed the river, suddenly carried their whole army toward the mountains, to assail the Macedonian rear. But the king, who commanded these light troops in person, received them with undaunted firmness; while the phalanx, with loud acclamations, appeared in motion to repass the river to succour their companions in arms; demonstrations which struck terror into the Illyrians. Alexander, who had foreseen these incidents in succession, had ordered his troops, on reaching the opposite side, to form in order of battle, and to extend their left (which inclined toward the river and the enemy) as far as possible, in order to make the more formidable display. The Taulantii, led by this stratagem to expect that the whole army would fall upon them, retired to a small distance. Alexander, seizing the opportunity, moved with celerity to the river,

which he passed with the first body; and to protect those bringing up the rear from being further harrassed by the enemy, he disposed his engines on the bank so as to pour across furious discharges of missile weapons upon the Barbarians; such of his troops as had already entered the river plying them, at the same time, with darts and arrows. By this means forcing the enemy to fall back, he brought the most exposed of his companies over without the loss of an individual.

Three days afterwards, the king received intelligence that the enemy, imputing his departure to fear, and regarding all danger to themselves as ceased, straggled here and there without order or precaution, having round their camp neither breast-work nor entrenchment, nor advanced guards, nor centinels. Taking, therefore, with him, the archers and Agrians, and that body of Macedonians which Perdicas and Cænos commanded, Alexander repassed the river in the night, and marched towards the Barbarians with incessant expedition, commanding the rest of the army to follow. Without waiting the junction, a delay which might have forfeited the opportunity, he sent forward the light-armed soldiers; then with such other forces as he had collected, falling himself upon the enemy, whom he found unarmed and half-

asleep, he made a great slaughter, took a considerable number prisoners, and put the remainder to flight, pursuing them as far as the mountains of the Taulantii. Clitus, in complete consternation, at first took refuge in Pellion: but afterwards, distrusting either the fortifications or his troops, he burnt the town; and deserting both the Autariatæ and his own Illyrians, went to live in exile among the Taulantii.

CHAP. XIII.

The Thebans, deceived by a rumour that Alexander had been killed, perfidiously murder his officers in the Cadmea, and commence hostilities. They send embassies to the other states. Demosthenes' public advice, and individual conduct. Temporizing policy of a venal Arcadian leader. Alexander's rapid march. His moderation. The obstinacy of the Thebans. The city stormed and taken. sufferings of the Thebans. Pindar's posterity among the families spared and favoured. Anecdote of Timoclea.

MEANWHILE, a rumour pervading Greece that Alexander had been killed by the Triballi, inspired the enemies of the Macedonian interest with sanguine hopes of a revolution. Men of-

ten draw upon themselves real calamities, by a propensity to believe, on the slightest authority, news which meets their wishes; and to measures commenced on the faith of a fabrication, they adhere as tenaciously, as though by cherishing an inveterate mistake, they could conquer truth itself.

One practiser on credulity was vile enough to affirm, that he saw the king surrounded; and to obviate all doubt in the auditors, he assured them, that the wound which he showed, he had received in the same action. The eagerness with which the ears of the common people of Greece drank this untruth, and the warmth and confidence with which it was circulated, occasioned great disasters to the city of Thebes. For part of those citizens whom Philip had banished, being elated by it, conspired, under the orders of Phœnice and Prothytes, basely to murder the Macedonian officers attached to the garrison of the Cadmea: Amyntas and Timolaus*, the commanders, in the midst of a walk which they were taking, at a distance from the citadel, unsuspecting of treachery, were suddenly dispatched. The inhabitants of Thebes concurring with unfortunate alacrity in this ill-timed effort to deliver their country, blockaded

* Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

the garrison ; surrounding it with a double rampart and a moat, to exclude provisions or reinforcements.

Having effected this, the Thebans expedited ambassadors to all the Grecian states, entreating assistance to recover that liberty of which they had been so unworthily deprived. At Athens,—Demosthenes, from rooted abhorrence of Macedonian ascendancy, moved his fellow-citizens to send speedy succours to Thebes :—these were not, however, sent, because the Athenians were so intimidated by the unexpected return of Alexander, that they deemed it prudent, first, to observe which way fortune inclined. Meanwhile, Demosthenes assisted the Thebans from his private funds, and transmitted them a great supply of arms : those capable of military service, whom Philip had deprived of arms, being thus equipped, closely pressed the Macedonian garrison in the Cadmea.

A strong body of Peloponnesians soon collected at the Isthmus : to these Antipater dispatched messengers, cautioning them not to infringe the decree of united Greece, by entertaining overtures from Alexander's declared enemies : they, however, gave audience to the Theban ambassadors. The mass of the Peloponnesian soldiers sympathized in the feelings, and adopted the resolutions, of the revolted

state :—while Astylus, their leader, an Arcadian by extraction, had recourse to ambiguity and delay, not so much from any apprehended difficulty in the undertaking, as from the impulse of the most sordid avarice; calculating, from the urgent necessities of the Thebans, to wring the greater price for his assistance. He demanded ten talents, a sum which the Thebans could not immediately make up; the Macedonian party brought him that sum, and he remained inactive. Thus was rendered abortive the expectation of aid from the Arcadians. Demosthenes, however, by an opportune donative to another body of Peloponnesians, prevented them from marching against the Thebans. Demosthenes is represented to have received three hundred talents from the Persians, to be disbursed in a manner calculated to undermine the plans, and embarrass the proceedings of Alexander.

As soon as intelligence of these transactions could reach the king, he marched from Pelion with unremitting rapidity through Eordæa and Elymiotis; and having passed the rocks Strymphæa and Paryæa, on the seventh day arrived at Pellenæ, a town in Thessaly. In six days more he had penetrated to Bœotia; whence he immediately stretched to Onchestus, distant about six miles from Thebes. Mean-

while, entirely ignorant of the motions of Alexander, the Thebans acted with hardihood rather than wisdom. They did not know that the Macedonian army had yet passed the Pylæ; and with regard to the king's arrival in person, they treated it as altogether incredible; seriously asserting it to be a different Alexander, a descendant of Æropus, that now commanded the army.

The king, having encamped near the temple of Iölaus, before the gate Proëtis, had the moderation to allow the Thebans an interval to repent. They, instead of negotiating, made a sally against the outposts of the Macedonians, killing some, and dislodging the rest of the centinels: they now closely approached the camp, when the king ordered the light-armed troops to drive them back. On the following day, Alexander advanced his army to the gate leading towards Attica, to be at hand to assist his garrison shut-up in the citadel: here awaiting the last resolution of the Thebans, he intimated his willingness to pardon them, if they had become repentant. Those citizens, however, who avowed pacific intentions, being outvoted, were obliged to yield to the counsels and influence of the reinstated exiles, and of the party which had recalled the exiles; for both these, sensible that there would remain to them no hopes of safety, if the Macedonians should

become masters of the town, chose rather to be entombed in the ruins of their country, than to purchase its safety by their own immolation; and this faction had drawn several chiefs of Boeotian cities into their desperate confederacy.

Their consummate phrenzy appeared in this circumstance:—Upon Alexander's requiring them to deliver up to him the authors of the rebellion, on his assurance, that two heads should expiate the crime of the whole city, they had the audacity to demand, on their part, that Alexander should surrender to them Philotas and Antipater, his two chief favourites; at the same time, by a herald they made proclamation, 'That if any were willing to join the Great King*, and the Thebans, in a league against the Tyrant, to recover the liberty of Greece, they might assemble in the city of Thebes with security.'

According to Ptolemy's original narrative, which is contradicted by some compilations, Alexander still refrained from giving orders to storm the town: but Perdiccas—who commanded in that part of the camp facing the works which the Thebans had raised to blockade the Cadmea—without waiting for a signal from Alexander, fell furiously upon the The-

* This title is given by all the Greek authors to the king of Persia.

bans; and, forcing their outward wall and entrenchment, came to a close engagement with them: induced by his example, Amyntas, the son of Andromenes*, whose quarters were adjoining, charged the enemy with his brigade in the same bold manner. Now concerned for the safety of his men, who had rushed precipitately within the Theban works, Alexander approached with the main-body of his army; he took a position with the phalanx before the trenches, while the light-armed troops, by his orders, broke through to support their companions.

The conflict was obstinate; and Perdiccas being severely wounded in an effort to force the inward entrenchment, was carried from the place of action: a great part of the Cretan archers, with their leader, Eurybotas, were destroyed. The Thebans pressed hard upon the Macedonians, who, deserted by their intrepidity, were flying back to Alexander, pursued by those whom they had attacked. But, at hand stood the king,—with the phalanx prepared in order of battle: he fell upon the enemy, disordered and scattered by the haste with which they had rushed from under cover of their works, and totally routed them.

This reverse plunged the Thebans into such

consternation, that they had not presence of mind to shut the gate through which they retreated into the town: while part of Alexander's army took advantage of that fatal error, the garrison of the Cadmea sallied into the streets adjoining the citadel. Thus was the noblest city in Greece, in one day, attacked and carried. Every variety of cruelty was inflicted upon this hapless community; men and women were piled in promiscuous slaughter.

The infamy of this barbarity is chiefly due to the Phocians, the Plataeans, the Orchomenii, and the Thespians, who, as natives of the surrounding cities, had long regarded the superior power, opulence, and prosperity of Thebes, with impotent, unpatriotic jealousy; with morbid, inveterate hatred. The Macedonians tempered vengeance by the laws of war.

When at length the king's proclamation arrested the slaughter, there had already perished six thousand men; the surviving Thebans were made prisoners. Of the number sold as slaves, thirty thousand had belonged to the class of free citizens. According to Clitarchus, the whole booty amounted to four hundred and forty talents: others rate the produce from the sales of the captives at that sum. The Thessalians owed the Thebans a hundred talents, from which the king released the debtors, as his allies.

Alexander exempted, from the general captivity to which the Thebans were doomed—the ministers of the temples; those families by whom he, or his father, had been entertained, when resident in Thebes; and a few of the magistrates and citizens who were known to have been averse from the war. The victor also pardoned the posterity of Pindar*, out of veneration to that poet, who in his odes had celebrated king Alexander, a paternal ancestor about five removes in the direct line from the present king of Macedon; and the house which the poet had inhabited he preserved, by a particular injunction, from being fired by his licentious soldiers. For Alexander not only cherished contemporary virtue, but highly revered the memory of the departed great and good, heaping favours on their descendants. Thus, after he had gained the last victory over Darius, he transmitted a share of the booty to the Crotoniates; rewarding them, on the testimony of history, because in the invasion of Xerxes, when all the other Greek colonies despaired of Greece, they had sent one galley to Salamis, under the command of Phayllus. He likewise diffused a generous shower of gifts and honours on the Platæans, because their ancestors had bestowed their territory on those Greeks who fought against Mardonius.

* Freins. transposit.

Timoclea and her kindred must be added to the inhabitants of Thebes who received their liberty from the conqueror. This reward, and a reputation which still lives with unfading lustre, this heroine obtained by fortitude under the following circumstances. A Thracian captain of cavalry in Alexander's service, after having violated the person of Timoclea, ordered her with menaces to disclose where she had hidden her most valuable effects. More afflicted at the loss of her honour, than anxious to preserve her riches; this lady, pointing to a well, pretended to have there secured her jewels and treasures: he bent over its mouth with impatient and prying avarice; she loosened his footing and precipitated him to the bottom, whence he made fruitless struggles to climb, she casting stones upon him till she had killed him. His troop soon afterwards seized her, and carried her before Alexander. Hearing her name, the king inquired from her her quality, and whether she had committed the offence allèged: with firm countenance and voice, she replied: "I am the
" sister of that Theagenes who lost his life for
" the liberty of Greece. Your officer I killed
" to revenge a degrading outrage; and to vin-
" dicate my unconsenting spirit. Do you doom
" me to death by way of atonement? Know,
" that to a virtuous woman nothing is so des-
" picable as life, after such a violation: let me,

“ then, perish as soon as you please ; I shall die
“ too late, since I have survived my reputation
“ and the independence of my country.” Alexander declared, that the Thracian had been deservedly killed, and that he would protect the free-born women of Thebes from similar outrages. With strong expressions to Timoclea of esteem and approbation, he restored liberty to her and to her kindred, and gave them the privilege of departing to reside wherever they pleased.

CHAP. XIV.

Supernatural presages of the fate of Thebes. Demolition of its buildings, and division of its territory. Antiquity of Thebes. Alexander preserves the temples and publick statues. Alexander alleged to have repented of the destruction of Thebes. Notice that Cassander, when he had rebuilt it, could not restore its greatness. Alexander demands the Athenian orators: sketch of affronts which had been offered to him. He listens to submissive overtures from the Grecian states. Becomes a citizen of Megara. Distrusts Sparta.

THE destruction of Thebes was preceded by several prodigies. In the temple of Ceres, worshipped under the name of Thesmophoros, hung

a cobweb which was supposed to afford indications to diviners: three months before Alexander began the siege of Thebes, this web alarmed the superstitious by changing its hue to deep black; for it was remembered that during an interval approaching the battle of Leuctra, which elevated Thebes to the summit of glory and prosperity, its colour had been pure white. Shortly before the arrival of the Macedonians, the statues in the forum were seen to sweat: distressing cries were emitted from the lake Onchestus: the streams of the fountain Dirce flowed with blood. These ominous denunciations might have alarmed these obstinate people, if pride had not predestined them to ruin. For looking fondly on the glory of their ancestors, whose manners they had forsaken, and whose talents had not descended to them, they expected to rival them in success: precipitating the subversion of Thebes, their temerity was so extreme, that with little more than ten thousand soldiers they felt no difficulty in defying an army of thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, all veterans familiar with victory.

Arbiter of the fate of Thebes, Alexander called a council of his allies, and referred it to them to consider how they should use the advantage. Among them were the Phocians, and

many of the minor Bœotian states, whose ancient discords with the Thebans had often brought upon themselves severe injuries; all which they now sought to retaliate at once. Blind and ungenerous enemies, they deemed that neither their revenge nor their safety would be complete, as long as Thebes should remain standing; their counsels were adopted: and the confederates decreed, that the walls and edifices of the place should be demolished; and that its territory should be apportioned among the conquerors, at the pleasure of the king. Thus one day tore out of the bosom of Greece this august city, which had given birth to heroes and to gods; and which, from the remote era pointed to by the *oracle of the ravens*, had subsisted eight hundred years, the splendid seat and flourishing inheritance of the same race. Many ages anterior to Alexander, the Bœotians, when expelled from their country by the Thracians and Pelasgi*; were told by the oracle, 'That after four centuries they should recover their paternal lands, and that it behoved them, in the meantime, to settle where they should see white ravens.' They migrated to Arne, a

* This appears to imply, that the *Pelasgi*, about whose origin there has been so much dissertation, without establishing any thing certain, were, in respect to Bœotia, foreigners as well as invaders, and at the same time, neighbours and allies of the Thracians.

town in Thessaly, at which place the fugitive families were induced to seat themselves, by seeing a brood of ravens encrusted with a white coating of *gypsum*, which some boys had put on in sport.

The buildings of Thebes were demolished to the sound of the flute, in the same manner as Athens had, sixty years before, been demolished by Lysander. The Macedonian conqueror, however, protected the temples and other sacred piles, enjoining to the workmen employed in the dilapidation of contiguous edifices, not to deface those; his natural veneration for the gods being stimulated by a recent example of terrible retribution inflicted on some soldiers, who, while pillaging the temple of the Cabiri, which stood before the town, were consumed by a sudden tempest of thunder and lightning. The statues erected in public stations to the gods, and to eminent men, were also left untouched; and it is recorded, that in the general consternation, when the city was taken and destroyed, some inhabitants had concealed pieces of gold in the drapery of those statues, in the folds of which they were found safe, when Cassander, Antipater's son, twenty years after, rebuilt the town.

Alexander afterwards repented of his excessive severity, when he reflected that, by the

destruction of Thebes, he had forced out one of the eyes of Greece*. He is represented to have regarded the death of Clitus,—and the contumacy of the Macedonians, who, after reaching the Hypasis, ingloriously refused to penetrate to the interior of India,—as vindictive strokes of Bacchus on himself individually, for having blotted out the place of that deity's birth from the honoured class of independent cities. And some writers have ascribed the king's death, which happened after an excess in wine, to the resentment of Bacchus.

Cassander, in rebuilding Thebes†, is considered to have acted not so much from compassion to the exiles, as from animosity to the memory of Alexander, and a design to detract from his glory. But though he restored, in their former extensive circuit, the walls of the place,—yet he in vain invited back its ancient manners: its primitive strength and prosperity never returned: the subject of calamity, and the seat of decay, it has lingered in existence to our days, but is now almost too inconsiderable to be called a town.

These transactions finished,—Alexander despatched a message to the Athenians, announcing, ' That they must immediately deliver into

* Freins. transposit.

† Eodem.

‘ his power those orators who persisted in ex-
‘ citing a seditious opposition to him, and that
‘ if they betrayed any reluctance to part with
‘ their turbulent advisers, such contumacy
‘ would draw upon Athens, effects as much
‘ to be deplored as the recent disasters of The-
‘ bes.’ And he demanded, by name, those
orators who had displeased him. Upon this,
Phocion, to whom, on account of his exemplary
probity, the Athenians paid great deference,
suggested, in the popular assembly, that it were
ineligible to persevere in irritating the young
and victorious monarch; and he exhorted those
individuals, over whom the danger hung, to
imitate the daughters of Leus and Hyacinthus,
nor hesitate to resign their lives for the good of
their country. Demosthenes, who was one of
their public men thus proposed to be immo-
lated, now rose, and represented to the assem-
bly, ‘ That the Athenians were seduced into a
‘ mistake; which would fatally affect them-
‘ selves, if they imagined, that by surrendering
‘ a select few, they could procure safety for the
‘ whole community; that the Macedonians had
‘ artfully included those persons in their pro-
‘ scription, whose vigilance and virtue they
‘ most feared; that the qualities which might
‘ be serviceable to the Athenians, were hateful
‘ to the enemy; that when they should have

‘ swept from their posts the champions of pub-
‘ lic liberty, the Macedonians would assail the
‘ defenceless and destitute city, as wolves rush
‘ upon sheep, when their guardian dogs are re-
‘ moved.’

Demosthenes had evinced inveterate antipathy to the power and name of Macedonia by so many acts, as well in an individual, as in a public character, that he concluded it to be now too late to offer terms to Alexander, or expect pardon. On Philip’s death he had moved the Athenians to build a minor temple in honour of Pausanias; to thank the gods by sacrifices and libations on the public altars; and to make loud expressions, and a conspicuous display, of their joy. As a reason for this extravagant triumph, he descanted on the inferiority of Alexander to his father: sometimes terming him “ the boy;” sometimes coupling with his name the more contemptuous epithet of *margites*, which, among the Greeks, was proverbially applied to a man insane or infatuated. Whether corrupted by the Persian gold, or proof against its influence, he had been the incendiary of almost all the wars which the Greeks had waged against Philip and his son. He had—quite recently—instigated Attalus, Alexander’s implacable enemy, to arm a division of the Macedonians against their

king, by encouraging Attalus to expect the alliance of the Athenians.

The city of Athens, itself, had carried the practice of insult to extremity, by dashing from their pedestals Philip's statues, and converting the materials to the most opprobrious uses; the ignorant rabble, forgetful of the past, and regardless of the future, promptly acted all the indignities which a few who abused the influence of popularity designed. The last offence of the Athenians, and which highly incensed the successor of Philip, was their having entertained—in defiance of his edict—the Theban citizens, who escaped from the ruins of their country: The consideration and distinction with which these were treated, seemed to proceed less from humane sympathy for the fugitives, than from ostentatious opposition to the conqueror: The annual solemn mysteries, which the Athenians were accustomed to celebrate in honour of Bacchus, they omitted at this conjuncture, out of concern for the misfortunes of Thebes, or for the success of Alexander.

The king, whose mind was intensely turned to the expedition against Persia, was disposed to conciliation rather than vengeance. Wherefore, when Demades (who had received marks of favour from Philip) appeared as the bearer,

from the Athenians, of submissive propositions, accompanied with a copy of their decree for trying the orators accused*,—Alexander met their compromise by waving his denunciation against Demosthenes, Lycurgus, and other speakers, provided Charidemus was banished. Charidemus sought an asylum among the Persians. Many other considerable persons, who felt towards the king rooted animosity, yet feared his persecution, left the city and repaired to his enemies. These emigrations multiplied the obstacles to be encountered by the Macedonians in the invasion of Asia.

Shortly afterwards, Alexander reduced the Leucadians, who were elated to defiance by a confidence in the impregnable situation of their town, and in their store of provisions, which they conceived would outlast the longest siege: but the first operation of Alexander was to assail and take the forts lying round it,—permitting the citizens and soldiers, expelled from those places, to pass into Leucadia, where the inhabitants, thus augmented to a vast multitude, soon exhausted the magazines.

There now remained no state in Greece, which—when it reflected on the overthrow of the Thebans; (whose heavy-armed soldiers had

* Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

from the earliest times been held in high reputation;) or on the reduction of Leucadia—could continue to rely on its army or on its fortifications.

The impression that Alexander was irresistible, drew from the Peloponnesus several trains of ambassadors, to congratulate him on his having finished the war against the Barbarians, and on his having chastised the rash insolence of a portion of Greece. The Arcadians, who had been in motion, preparing to assist the Thebans, atoned to the conqueror, by declaring that they had sentenced to death the leaders in their extravagant proceedings. The Elei alleged, that, if they had recalled particular individuals from banishment, it was under a persuasion that those individuals were personally agreeable to Alexander. The Ætolians expressed their repentance, that they had been implicated in a ferment, which spread like a contagion over so great a part of Greece. The address of the Megareans had the pleasant effect of exciting smiles in the king and his attendants, by the new and questionable distinction which they proposed to confer on him; their deputies gravely announced, ‘ That his benevolent intentions and actual benefits to the
‘ Greeks, had induced the Megareans to decree
‘ him the freedom of their city.’ This lost

much of its apparent absurdity, when they proceeded to state, that they had never granted that honour to any, except Hercules: and the king, with an air of satisfaction, consented to be enrolled a free citizen of Megara.

To the addresses from the rest, he replied, ' That he had nothing more at heart than the tranquillity and security of Greece; and that provided they refrained from sedition in future, he readily forgave the past.'

He harboured a great distrust of the intentions of Sparta. As a check upon her, he, therefore, reinstated the sons of Philiades, on whom he could depend, in posts of command and authority in the capital of the neighbouring republic, Messenia, whence they had been expelled. Of Pelene, a town belonging to the Achæans, he promoted Chæron to be governor; and he placed individuals as completely devoted to him, over Sicyon and other cities, in order that they might penetrate the counsels, and give him information of the movements, of the principal Peloponnesian state.

A few months sufficed for the performance of such a number of things of magnitude: in that short space Alexander terminated a difficult and complex war, with more ease than another

would have prepared to enter upon it. His conquest he attributed to celerity in execution : to an inquirer respecting the means by which he had subdued Greece, he answered ; “ by de-
“ laying nothing.”

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

SUPPLEMENT.

BOOK II.

THE BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS. THE SIEGES OF
MILETUS AND HALICARNASSUS.

CHAP. I.

Sketch of the Persian dynasty, ascending from Darius to Cyrus. Terror of the Persians under the impending expedition of Philip succeeded by momentary contempt for Alexander. Now awed by his distant victories, they prepare measures of defence, and hire fifty thousand Greeks. Description of mount Ida. Operations of Memnon, Parmenio, and Calas.

AT this time the sceptre of the Persian empire was wielded by Darius Codomannus, who had obtained it by the influence of Bagoas, an Egyptian eunuch, a short time previously to the death of Philip. The same Bagoas, a courtier and

minister as perfidious and atrocious as ever abused the confidence of a sovereign, had successively poisoned the two preceding kings, Ochus and his youngest son Arses, whom he had elevated to sovereign power as he since raised Codomannus; and the traitor made a merit of transferring the crown to princes to whom the hope of completely directing them was his only attachment. At the same time, as the direct line from Artaxerxes Mnemon was entirely extinct, and as Darius Codomannus had sprung from a collateral branch of the family—being the son of Arsanes, whose father Ostanes was the uncle of Ochus—he was not considered by the people as reigning without a title. With the army he had an established character, from having killed, in the war of Ochus against the Cadusii, a fierce and powerful champion of the enemy, who had defied the bravest of the Persians to single combat. While a subject, he was called Codomannus, a name which, according to the Persian custom, he resigned when he stepped on the throne, assuming that of Darius. He was the twelfth* of the monarchs who

* Hic à conditore regni Cyro *decimus* imperio Persarum prefuit.

FREINS.—The text is corrected by the assistance of several modern writers and chronologists, who have detected inaccuracies, and remedied omissions, in some of the ancient writers referred to as authorities by Freinshemius.

reigned from Cyrus, rejecting from the series the usurper, Smerdis *Magus*. Ochus, the tenth in order, was the son of Artaxerxes Mnemon, who was the son of Darius Nothus. This last-named Darius, and Sogdian, whom he dethroned and succeeded, and Xerxes II. whom Sogdian dethroned and succeeded, were all brothers. Their father, Artaxerxes Longimanus, the fifth legitimate possessor of the crown, was the son of Xerxes I. who was the son of Darius. The latter, whose father was Hystaspes, a Persian satrap, thus obtained the throne. Eight months after the death of Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, —it was discovered that the line of the founder of the empire was ended, and that the reigning Smerdis, (the *Magus*,) who personated a son of Cyrus, was an impostor. Darius and six Persian nobles, after they had destroyed the *Magus*, agreed that the throne, now entirely vacant, should be filled by one of themselves; and that, when they had assembled on the following morning, he whose horse first neighed should be saluted king; a mode of election which might be intended as an appeal to the influence of the sun. The artifice of the servant of Darius, by which he caused his master's horse to neigh in the moment of arriving at the appointed place, need not be related;

for the story is trite in Rome even with the grooms.

The execrable traitor, Bagoas, sometime after he had raised Darius, the contemporary of Alexander, to the throne, prepared to poison him *also*: but the Persian monarch discovered this last perfidy of Bagoas, and forced him to destroy his own life, by drinking the cup which he had offered to the king.

Under Cyrus and his successors the Persian affairs had flourished for a space of nearly two hundred and thirty years; advancing in a tenor of equable prosperity, while the body of the nation, unacquainted with voluptuous refinements, persevered in seeking wealth by useful labour, or fought gallantly for liberty and glory. In the course of time, when they had reaped, and after they had amassed a store of the fruits of virtue, they discontinued the cultivation of it, owing their safety less to their own bravery, than to the reputation which had devolved upon them through the vigor of their ancestors: in their declining state, they had procured long respites from invasion by the lavish distribution of money, a resource which had often succeeded against the Greeks when they could not rely upon their arms.

When, a short time previous to the present conjuncture, they had found that their gold was

ineffectually opposed to the politic and martial PHILIP*, and that on the obstruction and derangement of this piece of machinery, they had to depend upon their own efforts, so debauched were their minds, their resolution so unnerved by effeminate habits, that they could not support themselves under the first shock of declining fortune. Penury, though a rugged attendant, commonly stimulates ingenuity and effort: Luxury, the courtly parasite of affluence, frequently diffuses languor and imbecility over both body and mind. At the end of Philip's reign, his preparations, and his name, had agitated the Persians with terror: when the unworthy descendants of the conquerors of Babylon heard of Philip's sudden death, their alarm and awe were succeeded by contempt for Alexander's youth; they imagined that the new king would be satisfied, if he were suffered to walk up and down Pella unmolested. But receiving, day after day, intelligence of his campaigns and victories, they began to dread the juvenile commander whom they had despised; and accordingly, with extreme solicitude, made preparations to encounter a fierce and decisive, or

* As these reflections are not purely argumentative, but are interspersed with allusions to the history of the period, the writer deems it necessary to intimate, that he has not implicitly followed Freinsheimius.

support a protracted war. Taught, by experience in former struggles, that the Asiatic troops were inferior to the European, they dispersed over Greece agents commissioned to hire into the Persian service fifty thousand of the finest of the Grecian youth. Of this large body of mercenaries the command was entrusted to Memnon the Rhodian, whose approved fidelity and bravery recommended him to the Persian government. Memnon was ordered to make himself master of Cyzicus. Marching diligently thither through that part of Phrygia which adjoins the *Troad*, or the territory of ancient Troy, he came to mount Ida, a place distinguished in the writings of natural historians, and immortalized by the poets. Its *name* is derived from an agreeable feature in its scenery, for the ancients were accustomed to bestow the appellation *Ida* on any place richly planted with trees. This mountain pierces the clouds with a loftier summit than any other in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont. Midway up it, there is a cave, celebrated with religious veneration in the hymns of the Greeks; it is said to have been the sequestered haunt in which the Trojan arbiter of the beauty of the rival goddesses compared their unveiled charms; and to have been the birth-place of the Idean Dactyles, who, by the instruction of Cybele, or the Great Mother,

discovered the uses of iron,—as beneficial in the service of labour and art, as pernicious when the instrument of the hateful passions. The mountain is reported to be the seat of extraordinary phenomena: at the rise of the dog-star its base is ruffled by boisterous winds,—while on the summit the air is serene, and inspires serenity: A still more remarkable peculiarity is, that while night yet hovers over a great part of the earth, the sun is visible from mount Ida, not in the form of a globe, but greatly expanded, and apparently divided into distinct bodies of fire, embracing both sides of the mountain, till they meet in one on the eastern side, by the gradual reünion of the particles of light: at the approach of dawn its dimensions do not exceed an acre; and soon afterwards, having recovered, by gentle contractions, its accustomed size and figure, it proceeds on its appointed course. To venture my own opinion of this phenomenon, I attribute it to an optical delusion, of which, a local mass of air, condensed and rendered impellucid by the nocturnal cold, is the medium and the cause; and till the nebulous vapours are dissipated by a current of wind, or dissolved by a flood of heat, the image of the rising sun, seen through them, appears imperfect and dilated; for innumerable rays meeting with congealed obstructions in the aërial fluid, shoot in

new directions with augmented brightness, as reflected from a mirror: but as soon as the atmosphere, restored to a transparent state, allows the beams of day to be transmitted freely, the sun assumes his ordinary appearance.

The territory of Cyzicus reaches from the foot of mount Ida to the Propontis. The town is seated on an island of moderate extent, communicating with the continent by two bridges. These were thrown over the channel by Alexander, sometime after the expedition of Memnon: that general carried his mercenary Greeks over in ships. By his unexpected inroad he did not intimidate the Cyziceniens into submission; the inhabitants of the town made a vigorous defence: The Persian partisan was forced to retire; but he carried off a considerable booty from the surrounding country.

During the same interval the Macedonian generals were not inactive. Parmenio took Grynium, a town in Æolia, and consigned the inhabitants to slavery. Afterwards having passed over the Caicus, he besieged the strong and opulent Pitane: that city had two ports conveniently open to relief from Europe; and the seasonable arrival of Memnon to succour the place, obliged Parmenio to raise the siege.

Calas, with a small body of Macedonians, assisted by a considerable mercenary force, in-

vaded the Troad; where, in a rencounter with the Persians, he found his limited army unequal to a contest with their multitudes. He retired to Rhœtium.

CHAP. II.

Alexander convinces Antipater and Parmenio of the expediency of an immediate invasion of Persia. The preparations are completed. Public festivities.

IN the meantime, Alexander, who, on the settlement of the affairs of Greece, had returned to Macedon, was deliberating with his ministers respecting the arrangements and transactions necessary to be put in train, or matured, previously to entering upon so difficult a war. Antipater and Parmenio, whom talents and experience and consideration in the state qualified to be his leading advisers, urgently entreated, 'That he would forbear to expose the welfare of the empire, while that should continue to rest on the life of an individual, to the contingencies of perfidious fortune.' They recommended, 'That he should, in the first place, marry, in order to raise heirs to his greatness,

‘ and that when this necessary foundation for
‘ the tranquillity and security of the country
‘ was laid, efforts to enlarge his dominions
‘ would be well-timed.’

There was not surviving any inheritor of Philip’s blood, besides Alexander, that was worthy of the empire; Olympias had destroyed all Cleopatra’s issue; and Aridæus, on account of the abject extraction of his mother, and the frailty of his intellect, was regarded as a person that would sully the splendour of the Macedonian throne. Alexander, however, impatient to distinguish himself, would entertain no proposals which were not directed to war, and the glory which results from victory: wherefore, he thus replied to the peaceable suggestions of his counsellors: “ Like men of probity,
“ and patriots, you anxiously weigh the different bearings of an enterprize, which may
“ greatly benefit or depress your country. It
“ cannot be denied, that the task which we are
“ undertaking is arduous; nor that, if we engage in it rashly, and the event should be adverse, a late repentance can afford no remedy.
“ For before we unfurl our sails to the wind, it
“ remains with us to deliberate whether we
“ will pursue fortune and our voyage, or remain in harbour; but when we have once
“ committed ourselves to the winds and waves,

“ our success must depend on their fluctua-
“ tions. I therefore have listened without dis-
“ approbation to your opinion, though it is at
“ variance with my decision : I commend your
“ sincerity, and I entreat that you will, in our
“ future subjects of debate, always use the same
“ plainness. If there be any worthy of the title
“ of the FRIENDS OF THE KING, they are those
“ who in their advice do not so much consider
“ how to procure his favour, as how to promote
“ his interest and glory. The counsellor who
“ recommends a course different from what he
“ would take himself, does not assist to form a
“ decision, but deludes.

“ To unfold to you the reasons urging me
“ to immediate action,—I am convinced that
“ nothing will less conduce to promote the suc-
“ cess of my arms, than delay. What! having
“ chastised all the Barbarians round the fron-
“ tiers of Macedonia, and having allayed the
“ commotions and secured the alliance of
“ Greece, shall we suffer a brave and victori-
“ ous army to melt away in idleness? Shall we
“ not rather lead our soldiers into the rich pro-
“ vinces of Asia, possessions already seized by
“ their desires and their hopes ; with swift an-
“ ticipation, they rifle Persia, as a reward for
“ their long services and brilliant exploits under

“ our father, and for their three years of toil and
“ enterprize since.

“ Darius, so recently seated on the Persian
“ throne, has, by destroying Bagoas, by whom
“ he was elevated to the sovereignty, excited
“ in his people a suspicion of his being both
“ cruel and ungrateful, vicious qualities which
“ must generate, in the best subjects, aversion
“ from their rulers, and render them indisposed
“ to obedience, if not openly refractory. Shall
“ we sit supine till he has established his au-
“ thority, and having secured the internal peace
“ of his kingdom, shall transfer the war into the
“ heart of Macedon? The great advantages to
“ be reaped by celerity, will, if we remain inac-
“ tive, redound to the enemy.

“ The first hold on the inclination of po-
“ tentates who are third parties, is of great mo-
“ ment in affairs of this nature; and *that* awaits
“ the power who is active enough to seize it:
“ for no state is backward to court the most
“ formidable; but he will be reputed the most
“ formidable who inflicts the blow of invasion,
“ not he who receives it. Besides, how will
“ our character be sullied, if we disappoint the
“ hopes of the Greeks, who, notwithstanding
“ our youth, have awarded us that honour,
“ which that great commander, our father, en-

“ circled by multiplied trophies, gained by extraordinary qualities, did not receive till a short time before his death! Nor did the council of the Amphictyons decree us the sovereign command, in order that we might, in our palace at Pella, sink into indolence and pleasure, unmoved at the affronts formerly and recently offered to the Grecian name; but that we should severely revenge injuries perpetrated against us, in the height of Persian arrogance and wickedness. What shall I say of the Greek colonies, which, diffused over Asia, labour under a calamitous servitude imposed upon them by the licentious Barbarians? You, my friends, heard the entreaties and arguments with which Dius* the Ephesian lately pleaded their cause. As soon as the Asiatic Greeks see our standard, they will rally round it, eagerly braving whatever danger may attend the enterprize of uniting with their champions and deliverers against the Persian tyrant and his satraps.

“ But why, as if equally forgetful of the character of ourselves and of our enemies, should we look around for assistance in making war upon a people whom to conquer by degrees, and not at one decisive stroke,

* *Delius. FREINS. Dius. OLIV. lib. xvi. p. 397.*

“ would reflect disgrace upon us rather than
“ glory? In the preceding age, a small body of
“ Lacædemonians advancing into Asia, found
“ no effective opposition from the immense ar-
“ mies of the enemy; the Persians either quiet-
“ ly suffering Phrygia, Lydia, and Paphlagonia,
“ to be overrun and plundered, or meeting,
“ when they resisted, defeat and slaughter,
“ even to the satiety of the invaders: till the
“ recal of Agesilaus with his troops, on account
“ of some commotions in Greece, gave to the
“ trembling Asiatics, at a moment when they
“ were too distracted to use their resources,
“ time to recover from their consummate ter-
“ ror. You know, that a few years before the
“ Spartan expedition, ten thousand Greeks,
“ without leaders, and without provisions,
“ opened with the sword a passage into their
“ own country, from the interior of the Per-
“ sian empire, through a line of nations armed
“ to annoy them, in addition to the whole army
“ of Artaxerxes, which, when the Greeks com-
“ menced their retreat, had surrounded them;
“ and which, pursuing or intercepting them
“ during a great proportion of their march,
“ were defeated and put to flight as often as
“ the Greeks were forced to engage. Shall we,
“ then, who have vanquished the whole of
“ Greece, who have disciplined it to our ser-

“ vice by so many victories, who command
“ the bravest of her surviving soldiers in our
“ camps; shall we shrink from a war with
“ Asia, after having conquered the illustrious
“ nation of Greece, of which a province could
“ send out a force able to inflict on Asia such a
“ series of shameful defeats?”

These arguments of Alexander, interspersed with others to the same effect, so convinced his ministers and generals, that they were won decidedly to his opinion. Even Parmenio, who had been the strongest advocate for postponing, perceived the necessity of accelerating, the war, and exhorted Alexander not to tolerate any delay in the officers who were to conduct the preparations. The king's whole mind was now occupied by arrangements for invading Persia.

Having every thing matured, he, at Dium, a city of Macedonia, offered a splendid course of sacrifices to Jupiter Olympius, conforming in this solemnity to an institution of king Archelaus, who succeeded Perdiccas, the son of Alexander. In honour of the Muses, as the disposers of fame, the leader of the Greeks and Macedonians next exhibited theatrical spectacles, which continued nine days. He concluded these festivities by a magnificent banquet, to his friends, his generals, and the Hellenic deputies, given in a tent which contained a hundred couches: at

the same time, feasting his soldiers in a body, he ordered, with other viands, part of the victims offered in the sacrifices to be distributed among them, that this day, which was dedicated to enjoyment, might be gratefully marked by auspicious omens of the approaching war.

CHAP. III.

Force of the army which Alexander conducted into Asia: and of that which he left with Antipater in Macedon. He distributes his riches among his friends. State of the public treasury. Course of the fleet and army from the lake Cercinities to Sestos. The king detaches Parmenio to Abydos; visits Eleus; sails to Sigæum.

AT the commencement of the spring, Alexander passed with his collected forces into Asia. His army was formidable by its discipline and valour, rather than by its numbers. The advanced guard, under Cassander, consisted of nine hundred Thracians and Pæonians*. The main body, which was commanded by Parmenio, consisted of thirty thousand infantry:

* Freins. transposit.

of whom thirteen thousand were Macedonians; twelve thousand, confederated Greeks; and five thousand, mercenaries. In the rear of the regular infantry, followed five thousand Illyrians, Thracians, and Triballi; with one thousand Agrian archers. The whole cavalry attached to the army amounted to four thousand two hundred; comprising one thousand eight hundred Macedonians, led by Philotas; as many Thessalians, under the orders of Calas; and six hundred confederated Greeks, over whom the king had placed Erigyus.

With this army, transporting with it provision only for thirty days, Alexander hesitated not to march against an infinite number of Barbarians; relying on the martial character of his men, veterans long familiar with conquest, possessing that vigor, courage, attention to their commanders, and superior management of their weapons, which rendered them more than a counterpoise to any armed multitude, however numerous.

To Antipater, with whom the king left twelve thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, he entrusted the government of Macedon, and the management of Greece; and he enjoined his lieutenant to let the levy of recruits in Europe be constantly proceeding, in order to sustain the numerical strength of the

foreign and domestic army, against the attenuations of battle and the waste of mortality.

Before he had embarked his forces, Alexander distributed among his immediate friends the property which belonged to him as an individual; without retaining any possession or resource which he could alienate without injury to the regal dignity or the public service. Perdiccas declined accepting a princely gift of land, begging Alexander to inform him, ‘What he would have left for himself?’ The king answered: “Hopes.” Perdiccas rejoined: “We shall be satisfied to partake of *them*, fighting under your auspices.” A small number of commanders imitated the example of Perdiccas; it did not influence the majority. Afterwards, Alexander was asked: “Where, O king! have you any treasures?” He replied: “In the hands of my friends.” When it is considered, that he was staking empire and existence upon one cast of fortune’s die,—without attributing to him selfish motives, he may be justified to the selfish, as not having absurdly disposed of his riches; for, by victory, he would acquire treasures incomparably greater;—defeat would force him to resign what he had, less gracefully; meanwhile, he had engaged the cheerful attachment of his officers: nor could

any immediate inconvenience attend the gift of farms and estates from which no revenue would be remitted till a remote day.

The money belonging to the state the king set-apart for the service of the war, and he dispensed it with economy proportioned to the smallness of the store. When Philip died, the treasures in the publick coffers scarcely amounted to sixty talents of coined money, with a few vases of silver and gold: whereas the debts due from the government were nearly five hundred talents. Notwithstanding the late king had greatly augmented the revenue of Macedon, and so improved the mines at Philippi*, that they yielded annually a thousand talents; yet from the draining effect of successive wars, the magnificent presents which it was a branch of his policy to make, and the expensive works and edifices which he repaired, restored, or founded, he left the publick treasury quite exhausted. The anecdote of the cup† forcibly illustrates how very trivial were the funds which Philip had inherited: yet his son—after having augmented the public debt by taking up on loan eight hundred talents, of which scarcely a tenth part remained undisbursed—now challenges and provokes to the field the whole force

* Ante, p. 43.

† Ante, p. 42.

of the king of Persia, who had five thousand talents of gold as for a pillow, and three thousand talents of silver as for a footstool, deposited in cabinets under the head and foot of his bed. Of the Persian empire, the revenue paid in money was estimated at fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Eubœic talents; [£3,276,000;] the taxes paid in kind cannot now be estimated †.

Alexander's navy and transports lay in the lake Cercinites, so named from the neighbouring mountain. While the line of march to Persia being crossed by the sea, made it indispensable—the maritime cities to be besieged, made it eligible—to have a fleet attendant on the invading army; besides, at several places on the way to the Hellespont circuitous marches might

Justin, lib. xiii. 1.

† Converted into money, or consumed as they were delivered, the contributions from different districts were charged to supply particular branches of expenditure. Thus, was furnished the king's wardrobe, the furniture of his palaces, and viands for the court and household. Passages in Cicero [in Verrem, 3 B. c. 23.] and Plato [Alcib. 1. P. 123.] show plainly, that the kings of Persia were accustomed to give particular cities to their queens to find them in girdles; others, to find them in necklaces; others, in shoes. From every author who has treated of the affairs of Persia, it further appears, that the monarch assigned to individuals whom he was desirous to honour, particular cities to find them in bread—, wine—, meat—, fish—. In this manner Artaxerxes entertained and distinguished Themistocles, as we learn from Plutarch and Thucydides.

be avoided by embarking the troops on a short passage.

Alexander set sail from the lake Cercinites, with a band of flutes playing, led by Timotheus; his troops expressing the highest ardour, confident of seizing the riches of the Barbarians. In this manner the king was wafted across the lake, and down the Strymon. After touching at Amphipolis, he proceeded to the mouth of the river. Having debarked on the eastern bank, he passed on the side of Mount Pangæus, and entered the road which leads to Abdera and Maronea. The Macedonian leader marched close to the winding shore, to be at hand to assist his fleet, which sailed a parallel course, should the enemy attack it. The Persian king possessed or directed a powerful navy, including ships from Cyprus and Phœnicia, manned with expert rowers and seasoned mariners. Macedon, having but lately become a naval power, did not abound with ships; and the allies had furnished vessels scantily and reluctantly. Even the Athenians, when applied to for their quota of gallies, sent but twenty triremes; their orators dissuading them from entrusting a great proportion of their navy with Alexander, lest it should be directed against themselves.

From Maronea the king marched to the river Hebrus; having crossed to its eastern bank without much difficulty, he advanced to Pætica,

a province of Thrace. Thence having proceeded over the river Melas, he on the twentieth day reached Sestos, a town of the Chersonesus, at the extremity of continental Europe, and overlooking the Hellespont.

Here, the coast of Thrace nearly touches Asia as it does towards the south-east at the Thracian Bosphorus. The Propontis, compressed at each end, greatly expands near the coast of Bithynia. Below Bithynia lie Phrygia and Mysia; adjoining those, but more remote from the Propontis and slightly distant from the Ægean, is ancient Lydia. The interior regions of Asia Minor,—extensive, and celebrated for fertile vales and opulent cities,—are inhabited by various nations. The western coast at the upper part facing Thrace, is possessed by the Hellespontians; contiguous is the ruined seat of the Trojans, universally known by their misfortunes. Beneath these, Æolis and Ionia occupy, on one side, a long meandering line of shore; and are bounded, on the other, by Lydia. More southward are the countries of Caria and Doris, of which the inland tracts are extensive, notwithstanding both countries, with their peninsular arms, are nearly embraced by the sea. Westward, are the noble islands, Æolic Lesbos, Ionian Chios and Samos, and Doric Rhodus, with several others celebrated

in history and song. The Greek colonies on this coast still subsist, though even in Alexander's time they had lost their ancient liberty, having become subject to Persia.

From Sestos the Macedonian leader detached the greater part of his army to Abydos on the opposite shore, under the conduct of Parmenio; assigning to him one hundred and sixty galleys, and several transports. The king proceeded with the remainder of the troops to Eleus, at which place, concealed under a *barrow*, was the tomb dedicated to Protesilaus, buried there during the Trojan war. The tumulus was encircled by a grove of elms, celebrated, in the heroics of Philostratus, for two astonishing deviations from the laws of vegetation: On those branches which grow towards Ilium, new leaves spring every morning, and immediately fall off; while the opposite arms of the tree are clothed with ever-green foliage: the leaves prematurely deciduous are imagined to be emblematic of the fate of the hero, who, in the Dardanian expedition of the Greeks, fell, in the flower of his age, the first victim of that war. Alexander offered sacrifices for the dead: and implored heaven to grant him better fortune when he should land on the hostile shore. From Eleus he sailed to Sigeum, a haven famous by having sheltered the fleet of Agamemnon.

In the middle of the Hellespont, Alexander, who acted as pilot of his own ship, sacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereids; the golden cup from which he had poured the libation he cast into the sea, as an offering to the marine deities. When the fleet had entered the harbour, the king threw a lance upon the shore, and, leaping from the ship, was the first that landed; declaring, ‘ That he proposed, with the assistance of the gods in a just war, to become sovereign of Aſia.’ He afterwards erected altars to Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules, at the place of his descent; and he caused similar memorials to be built in Europe on the point of coast whence he had last sailed.

CHAP. IV.

Deportment of Alexander in the Troad. Description of his arms. Junction with Parmenio at Arisbe. March of the army to the Lampſacenian territory. Deliberations of the Persian generals. Arrogance of the Persian king.

ALEXANDER now proceeded to the level country, and surveyed the site of ancient Troy. While he was contemplating some heroic monuments, one of the inhabitants pro-

mised him the harp of Paris: he replied: "I do
" not prize that sordid instrument of effeminate
" strains, but I should eagerly seize the lyre
" on which Achilles struck the praises of
" illustrious heroes, with the hand which
" surpassed their achievements." Alexander
felt it as a trait of glory to be a descendant
of Achilles. He visited the tumulus which
contains his ashes; the *stèle* upon it he anointed
with perfumes, and adorned with a crown;
and with his friends, ran naked around it,
according to the Grecian custom of honouring
the manes of a hero *. Hephæstion placed a
crown upon the tomb of Patroclus, intimating
that he held the same rank in the friendship
of Alexander, as Patroclus held in that of
Achilles. Among many expressions inspired
by the scene, the king said: "I regard Achilles
" as doubly happy; because, living, he found
" a faithful friend; and, when dead, a poet
" who has immortalized his actions." To the
other Hellenic heroes, whose sepulchres on
the Dardanian territory are still pointed out
to the traveller, Alexander solemnized funeral
obsequies. He offered a sacrifice to Priam,
on the altar of Hercius, either to appease the
manes of the venerable king, in slaying whom
Neoptolemus had violated the sanctity of an

* Diod. Sic. lib. xvii

altar; or, to blazon the affinity contracted between his ancestry and the line of Ilium, by the marriage of Neoptolemus with Hector's widow.

Alexander had a most religious veneration for Minerva; and the scenery might remind him, that the destruction of Troy had not been effected till the palladium was removed. After sacrificing with devotion in her temple, he there deposited his arms; taking, in exchange, arms which had hung there from the time of the Trojan war. These he caused to be borne before him, as though he had received them, by the favour of the goddess, to conquer Asia; and he is represented to have actually worn them at the battle of the Granicus. On *other* occasions, he delighted in costly armour; in nothing more studious of elegance. His ordinary buckler was splendid. His helmet, the workmanship of Theophilus, was of iron, but so polished that it shone like the brightest silver: of its lofty, graceful crest, the nodding plumes were remarkable for their snowy whiteness. His corslet was formed of double layers of linen, strongly quilted: a gorget of iron, enriched with sparkling gems, connected this with the helmet. From a superb belt, on which the incomparable Helicon had exerted all his art, hung a sword famed both for edge and temper, and what augmented its value

was, that with so much strength in the steel, it was light, and easy to wield. Under the breast-plate, he sometimes wore a short military coat of the Sicilian fashion, girt close about him. Of these arms several articles came into his possession after the time which the narrative has reached, as presents or trophies: the corslet was found among the spoils at the battle of Issus: the sword was a gift from the king of the Citici, a people of Cyprus*: the Rhodians contributed the belt. I am not ashamed to repeat particulars of this sort which ancient authors thought worth recording; — there can scarcely be any thing, in the sayings, the manners, or the actions, of illustrious men, so minute, as not to amuse, or instruct, or excite useful reflection. The arms of Alexander have been objects of veneration in succeeding ages; and Time, the general destroyer, long spared them, as from respect. One of our commanders, after the conquest of the Pontic provinces, wore Alexander's military coat at a triumphal procession in Rome. Another Roman general, habited in the corslet of the Macedonian victor, traversed the bridge, which, in imitation of Darius and Xerxes, he had built over the sea.

* According to Plutarch, it was with the sword presented by the king of Citium that Alexander triumphed over Darius.

From the temple of Minerva, Alexander marched to Arisbe, where the Macedonians under Parmenio were encamped.

On the following day, he passed the towns Percote and Lampsacus, and arrived on the banks of the Practius, which rising in the Idean mountains, flows through the territories of Lampsacus and Abydos, and, winding northward, empties itself into the Propontis. Thence, leaving Hermotus on one side, he marched to Colonæ, a town seated in the heart of the Lampsacenan territory. Having received all those places into his protection, and pardoned the inhabitants of Lampsacus *, he sent Panegorus to accept the surrender of the city of the Priapeni.

Alexander detached Amyntas, the son of Arrabæus, with four troops, (one consisting of Apolloniates under the command of Socrates,) to advance and observe the enemy.

The enemy were manœuvring in a position not greatly distant; and were preparing with solicitude to meet the approaching war: but the question, Whether the attack should be repelled by force, or eluded by policy, distracted their counsels. Memnon, by far the most skilful of their generals, recommended a course not unlike that

* Ante, p. 34.

since taken by our own Fabius: “ Let us destroy every thing, in every direction, that
“ can be of any use to the enemy, and retire
“ farther into the country; let us trample on,
“ and waste the grass with our cavalry; let us
“ burn the villages and towns, and leave in our
“ rear a naked desert. The Macedonians, who
“ have brought scarcely a month’s provision,
“ confide on living by plunder: now if their
“ subsistence by that means be prevented, they
“ must, after a short interval, retreat; and the
“ whole of Asia will be saved at a comparatively
“ small expense. It is true the necessity for
“ this partial sacrifice is to be deplored: but on
“ all occasions where danger pregnant with total
“ destruction is impending, the wise cheer-
“ fully deliver themselves from the tremendous
“ risk by submitting to a small loss. Thus if
“ a limb of the human body be seized with a
“ morbid inflammation, which, spreading, would
“ destroy the whole frame, physicians amputate
“ the limb to preserve the body. And we are
“ encouraged to do this by a successful precedent;
“ for Darius formerly caused these provinces
“ to be devastated, lest the Scythians
“ should effect a passage through them. A
“ battle with the Macedonians, at this time,
“ will expose the whole empire to hazard:

“ should we be defeated, Alexander will gain
“ this entire region, and a road to the interior
“ provinces; should victory attend the Persian
“ arms, we shall remain merely as we are, we
“ shall reap nothing. There is cause to appre-
“ hend, that the infantry already with us, is of
“ that description, that though much more nu-
“ merous, it will not be able to resist the Ma-
“ cedonian phalanx. Besides, the presence of
“ Darius, if we wait for it, will contribute, in
“ no slight degree, to victory, since the soldi-
“ ers, conscious that their monarch is fighting
“ with them, and surveying their actions, will
“ feel at once the stimulations of hope, shame,
“ and the desire of glory; advantages which
“ the Macedonians at this moment possess.
“ Besides, no one can doubt that it is eligible
“ to carry the war into the enemy’s territory;
“ rather than suffer our own country to be the
“ seat of conflict. Now, if we retreat in the
“ manner which I have proposed,—the enemy,
“ unable to pursue, will leave us leisure to plan
“ the invasion of Macedon.”

These views of Memnon the other Persian generals scarcely examined. They abruptly terminated the deliberations, concurring in remarks to this effect: ‘ That to create a little delay by waste and destruction might answer the pur-

‘ pose of Memnon, the *Rhodian**, who would
‘ derive a benefit from protracting the war, the
‘ benefit of enjoying his offices and emoluments
‘ proportionally longer: but that it would be
‘ an indelible disgrace to Persian governors to
‘ betray the people who had been confided to
‘ their protection: nor could they justify such
‘ conduct to the king, whose instructions to
‘ them prescribed far different operations in
‘ prosecuting the war.’ Indeed Darius, on be-
ing informed of Alexander’s departure from
Macedon, had, in the dispatches to his satraps,
commanded them: “To impress on the mind
“ of that rash boy of Philip’s a due sense of his
“ years and station, by flogging him: then to
“ send him to Darius habited in purple and
“ bound in chains: to sink all his ships with
“ their crews: and to drive his soldiers to ba-
“ nishment on the remote borders of the Red
“ Sea.” So confident of the future did the il-
lusions of unbounded pride make the Persian
monarch. Ignorant of his destiny, no longer
feeling that he shared in human weakness, he
pretended to have affinity with the gods. The
last illusion sprung rather from the near ap-

* We cannot suppose that the *uncourtly* parts of these animad-
versions were urged by open council; but were suspicions against the
motives of Memnon, which the jealous princes whispered to each
other.

proach which he seemed to make to them in power, than from any reliance on the ancient fable which derived the name of Persia, and the lineage of its kings, from Perseus the son of Jupiter.

Not long previously, Darius had addressed to the Athenians letters in a style equally arrogant, with this insulting conclusion, ‘ That since they had preferred the friendship of the Macedonian to his, they must not, for the future, apply to him for gold ; for however they should beg, he would send them none.’

CHAP. V.

Alexander spares the estate of Memnon. Alters the name of a month. Stoops to practise on the superstition of his soldiers. The battle of the Granicus. Deportment of the king after the victory. Dedicates part of the spoil in Minerva's temple at Athens.

HAVING prosecuted his march, Alexander now touched the hither boundary of that tract of land which the king of Persia had bestowed on Memnon : but before he passed this demesne, he, in general orders, enjoined the Macedonian captains and army, neither to injure the tenants

of Memnon, nor the produce of the soil; an artifice by which he designed either to render suspected the most active of the enemy's generals, and the only officer among them whom he did not despise, or to draw him over to his interest. This forbearance of Alexander astonished some of his attendants, who felt no scruple to urge, that as Memnon was the most inveterate as well as the ablest antagonist of the Macedonians, it behoved them to execute him, if he should fall into their hands, and that in the meantime they ought to spoil and destroy whatever belonged to him. "Rather," replies their leader, more politic, if not more humane, "let us win him by good offices, from an enemy converting him to a friend; he will then exert his courage and talents to serve us."

In ordinary cases, the Macedonian phalanx, which had sixteen ranks, marched from its flank, which made the front of the column sixteen files wide. Having reached the Adrasteian plains, it now marched from its flank in double columns, with an interstice between them; the cavalry on the wings; the waggons and baggage in the rear. Scouts had before brought intelligence, that the enemy intended to make a stand on the Granicus; and now the advanced guard, consisting of horsemen armed with pikes,

and five hundred light infantry*, who had been detached to examine the fords, and observe the enemy, returned with intelligence, that the Persians occupied an advantageous position on the other side of the Granicus, and were in order of battle, waiting to receive the invaders. The king halted, and called a council of war on the propriety of leading the army over to attack the enemy. A majority of his generals represented, ‘ That it was a rash attempt, ‘ and an impracticable thing, to stem the current of that deep river in the presence of ‘ twenty thousand horse and innumerable foot ‘ guarding the opposite lofty bank, naturally ‘ difficult of access.’ Other individuals diffused and countenanced timidity, by suggesting, ‘ That it was then the month of Desius†, which, ‘ it might be recollected, had always been ‘ unfortunate to the Macedonians.’ Alexander, though he could not perceive the danger, forbore to outrage the superstition, which had raised among his followers so many advocates of delay; convinced that superstition has a sovereign influence over weak minds. He, therefore, by an edict, expunged Desius from the Macedonian tables of time, substituting a repetition of the name of the preceding month,

* Gillies’s *Greece*, chap. xxxvii.

† Corresponding to June.

with an explanatory ordinal, *Artemisius the second*. And to restore the confidence of those who had been alarmed, he covertly instructed Aristander, whose office it was to sacrifice for a prosperous passage, to write, with a chemical colour, a fortunate sentence on the palm of the hand, which receives the entrails; inverting the characters, that, dissolved by the warm liver, they might be imprinted on its surface in the proper order. By this coarse artifice, unworthy of the king, the detection of which might have disconcerted him for ever, was obtained the answer: "The gods give the victory to Alexander." This supposed miracle being circulated through the camp, the soldiers unanimously burst into loud acclamations: "After such a proof of the celestial favour, what can we fear?" Considering themselves predestined to conquer, they felt themselves adequate to take success by storm.

Availing himself of the impetuous ardour of their minds, the king determined immediately to lead them over, notwithstanding Parmenio advised and entreated him to defer it, at least till the morning, as great part of the day was consumed: but Alexander said to his cautious general, in a style of raillery: "The Hellespont will blush, if, after passing that, we want so much preparation to cross a brook."

The leader of the Greeks and Macedonians sprung on his horse. Under his dispositions, the whole army opened, and spread along the bank of the river in order of battle: the phalanx, essentially the main-body, divided into eight sections, stood in the centre; the Macedonian cavalry formed the right wing; the Grecian, the left. Alexander assumed in person the command of the right wing, confiding the left and centre to Parmenio. Either he considered that the breadth of the river would render his military engines, the balistas and catapults*, unavailing, or he disdained to employ them, in the hope of soon closing with the enemy.

Olymp. cxi. 3. Alexander has now completed
A. C. 334. his orders; the two armies behold
Ætat. Alex. 22. each other in portentous silence; this solemn pause is interrupted by the Macedonian trumpets resounding throughout the line. On this signal, Ptolemy, the son of Philip by Arsinoë, began to ford the river, at the head of a squadron of *Cataphracts*†, followed by two bodies of light dragoons, and a battalion of infantry commanded by Amyntas.

* See, ante, p. 138.

† Cavalry completely covered with defensive armour. *Cuirassiers* is the modern term which most nearly answers to *Cataphracts*. See Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.

More to the right, Alexander advanced, at the same moment, under a shower of arrows from the enemy, with thirteen troops of chosen cavalry, attended by a covering party of archers and Agrians. They with difficulty effected their way through the conflicting waves, and across the heavy stream. Before the king could obtain firm footing on the shore, or restore to order the ranks broken in their passage, he was charged on all sides by the Persian cavalry. The sharpness of the battle may be estimated by the amount of the hostile forces.

When the native generals of the enemy—rejecting Memnon's counsel; and adopting the declaration of Arsites, governor of Phrygia, that not a hut should be burnt within his jurisdiction—resolved to fight; they posted their army, consisting of one hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, along the Granicus, relying on the river as a bulwark against the progress of Alexander. This was their order of battle: Against the Macedonian right-wing, which they perceived to be directed by Alexander in person, they opposed their native cavalry, their chief reliance; manœuvred by Memnon and his sons, in conjunction with Arsanes the Persian, and supported by the auxiliary Paphlagonian horse under Arsites. A reserve to this left-wing, consisting partly of the Hyrcanian

cavalry, was commanded by Spithridates, son-in-law to the Persian monarch, associated with his brother Rhæsaces, governor of Libya and Ionia. The main-body * of the foot, which included the Greek mercenaries, was directed by Pharnaces, brother of the queen; by Arbupales, a descendant of Artaxerxes; and by Mithrobarzanes, governor of Cappadocia. Farther to the right, Niphates and Petanes, with Arsaces and Atizyes, commanded levies from various nations which were Persian provinces. On the right flank stood two thousand Medes, and an equal number of Bactrians, under the orders of Rheomithres.

The enemy, having a decided superiority of numbers and the advantage of position, had destroyed, or driven back into the river, the first lines of horse led by Ptolemy. Alexander, regarding an opportunity of combating as the same thing with victory, rallied those troops, and maintained his ground on the bank. The battle was close and sanguinary. Conspicuous by his arms, by his bravery, and by the rapidity with which he traversed the field to give orders, he was sought out and pressed by a cloud of assailants. In the heat of this complex rencounter, a dart, levelled at the king, stuck in a fold

* Freins, transposit. et per inductionem.

of the lower part of his armour, without wounding him. Now, Rhæsaces and Spithridates, two of the boldest among the Persian commanders, assailed him together. Alexander launched his spear against Spithridates, whose breast-plate repelled and broke it. While he was drawing his sword, the brother of Spithridates, riding up, with a powerful swing of his scimitar, cleft the helmet of Alexander, whose hair was grazed by the weapon. Part of the helmet falling, the Persian was preparing to repeat the blow on the unprotected part of the head, thus laid bare; at this moment, Clitus, who, on perceiving the imminent danger of Alexander, had sprung to his aid, cut off the uplifted arm of Rhæsaces, which fell with the grasped sword to the ground. At the same instant, the sword of Alexander slew Spithridates.

Down to the last files of the Persian horse, the Macedonians, charging through the interstices in the ranks, now carried carnage. But the mighty range of Persian squadrons, like the columns of a magnificent temple in ruins, were yet too firm to be easily removed, and too numerous not to present to the eye grand masses and extensive lines. The enemy's cavalry continued to resist Alexander's, with gallant obstinacy, long after the slaughter of the greater

part of their generals had thrown them into disorder, till at length their consternation is rendered complete by the approach of the Macedonian phalanx, which had crossed the river, led by Parmenio. The Barbarian cavalry now lost all their firmness; in their precipitate flight, a thousand were overtaken and slain.

The Persian foot had imagined, that their horse, exclusively, was abundantly competent to defeat Alexander; and had prepared for plunder, rather than defence: having unexpectedly to sustain the shock of the whole Macedonian army, they presented a feeble countenance, and fell, uncontending victims, not in a fight, but a butchery.

The Greek infantry, however, in the Persian service, under the command of Omare, having seized an eminence, sent deputies to Alexander, to stipulate for permission to retire unmolested. When the king, in answer to this proposition, rushed upon them sword in hand, they opposed a steady and vigorous defence. In this conflict there fell more Macedonians, than in the engagement with the Persian cavalry. In a charge at the head of the most advanced, the horse which the king rode was run through the body with a sword. Then, the impetuous Macedonian, having enclosed the desperate Greeks with his ca-

valry and infantry, devoted them to the fiercest slaughter, till two thousand only were left, who surrendered at discretion.

Of the enemy, the entire number killed was twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse; the prisoners from them were nearly to the same amount. All the Persian generals, except five, died honourably, from wounds in the field. Memnon, Arsaces, Rheomithres, Atizyes, and Arsites, saved themselves by flight: but Arsites, as soon as he had reached Phrygia, perpetrated suicide, under a paroxysm of shame and remorse, conscious that he should be deservedly regarded as the cause of the defeat*.

The few men which this victory cost Alexander, were among the bravest of his soldiers. Of the foot, thirty fell; and seventy of the horse.

To diffuse through the army a confidence, that the leader of the Greeks and Macedonians would, in every event, reward and distinguish the brave,—that leader enriched all who survived the battle, with the spoils of the Persians, and magnificently interred the slain, with their arms and accoutrements; granting immunities to their wives and children. The wounded he treated with cherishing care, visiting them indi-

* Ante, p. 191, and 197.

vidually in their tents, sympathising with the most obscure soldier, and animating him under his sufferings, by commendations, by assurances of promotion, by liberal gifts. To the army, this condescension and beneficence so endeared the king, that, thenceforward, a spirit of fidelity and devotion to him, made them with alacrity encounter the fiercest perils; none betraying a reluctance to shed their blood for a leader, who alleviated the hardships of a military life with well-timed accommodations, and who planted laurel on the common soldier's grave.

In the battle, the band of the FRIENDS* surmounted trying disadvantages, under which the acclivity of the ground had placed them, at the onset; vanquishing the multitude of Persian cavalry, by whom they had been severely pressed. Of this band five and twenty individuals fell, whose memory Alexander distinguished by an eminent group of honours; an equestrian statue of each, in bronze, from the mould of Lysippus†, was erected in Dium, a town of Macedonia; whence, upon the fall of that kingdom, they have been transferred to our imperial city by Metellus.

* Eight squadrons of chosen cavalry were honoured with the name of *friends and companions* to the king.

† Ante, p. 14.

The Thessalians were the main strength of Alexander's cavalry*. On this occasion, the whole army performed its part; the cavalry, on whom the decision depended, displayed extraordinary resolution and valour; the Thessalian squadrons signalized themselves.

The first wreath of distinction, on account of the victory, is due to the king. After weighing the nature of the ground, and the attitude of the enemy, he disposed his army with consummate military skill. He led his troops through the river in an *oblique order*, both to lessen the inconvenience from the current, and to prevent them from being charged in flank, as they ascended from the water. When they were thrown into confusion, and began to waver, he animated them to "one more vigorous attack." His own gallant lance and sword killed numbers of the enemy; and that division of the enemy's army, which he, with Clitus and his attendants, assailed; was the first to fly. His determination to engage, and his manner of engaging, possessed more just decision, than temerity; for having to contend with an untried enemy, far superior in number, he contrived to arm his soldiers with desperation; if the passage of the river was difficult, retreat was im-

possible : he left them no medium between safety and victory.

Alexander extended the *rites* of interment to the superior officers among the Persian, slain, and also to the Greeks in the enemy's pay, who had fallen. But the Greek mercenaries whom he had taken prisoners, he sent to Macedon, to be distributed in the prisons there, because, in contempt of the decree of the Amphictyons, they had fought, under Barbarian leaders, against their own country. The Thebans, however, he dismissed, conceiving their offence not to be wilful, but inevitable; as their city was destroyed, their lands confiscated, and they had escaped to coerced exile barely with life; their multiplied calamities, which had sated vengeance, now awakened his commiseration.

Three hundred bucklers, selected out of the Persian arms taken, the conqueror sent to Athens, to be suspended in the temple of Minerva, with this inscription : " Alexander, the son of Philip, and all the Greeks, the Lacedæmonians excepted, dedicate these spoils won from the Barbarians who inhabit Asia." Independent of religious devotion, and a desire to have his exploits known, he had a twofold motive to this act : by extending to the Greeks a liberal share in the fame of the victory, he might bring them to a more prompt and cheer-

ful compliance with the requisitions of the war : at the same time, he affixed a stigma to the selfishness or sullenness of the Lacedæmonians, who, consulting their separate interest, had cut themselves off from the general body of the Greeks, and from a participation in the glory, which the splendid trophies taken from the Persians would perpetuate.

Not unmindful of his mother, to whom he constantly behaved with true filial duty, the king sent her the cups of gold, robes of purple, and other valuables of that description, found in the spoil ; reserving for his own use but a small proportion.

CHAP. VI.

Alexander returns to Troy. Omen retrospectively noticed. The victor receives the submission of various places in Phrygia, Ionia, and other provinces. His moderation and policy. He resigns his mistress Campaspe to Apelles : Notice of doubtful anecdotes related of the artist. Alexander liberally endows the temple of Diana : The Ephesians refuse to inscribe his name upon it.

AFTER the battle, Alexander repaired a second time to Troy, and offered thanksgivings to the goddess, who had, at the trying commence-

ment of a weighty war, furnished him with arms, and animated him with auspicious presages. For when he formerly landed from the Hellespont on the Ilian shore*, there lay, prostrated on the ground, in front of the temple of Minerva, an equestrian statue of Ariobarzanus, who had formerly been governor of Phrygia. Aristander, who, with the king, witnessed this, construed it into an omen of glorious victory in an equestrian engagement, in which the conqueror should, with his own hand, slay the enemy's general: but the hierophant pronounced the result to be so far conditional, that the field of battle must border on Phrygia. The action on the Granicus† countenanced the prediction.

The king made presents of imperial value to the temple of the goddess. To the village encircled by the ruins of ancient Troy, he gave the title of city; and that it might respectably support that title, he appointed officers to restore and enlarge it; and conferred on it, freedom and various immunities. And because the temple, besides being in a state of decay, appeared to Alexander too limited for the worship of Minerva, he vowed to raise to her a magnificent structure, should the future afford him op-

* Ante, p. 184.

† Ante, p. 199.

portunity. Fate arrested him, while meditating this, with other great designs: nor were they executed by his successors.

The battle of the Granicus had laid open to the victor all that part of Asia which lies on this side mount Taurus and the Euphrates: Destitute, not only of a protecting army, but of satraps and leaders, the awed inhabitants of Phrygia, Ionia, and Caria, had no hopes but in the clemency of Alexander; fearfully impatient to obtain this clemency, they tendered their allegiance, like rivals in submission. The king constituted Calas, general of the Thessalians, governor of Phrygia*. Ambassadors, bearing the homage of the contiguous mountain-tracts, were dismissed by the king, with an assurance that they were received into his protection. He pardoned the Zeliti, because he knew that the coercion of the Persians had armed them against him.

Alexander imposed on the cities and provinces thus acquired a tribute no greater in amount than that which they had been accustomed to pay Darius; and he observed the same moderation with regard to every new conquest. He was sensible, that a foreign government is always regarded as an invidious

intrusion, and impatiently borne, even when exercised with more lenity than the expelled domestic administration: but if to the former burdens of the subject new impositions are added, the change of masters is felt as an intolerable usurpation: wherefore, when a courtier suggested, that he might, by increasing the taxes of so large an empire, materially augment his revenue, he replied, ‘ That he abhorred the
‘ sottish avidity of a gardener, who pulled up
‘ by the roots those plants, which he ought to
‘ be contented with cropping at seasonable
‘ times.’

Informed that the enemy still held Dascylium, he detached thither Parmenio, whom the inhabitants eagerly received; the Persian garrison having quitted it on the approach of the Macedonians. Alexander in person proceeded to Sardis; then the capital of a chain of provinces, which the Persian kings committed to satraps governing maritime divisions of the empire; and more anciently the splendid metropolis of the unfortunate Cræsus, the last king of Lydia. Seventy stadia from the city, Mithrenes, whom Darius had made governor of the citadel, accompanied by the principal Sardian nobility, met the conqueror; and surrendered the municipal jurisdiction, and the forts, with the treasures. The Macedonian ruler restored Sardis

to its ancient privileges and laws, after it had endured, above two centuries, the oppressions of Persia.

Encamping on the river Hermus, about twenty stadia from Sardis, he sent forward Amyntas, the son of Andromene, to receive the keys of the citadel. Seated on a lofty hill, on all sides difficult of access, it would have been tenable against any force, even without its walls and triple rampart. Alexander was highly satisfied with his success, in obtaining this capital fortress without the process of a long siege, which would have retarded the execution of his great designs; in gratitude, he resolved to build there a temple to Jupiter Olympius. While surveying the ground, to discover the fittest station for the structure, a sudden storm poured a flood of rain, with partial fury, on that part of the area within the citadel where anciently had stood the palace of the Lydian king. Believing the site to be thus pointed out by heaven, he ordered the temple to be erected on this spot.

Knowing that the Sardians* entertained a peculiar veneration for Diana, whom they worshipped under the name of *Coloëne*, he made her

temple an asylum. He restored to the Lydians their favourite laws and institutions.

To induce other Persian officers to imitate the perfidy of Mithrenes, the political invader degraded promotions, and tainted honours, by showering them on that traitor, making him at length prefect of Armenia*.

In the citadel of Sardis† was found an account of the money which had been distributed by the satraps of Darius, to instigate the Greeks to a war with Macedon : as a central organ of circulation, Demosthenes, in particular, had been supplied with vast largesses, as appeared from some of his letters, preserved in the archives‡. Alexander, however, having made a peace with the Athenians, by which former grounds of dispute were cancelled, did not deem it proper to complain publicly of these proceedings : but he saw it the more necessary to counteract—by general vigilance, and individual courtesies—the powerful eloquence and refined intrigues of this inveterate opponent, lest the people of Attica should be seduced from their engagements; a defection which might influence all Greece. Another Athenian had attracted the king's *esteem*; Phocion maintained in it as exalted a place as any

* Frei..s. transposit.

† Eodem.

‡ Ante, p. 142.

man, by the incorruptible, undeviating virtue, and soaring integrity, which shed a lustre round his poverty. The king was attentive to him at first, for the uses to which he imagined address might mould him: but when he had received multiplied convictions of his magnanimity, the interested, measuring valuation of the politician was absorbed in unbounded admiration. To relate here two circumstances, which should be postponed, if regulated merely by their date:—Alexander, in the course of his attempts to gain him, sent him a hundred talents, [£22,500,] and desired him to select one as his own, out of these four cities in Greece—Cius, Elæa, Mylassa, Patara; places of considerable rank. Phocion inflexibly refused the whole of this superb temptation: but lest he should be construed to spurn at the friendship of Alexander, he prayed him to grant, as a favour to himself, liberty to the sophist Echecratides; Athenodorus, the Imbrian; Demaratus and Sparto, Rhodians; all then imprisoned in the fortress at Sardis. When the king, after the overthrow of Darius, had become so extravagantly elated, as to consider the persons whom he addressed by letter, as unworthy of the usual form of salutation, he continued that compliment to Phocion as well as to Antipater.

Alexander had now to provide for the security

rity of the conquered territories, and to form provincial governments and administrations. To Pausanias, of the Band of Friends*, he confided the important citadel of Sardis, with the command of the Argive auxiliaries. The other confederate Greeks, with the satrapy from which Memnon had been driven, were placed under the command of Calas, and Alexander the son of Æropus. Nicias was commissioned to collect the imposts and tributes. Assander, the son of Philotas, obtained the government of Lydia under the same limitations as Spithridates had held it.

These appointments completed,—Alexander marched to Ephesus†, which the garrison, apprized of the defeat of the Persian army, had quitted in two gallies: With them escaped Amyntas, the son of Antiochus, because he feared, that the malignant and unprovoked opposition which he had manifested, had kindled a flame of inextinguishable resentment in the king. It is remarkable, that more than one Macedonian of the name of Amyntas were enemies and traitors to Alexander.

On the fourth day after leaving Sardis, Alexander entered Ephesus. He recalled all the persons whom the oligarchy had exiled, and

Freins. transposit.

† Ibid.

flattered the attachment of the citizens to unmixed democracy, by reëstablishing that form (as by daring trope it may be termed) of government. The mass, as soon as they were liberated from restraint, and invested with power, clamorously demanded, that the party which had called in Memnon; and the citizens who had either cast down the statue erected to Philip, or had levelled the monument in the forum to the patriot Heropythus; and those individuals, (for with the names and actions of the proscribed they mingled profligates and crimes,) who had pillaged the temple of Diana, should all be punished according to their demerits. At this outcry, Pelagon and his brother Syrphaces, with their kinsmen, were dragged from the violated asylum of the temple, and were stoned to death. All things were tending to turbulence and effusion of blood, when Alexander, interposing, arrested the outrages of the rabble, and prohibited any accusation or molestation founded on past transactions. Thus was a shield extended over the superior class of citizens, who would otherwise, to expiate their dignity or riches, have been, on the pretext of some former offence, immolated to the revenge and avarice of a despotic, remorseless, multitude.

A deputation from Magnesia overtook Alexander at Ephesus, while another met him from

Trallus,—to convey the submission of both cities. The king detached Parmenio to Æolia, with five thousand foot, and two hundred horse; and caused Alcimalus to traverse Ionia with a similar force; that they might take possession in his name of the scattered states and municipalities; instructing both generals to abolish oligarchy, and to restore democracy, in all the Grecian colonies,—for he had discovered that the Grecian colonies were well affected to him, or, which is the same thing in its effects, were highly impatient and irritated under the curb and lash of their Asiatic tyrant. The most turbid forms of popular domination he might allow to small, separate states, without much danger to him or to themselves, while he retained the power to moderate domestic faction.

At Ephesus, Alexander frequently recreated his mind, after the fatigues of government, by visiting the study of Apelles*. The picture of Alexander grasping a thunderbolt, painted for the temple of Ephesian Diana, gained the artist a reward of twenty talents. For his Venus Anadyomené, in the sanctuary at Cos, the second Cæsar, our great Augustus, remitted to the inhabitants a hundred talents of tribute, although time or accident had then impaired the

lower part of the piece: the traits effaced no one of our painters would venture to restore. The model of this Venus was Campaspe*, Alexander's favourite mistress, of exquisite beauty, and the first who had attracted his youthful heart. The sensibility of Apelles was too deeply penetrated by the charms which he had successfully depicted. Alexander, as soon as apprized of his passion, in return for the picture, made him a present of the original, resigning the personal interest which Campaspe had so long maintained in his own heart†. If the prince consulted the sentiments of the beloved object, in promoting her marriage with Apelles, he acted with peculiar magnanimity.

Another story of these great men is not so well authenticated; namely, this: Apelles painted an equestrian portrait of Alexander, in which the representation of the horse did not satisfy the king: while the king was pointing out its defects, a living horse neighed in passing the picture; and Apelles, availing himself of so singular an incident, said, "The horse seems a better judge of painting than your Majesty." But the repartee, supposing it to have occurred, had more freedom than justice: because, the deceptive piece might possess visible life, with-

Ælian calls her Pancasta.

† Plin. iii. 222. et seq.

out characterizing the beauty, spirit, and majesty of Bucephalus. Still less do I credit an anecdote, describing Alexander, on another occasion, when he differed from the painter, as pronouncing with great vehemence and volubility, some observations on the art which betrayed total ignorance of its principles: when Apelles interrupted him by a taunting reprimand, neither consistent with the dignity of conscious genius*, nor with the deference which was due to Alexander, not merely as a king, but as a man of taste, who patronized the arts. More probable is that version of the anecdote, which substitutes, for Alexander, a superior among the *Megabizi*, as the priests of Diana were called: this man was pouring out a torrent of impertinence on the finished pictures round, as well as the pieces on the easel:—Apelles told him, ‘ That while he had remained silent, ‘ his ornaments of gold and purple gained ‘ him the veneration of the ignorant: but ‘ lecturing on an art of which he knew nothing,

* With the frankness of his age and nation, he assumed the merit which belonged to him, and freely asserted, that none of his competitors could imitate the gracefulness of his attitudes and figures. But in some other branches of the art, he acknowledged his inferiority to several of his contemporaries. The desire of seeing the works of Protogenes carried him to Rhodes; he drew Protogenes from obscurity; raised the price of his pictures; and taught the Rhodians, who had undervalued the *same* talents in their fellow-citizen which they admired in a stranger, to perceive his eminent merit.—*Gillies*.

‘ he was an object of ridicule even to the boys
‘ grinding the colours.’

Fourteen years, the temple* lay a magnificent pile of ruins; eight years, the Ephesians had been engaged in rebuilding it, and were still prosecuting the work†. Alexander assisted their pious zeal, by throwing into the revenues of Diana the tribute from that city, until then paid to the Persians.—Its ancient privilege, as an asylum, which Bacchus had instituted, and Hercules had respected, this politic governor confirmed; enlarging the boundaries of the sanctuary to one square stadium. Afterwards, when he had conquered Asia, he proposed, in a letter to the Ephesians, ‘ To reimburse all that
‘ they had expended on the edifice, and to supply whatever treasures were necessary to
‘ complete it, provided his name were inscribed
‘ on the new temple.’ Unwilling to concede their honours as the founders, they veiled their refusal under a cloud of incense. Availing themselves of his claim to be worshipped as Jupiter’s son, they declared, by their ambassadors, ‘ That he could not, as they conceived,
‘ dedicate a temple to Diana, without stepping
‘ down from his own rank as a deity: while
‘ the same addiction by a community of men
‘ were a proper homage to her superior nature.’

* Ante, p. 13. † Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 641. Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 10.

They were not venal flatterers; for, while they forfeited his profuse offers, they expended their own riches on the building, even to their jewels*. With the same address, they employed Apelles to paint that inimitable picture which has been adverted to†.

CHAP. VII.

Alexander restores Smyrna. Attempts to unite the gulfs. Siege of Miletus. His sarcasm on the statues to Athletæ. Antiquities there.

THE seat in which the Smyrnæans had anciently flourished, was, about this time, restored to

* Aristot. *Cur. Rei. Famil.* t. ii. p. 505. Strabo, *ut supra*.

† *Ante*, p. 214. Pliny tells us, [lib. xxxv. c. 32.] that “the celebrated painters, Apelles, Echion, Melanthius, and Nicomachus, accomplished their immortal works with four colours only; using for whites, the Meline calx,—for yellows, the Athenian ochre,—for reds, the Sinopian earth,—for blacks, the atramentum,” (a compound of ivory-black and glue); “but as far as Apelles and Nicomachus are concerned, this is a mistake; and it is not unlikely that Pliny was misled by an imperfect recollection of a passage in Cicero—[*Brutus, seu de Claris Oratoribus*, c. 18.]—“Painting shows a similar progression. In Zeuxis and Polygnotus, and Timanthes, and those who used no more than four colours, we applaud the DESIGN and PROPORTIONS: but in the later pictures of Ætion, Nicomachus, Protogenes, and Apelles, ALL THE BRANCHES OF THE ART are perfect.” Pliny himself describes the Venus Anadyomené; and in this picture the sea was represented, which required azure.—*Paper by Sir H. Davy, Transactions of the Royal Society of London for 1815. Part I. No. 8. p. 122.*

their descendants, after they had lived dispersed in villages during four hundred years, the interval since the destruction of pristine Smyrna by the Lydians. Influenced by a dream, Alexander rebuilt it about twenty stadia from the place where the old city had stood. Accustomed, when affairs of moment would permit, to take the exercise of hunting, he, one day, after the fatigues of the chase, fell asleep on the mountain Pagus; embraced by repose, he imagined that he heard the Nemesis (whose temple was contiguous) command him to found a city in the place where he was, and people it with the Smyrnæans. In harmony with this dream, the oracle of Apollo Clarius promised to the inquiring Smyrnæans, that their removal would redound to their benefit. The foundations of the new city are, in consequence, laid under the orders of the king: Antigonus had the glory of finishing it, Alexander having committed to him the government of Lydia, Phrygia, and the contiguous tracts.

The Clazomenii inhabit a little promontory on the narrowest part of the gulf of Smyrna, running almost the distance of sixty stadia into the sea. Their territory is part of a peninsula, which stretching into the Ægean, by the isle of Chios, has Erythræ, famous for its sybils, towards the northern extremity; and Teos,

nearly opposite to the Clazomenii, on the southern side of the Isthmus. Near Teos, is the mountain Mimas, of great altitude, but of gentle declivity at its base, terminating in a plain near the territory of the Clazomenii. Alexander, having surveyed the place, resolved to cut a channel through the isthmus, which, encompassing Mimas and Erythræ, should separate the peninsula from the continent, and unite the gulfs of Smyrna and Ephesus. This was the solitary project in which he failed, fortune concurring with him to accomplish all his other undertakings. The humiliating disappointment drew from him this superstitious reflection: “It is not lawful for mortals to change the face
“ of nature, and such an attempt is the more
“ presumptuous after others have engaged in it
“ and miscarried.” These expressions *might* be dictated by art; for while they contained an apology for his failure, they were calculated to deter others from inflicting on him the additional mortification which the completion of what he had abandoned would give to a spirit too extravagantly proud to be uniformly magnanimous. A less gigantic work, that of joining Clazomenæ to the continent, the king committed to one of his lieutenants: This was effected by a mole, or causeway, two stadia in length: The separation had been artificial; the Clazome-

nii having converted their territory into an island, to protect themselves from the Persians.

To Diana, Alexander now offered magnificent sacrifices; during which, to swell the honours which he paid her, his assembled forces were present under arms. Leaving Ephesus the following day, he marched to Miletus, the ancient capital of Ionia; taking with him all the infantry, the Thracian cavalry, and four of the select squadrons, called his friends, including the royal band. Hegesistratus, the governor of Miletus, had intimated by letter to Alexander, that he would surrender the place to him. Understanding, afterwards, that the Persian fleet was approaching, the vacillating Barbarian conceived the design of maintaining for Darius the fortress, which was abundantly supplied with arms, provisions, and every requisite to endure a long siege: the garrison was numerous, Memnon having in his flight, after the battle of the Granicus, reinforced it with a considerable body of troops.

Alexander, falling suddenly upon the enemy with his incensed army, possessed himself, immediately on commencing the siege, of the outward town, as it was termed: The citizens and garrison, to prevent their strength from being divided, had retired into the inner town, resolving there to wait for reinforcements, which

they were informed were at hand. Their expectations of relief were frustrated by the arrival of the Macedonian fleet, under Nicanor, who took possession of the island of Ladé, lying above Miletus. Apprised that the Persian fleet were at anchor under the mountain Mycale, Alexander's admiral sailed into the Milesian harbour, and cut off the besieged from succour. Nor did the Barbarians offer to obstruct him, notwithstanding they had nearly four hundred vessels, while Nicanor's force did not exceed one hundred and sixty.

During these naval proceedings, Glaucippus, the most considerable person in the city, was sent to Alexander, to demand that the suburbs and the harbour might be held in common by the Persians and Macedonians; but he returned with this uncompromising answer: "Alexander has not come into Asia to accept what others have no objection to bestow: no, with what he can spare every one must be satisfied. The people of Miletus ought to know it to be their duty to confide their fortunes to the arbitration of their superior, unless they are prepared, as soon as the morning dawns, to appeal to the sword."

The Milesians gallantly repelled the first shock of the Macedonians, killing, among others, the two sons of Hellenica, foster-mother

to Alexander, and sister to the brave Clitus. Afflicted and incensed, the companions of the regretted slain brought their military machines to act upon the city wall, and soon made a practicable breach. Now, the Macedonian preparations for storming were complete: the besieged beholding, in one direction, fierce enemies climbing to the assault; and in another, hostile gallies entering the harbour, were suddenly seized with a disordering panic. Some of the garrison, buoying themselves on their leather bucklers, swam to the opposite island; others, in little boats rowed for the same point, but these were taken by the Macedonian vessels at the mouth of the harbour.

Alexander, having reduced the fortress, dispatched gallies against the small party which had reached the island; providing the troops on board with ladders, to ascend the lofty and craggy bank, as in the escalade of a city. But observing that the Greeks in the pay of the Persians, (not exceeding, altogether, three hundred men,) were ready to sacrifice their lives, in the last extremity, he began to sympathize with, and to admire, the fidelity and bravery which impelled them to venture close to destruction in the service of those under

whom they had enlisted. He spared them, and incorporated them with his army.

Meanwhile, the soldiers*, who had forced an entrance into the city through the breach, commenced a general pillage. As some of them broke into the temple of Ceres, with a design to plunder it, sudden flashes of fire, darting from the interior, struck the sacrilegious wretches blind.

The victor made slaves of all the Barbarians whom he found in the town; while he lifted the surviving Milesians to restored liberty, in consideration of the ancient splendour of their republic. For Miletus was, a long time, so flourishing and powerful, as to have planted no less than seventy colonies in the neighbouring seas. And it had a wide-spread lustre from the number of its citizens who had carried away the palm in the sacred combats; for such honours were classed by the Greeks among the highest proofs and ornaments of virtue. But Alexander did not share in this extravagant respect for *athletæ*, who cultivated the powers of the body merely to amuse the populace, and gratify a passion for notoriety, by fighting on a stage for prizes; he valued physical vigor, as it

* Freins, transposit.

could conduce to public advantage*. This made him sarcastically ask, when he beheld the multiplicity of statues erected to men who had gained triumphs in the amphitheatre, “Where, Milesians! were these champions when you received the Persian yoke?”

Among several existing monuments of his ancestors, the king’s curiosity was attracted by a fountain, whose waters are brackish to the taste at its bubbling source, and sweet when divided into streams: the Milesians call it the spring of Achilles, from a tradition that the hero bathed in it, after he had vanquished Strambelus, Telamon’s son, carrying succour to the Lesbians. Miletus could likewise boast of the oracle of Apollo Didymeus, rich, and celebrated for its responses. Seleucus, one of the powerful successors of Alexander, consulted it respecting his return to Macedon, and received this answer; ‘That, bidding adieu to Europe, he should embrace Asia.’

The king’s fondness for astonishing novelties was also gratified by information that a youth of Jassus, in a neighbouring island, had charmed or tamed a dolphin to service and attachment; the fish being so familiar with his voice, that, when called, it would readily take

* Ante, p. 31.

him on its back, and bear him over the waves. Inferring that this young man was a favourite of Neptune*, the king constituted him high-priest of the god.

* This seems to have been a hasty inference: since Alexander's time, there have been many proofs of the possibility of taming fishes. Pliny reports, that one of the Roman emperors had, in a set of fish-ponds that had been peculiarly tended, several fish that would individually come and show themselves when called by their particular names.

An epigram of Martial, lib. iv. 30, seems to confirm this account:

Piscator, fuge! he nocens, recedas;
Sacris piscibus hæ natantur undæ;
Qui norunt dominum, manumque lambunt
Illam, quæ nihil est, in orbe, majus:
Quid, quod, homen habent; et ad magistri
Vocem quisque sui venit citatus.

Rash angler, fly! while guiltless, hence away;
The fish are sacred in these waves that play;
Their lord they know, and kiss his feeding hand,
That dares the world to match its high command:
These all bear names; each, from its finny peers,
Darts to the marge, its master when it hears.

One of the Great Moguls is represented, by Mons. Bernard, in his *History of Indostan*, to have had fish brought to the same state of docility. See Walton's *Complete Angler*, SEVENTH edit. London, 1808.

CHAP. VIII.

By preventing the Persian fleet from victualling, Alexander obliges it to leave Miletus; and, meanwhile, captures one ship of a small detachment. He discharges his fleet. Sends a force against Pontus. Reduces the whole of Caria except the capital; protects the queen, who had been unjustly expelled. The pupil of Leonidas remembers a lesson on temperance.

AFTER the reduction of Miletus, the numerous fleet of the Barbarians continued to hover near it; and, confident in their multitude and superior seamanship, in order to provoke a battle, repeatedly presented themselves before the port where the Macedonian ships were riding. Hereupon, the king detached Philotas, with the cavalry and three battalions of infantry, to mount Mycale, near the anchorage of the Persians, instructing him to prevent the enemy from landing, and from obtaining wood, water, or other supplies. Reduced by this proceeding to great difficulties, the admirals of the enemy, after calling a council, steered to Samos: but as soon as they had provisioned their fleet, they returned

to Miletus, again taking a station before the harbour in order of battle.

Meanwhile, a Persian officer, with a detachment of five ships, discovering a few Macedonian vessels in a separate port—between the little island, before mentioned, and the harbour which contained the body of the Macedonian fleet—made all sail thither, expecting to find them comparatively unmanned, and that, while their crews were engaged on shore at a distance, they would fall easy prizes. But Alexander putting as many seamen as could be collected at the instant on board ten galleys, commanded them to go and meet the enemy. The Persians, attacked with superior forces by those whom they thought to have surprised in a state of weakness, had recourse to flight: one of their ships, manned with Jassians, was captured; the remainder, by swift sailing, regained their fleet. The Persian admiral was forced to leave Miletus without accomplishing his object.

It now occurred to Alexander, that the disproportionate inferiority of his fleet to that of the enemy, would prevent it from supporting his future land operations with precision; besides, the expenditure which it occasioned appeared to be too great for his treasury: he therefore expressed to his lieutenants a design of dismissing it. Parmenio maintained a different

opinion, and urged the king to venture a naval engagement; "For," said he, "if the Macedonians be victorious, they will reap numberless advantages: if they should be obliged to retire, they will lose nothing, since the Persians are already masters at sea; and it will not be difficult for those who are strongest on land to defend their coasts." To engage the king to accept his advice, he offered to execute it himself, and to take, on board the fleet, any post in the conflict and share of the danger which the king would assign him. His proposition had the countenance of a presage, susceptible of a very encouraging interpretation; an eagle had alighted on the shore behind the king's fleet. The leader of the army thus replied: "You are deceived, Parmenio! in supposing that our small marine can contend with all the Persian navy. Is it eligible to commit inexperienced, unseasoned crews—in a contest with expert rowers and proficient navigators? I do not distrust the bravery of my men: but I am sensible that, in sea fights, bravery, without tactics, can contribute little to victory. Often is a line of galleys broken by the winds and waves; but these deranging accidents may, by a skilful management of the sail, rudder, and oar, be either eluded, or improved into advantages. Much depends on the struc-

“ ture of the ships. The highest courage of the
“ Macedonians would be unprofitably exerted,
“ since circumstances would enable the Barba-
“ rians, either totally to decline an engagement,
“ or, if a disaster befel us, to destroy our fleet.
“ Should we then lose nothing, Parmenio? All
“ Asia would be roused to firm opposition, if
“ by a stroke our marine were swept away at
“ the commencement of the war. The mass of
“ mankind are of such a temperament, that, ac-
“ cording as the first great affair prospers or
“ miscarries, they look with confidence or ap-
“ prehension to the final event. Not to doubt
“ of this effect on Asia, who can assure me that
“ the Greeks themselves will remain faithful, if
“ they find one gleaming inducement to believe
“ that success is going to abandon us; for, to
“ disclose a fact, all that attaches them to us is
“ our prosperity. I must confess, that I re-
“ gard the circumstance of an eagle having been
“ seen behind our naval columns as a presage of
“ victory. But the augury seems to indicate,
“ that we shall overcome the enemy's fleet by
“ land; for the auspicious bird did not rest
“ upon our ships, but on the shore, pointing
“ out the place for operations, as well as the
“ result. It is too evident to be controverted,
“ that if we proceed in reducing the maritime
“ cities under our power, the adverse marine

“ must waste of itself; for it will have neither
“ recruits, nor provisions, nor convenient and
“ secure harbours. Take these from the Per-
“ sians, and the more numerous their navy, the
“ sooner will it moulder to ruin through the
“ want of resources. These reasons induce me
“ to retain, in attendance on the army, only so
“ many ships as are necessary to transport the
“ heaviest battering engines *.”

The great proportion of the fleet which was discharged, *possibly*, included all the Grecian contingents. Alexander now confided † to select lieutenants expeditions against Pontus and the contiguous tracts. He in person advanced into Caria, informed that the enemy had there assembled in force. Those inhabitants who preserved their allegiance to Persia, entertained hopes, that Halicarnassus, with its strong natural fortifications flanked by two citadels, would stop, as a bank of impervious rock, the torrent of invasion. They had the highest reliance on Memnon, who was unremitting in preparations to make a successful stand against a persevering siege. He had been recently constituted, by Darius, governor of the maritime coasts, and high-admiral. He was a man of great penetration, address, and resource, prompt

* Chap. ix. *infra*, in p. *supern.* -

† Freins. *transposit*,

to seize opportunities and to discern the remedies required in critical times. Greatly superior to the rest of the Persian generals in the art of war, he was conscious that he had not been trusted and rewarded according to his integrity and merit: and he knew the cause; as he was of Grecian extraction, and had formerly been well received at the Macedonian court, his tried services had not entirely exempted him from suspicion; he therefore sent his wife and children to Darius, as though he was solicitous for their safety; but intending, by these invaluable pledges, to convince the king of his fidelity.

In a short time Alexander was master of all the places between Miletus and Halicarnassus, a great majority of them being Grecian colonies; these, according to his constant policy, he reinstated in the privilege of living under their own laws and institutions, declaring, ‘ That he entered Asia to liberate them from oppression.’

By insinuating arts, he even won the affections of the aboriginal Barbarians, who, with the posterity of some ancient Phœnician settlers, inhabited Caria. To Ada, a native princess, who implored his interference to place her on the throne of that kingdom, from which she had been unjustly expelled, he behaved with the most courteous attention. Hecatomnus, antecedently king of Caria, had three sons and two

daughters: the custom of that country allowed the offspring of the same parents to be affianced in marriage, and partners in dominion: Mausolus, the eldest son, married Artemisia; Hidrius espoused Ada; Pexodarus, the youngest son and child, unable to pursue a custom which strikes us as a revolting deformity in national manners, degraded his princely, and heightened his moral dignity, by taking a wife in another family. On the death of the father, Hecatomnus, Mausolus and Artemisia conjointly reigned. By the Carian laws, as well as those of Upper Asia, the succession of females, on an exact equality with males, in the order of seniority, had been established ever since the age of Semiramis*: on the decease of Mausolus, Artemisia reigned solely. Dying with grief at the end of two years, she was succeeded by Hidrius and Ada. Ada likewise survived her husband and brother: but Pexodarus, the last son of Hecatomnus, expelled her from the throne; and she took refuge in the fortified city Alinda. This strong hold she still possessed; but though Pexodarus was dead, she remained deprived of her right; for that usurper had married his daughter to Orontobates, a Persian nobleman; and to this pretender, whose weak title was de-

* Arrian, p. 23.

rived through his wife, the Great King, rejecting the just claims of Ada, had confirmed the crown.

This royal fugitive, at her first appearance before Alexander, to state her sufferings and demand his protection, addressed him by the appellation of son, and voluntarily surrendered to him Alinda. The Macedonian leader met the application; by a promise to establish her on the throne of Caria; which, after the reduction of Halicarnassus, he performed; leaving three thousand foot and two hundred horse to support her authority.

Meanwhile, his friendly reception of the injured Ada being proclaimed, with his exploits, by well-affected rumour, made an impression on the country favourable to his progress. From a great proportion of towns in the hands of the kinsmen or partizans of the princess, ambassadors brought crowns of gold, and delivered solemn assurances, ‘That they embraced the protection, and would loyally obey the mandates, of Alexander.’

Ada, impatient to express her gratitude, prepared an exquisite assemblage of poignant and elegantly-flavoured viands and delicacies for the table of Alexander, and accompanied this present with a suite of cooks and confectioners; supposing that the refinements of Asiatic luxury

would be welcome to the conqueror after the fatigues of war. But the Macedonian ruler knew, that, to make invention a sycophant to the palate, is of pernicious consequence to the man who is engaged on weighty affairs. To the princess, while he politely thanked her for having sent him artists to regale his taste, he intimated, ‘ That it was superfluous ; for he had ‘ with him better cooks, which were appointed ‘ by his tutor Leonidas—a walk early in the ‘ morning to create an appetite for dinner, and ‘ a frugal dinner to give zest to supper.’

CHAP. IX.

Alexander commences the siege of Halicarnassus. Unsuccessful attempt on Mindus. The garrison of Halicarnassus make a sortie. Two Macedonian soldiers, intoxicated, begin an assault, by which the place is nearly carried. Alexander obtains a truce to bury the slain. Anecdote of Memnon.

THE whole of Caria had now submitted, except the metropolis Halicarnassus, which was defended by a numerous garrison of Persians and

Greek mercenaries. Foreseeing a protracted siege, the king conveyed on-shore, from the attendant ships, provisions, with the necessary battering-engines. The catapults were immediately employed against the walls of the city, Alexander encamping with the infantry at the distance of five stadia. While a party of pioneers were working the battering-engines near the gate towards Mylassa, the besieged made an unexpected sally. The conflict was vigorously maintained; but the Macedonians, seasonably reinforced, at length repelled their desperate assailants, without suffering much loss in the affair.

A few days afterwards, Alexander received intimation that a faction in Mindus were ready clandestinely to deliver that town to him. In consequence, he proceeded thither, with a division of the army, in the silence of the night. But all the gates remained closed, nor was there any signal or movement from within: he therefore ordered some of the heavy-armed foot to undermine the wall; for, not having designed a siege in form, he had with him neither scaling-ladders nor battering-engines. After the soldiers had loosened the foundations of a tower, and brought it down, still there was no breach by which they might enter, for the tower fell in such a direction, that the ruins now defended the

space which the demolished pile had guarded. The garrison made a determined resistance: a reinforcement, sent by Memnon from Halicarnassus, arrived; and this enterprize of the Macedonians was frustrated.

Alexander, on his return to the siege of Halicarnassus, saw it necessary to undertake the laborious work of filling up a foss, thirty cubits broad, and fifteen deep, with which the enemy had surrounded the fort. For this purpose, he prepared three military tortoises; under cover of which, his pioneers could safely convey the earth and fascines. When the foss had been filled, by catapults elevated on wooden turrets, he battered the wall till he effected a practicable breach. Through this he attempted to storm the town: but the great numerical force of the garrison enabled Memnon constantly to replace his front lines by fresh troops. The Persians fought vigorously, animated by the presence of their generals, who performed every thing which could conduce to defence. The Macedonians persevered in their bold attacks till the day was exhausted, when the conflict terminated, the assailants retiring, and the besieged not pursuing.

The active Memnon, under a persuasion that the fatigues of the evenly-balanced day would render the Macedonian centinels less vigilant,

made a nocturnal sally, setting fire to the besiegers' works. The soldiers of Alexander heard the alarm; armed; and charged the detachment from the garrison, amid the flames, which one party laboured anxiously to extinguish, the other more furiously to spread. The Macedonians, though greatly superior in personal strength and courage, and in the cool indifference to danger which long intimacy with it gives, were yet almost borne down by their more numerous assailants; and, greatly distressed by ensnaring stratagems; receiving, in this conflict which had drawn them under the walls to protect their own engines, wounds from ballistæ in the fortress which they had no opportunity of revenging. On both sides, vehement exhortations to their own men, and menaces to their antagonists, produce a general indistinct peal of piercing acclamation: hoarsely mingled, the groans of the wounded and dying pierce the listening sense: but the pathetic inarticulations of agony are again contrasted and overpowered by brisk and cheering sounds; from the voices and implements of workmen within the walls, repairing the damages caused by the shock of the besiegers' engines. The darkness of the night, and the irregular glare of scattered spires of flame reluctantly expiring—gasping emblems of the aversion of animal life to extinction—occa-

sioned the destruction and tumult of the scene to be greatly surpassed by the horror.

At length, the intrepid and persevering Macedonians drove the enemy within the walls, having killed of them one hundred and seventy, among whom was Neoptolemus, who, with his brother Amyntas, had fled to the Persians. The slain of the Macedonians did not exceed sixteen: but their wounded amounted to three hundred, the random discharge of adverse darts having conspired, with the black and featureless complexion of the night, to render impracticable their usual dexterity in guarding their bodies.

A few days afterwards, Halicarnassus was on the point of yielding to rashness and accident. Two veterans of the battalion of Perdiccas, posted on that side of the wall which looked toward Miletus, supping together in their tent, began a vaunting conversation on their military exploits, in which each preferred his own. When the heating effect of wine had raised to phrenzied extravagance the spirit of emulation, one of them exclaimed: "Why do we degrade
" so noble a debate by the empty strife of
" words? It is not the fluent tongue, but the
" vigorous arm, that must decide. If you are
" that great warrior, come with me." Taking weapons, they rushed forth together to assault

the wall of Halicarnassus, each scarcely entertaining the wild hope of victory, but ambitious to excel his companion in daring and prowess.

The centinels of the fort perceived the audacious enterprize, and moved to repel it: but the two Macedonians struck down with their swords the first men who approached, and flung javelins at the more distant. The enemy, rushing upon them from higher ground, would, however, have punished their boldness by overwhelming numbers, had not some soldiers of their own battalion, who observed their danger, advanced to their relief. The Halicarnassians also reinforced their guards. A sharp conflict ensued, in which success was alternate, till Alexander, leading up a force collected from the nearest quarters, drove the enemy into the town, which he had nearly entered with them. In this train of casualties, the garrison, intent on what was passing in one direction, relaxed in their defence of the walls; and two towers, with the intervening curtain, were beat down by the battering-rams; and a third became a pile of loose stones, of which a slight shock by the miners would complete the fall. Could the whole army have engaged in this sudden attack, the town might have been taken by storm.

Alexander desired a suspension of arms, that he might be able to bury those soldiers who had

fallen under the walls; choosing rather, in the estimation of the Greeks, to yield the victory to the enemy, than to leave his slain without interment. Against granting this application, Ephialtes and Thrasybulus, two Athenians in the Persian service, tenaciously protested; less inclined to cultivate humanity than to nurture livid antipathies; the malevolent and implacable foes which their hatred painted the Macedonians: but Memnon maintained, “ That it
“ was unsuitable to the manners and character
“ of Greeks, to refuse an enemy permission to
“ bury his slain: That we should launch our
“ weapons against adversaries in the field; but
“ not insult them when they had not the power
“ to benefit or injure us.” Memnon, among various great and good qualities, displayed remarkable moderation; not deeming honourable the virulent prejudice which covers an enemy with slander and invective: on the contrary, it was by talents and bravery that he expected to conquer. Once he heard an individual among the mercenaries vent much petulance and opprobrium against Alexander: Memnon, striking him with his spear, told him, ‘ That he had not
‘ hired him to rail, but to fight.’

CHAP. X.

During the truce, the garrison build a new wall. Alexander batters it; they make a sortie. A second sortie places Alexander in a critical situation: the garrison are defeated. They set fire to their works, and retire to castles near. Alexander demolishes Halicarnassus. His proceedings during the winter.

THE besieged, intent on providing for their security in the meantime, raised a brick wall within that which had been beaten down, not in a direct line, but bending inwardly like a half moon. On the following day, Alexander began to batter this wall, the more easily destructible as the work was fresh. While the besiegers were engaged in the labour of demolition, on the one hand, the garrison executed a sortie, and threw burning combustibles among the hurdles which covered the Macedonian works, and into one of the timber-framed turrets: but Philotas and Hellanicus, who had charge of the engines, checked the flames before they could spread; and the seasonable advance of Alexander so intimidated the enemy, that—the whole flinging away their torches, and some their arms—they

fled into the town with precipitation. But having regained their stations on the ramparts, the local and artificial advantages of Halicarnassus enabled them to repel their pursuers with ease; for the wall was so constructed, that the Macedonians could not attack any part, without being enfiladed on their flanks, as well as opposed in front.

The Persian leaders finding the siege so closely pressed, that each succeeding day abridged the limits of their operations, and knowing that the invader possessed inexhaustible perseverance, held a council to fix on some great proceeding suitable to the crisis. Ephialtes, eminent for personal strength and courage, descanted on the inconvenience and impolicy of submitting to be immured during a long siege. "Let us not," said he, "drag on this tame, defensive course, till we lose the will and power to resist, when we must fall, with the town, a cheap prey to the enemy. While we have yet some portion of strength, let us strike a spirited blow against the besiegers with the choicest of the hired Greeks. Does this measure appear to be dictated by temerity? It is safe to execute; for the Macedonians expecting any thing sooner than such an attack, taken unprepared, will fight in confusion, and must be defeated." Memnon,

though accustomed to prefer the wary line of action, to alluring enterprise, did not endeavour to controul the Athenian; considering, that as no succour was at hand, no junction would be lost, nor the fatal event of the siege accelerated, even by the complete miscarriage of Ephialtes. He, therefore, deemed it not improper to try, in the extremity, what a determined man might effect, apparently inspired to the bold undertaking.

Ephialtes selected two thousand from among the whole body of Greeks; these he commanded to procure a thousand torches, and to be under arms by the break of day, prepared to execute his orders. Alexander, as soon as the morning dawned, advanced the engines against the half-moon wall: his zealous soldiers began vigorously to batter it: suddenly half the force under Ephialtes sallied from the town, with torches spreading conflagration among the Macedonian works, he in person following with the remainder to attack such of the besiegers as should endeavour to obstruct the incendiaries.

Alexander, on intelligence of this movement, speedily formed from his assembled army chosen bands of reinforcements: some he detached to put out the fire, while he himself advanced against the division under Ephialtes, solely occupied in combat. Ephialtes, who possessed

extraordinary vigor, killed all who engaged him hand to hand, animating his men by his eye and his voice, and more by his intrepid example. And the besiegers were not slightly annoyed from the walls; for the garrison had erected a tower a hundred cubits high, whence engines, judiciously planted, discharged javelins and stones. Meanwhile Memnon, with a body of troops, made an unexpected sally from the *Tripylon*, a different part of the town. Now, such a tumult was created in the Macedonian camp, by having various attacks to repel, that the king himself hesitated. But his comprehensive mind recovering itself, he met the accumulated danger by seasonable orders; and fortune favoured their execution. The sallying divisions who attempted to burn the engines, were repulsed with great loss by the Macedonian covering party, timely reinforced. Near the gate, Ptolemy, the son of Philip, commander of the body guard, supported by the two battalions of Addæus and Timander, received Memnon so warmly, that the Macedonians were decidedly the conquerors in that part of the field; notwithstanding Ptolemy*, a subaltern of the body guard, and Addæus were killed, with Clearchus, captain of the

* This Ptolemy must be distinguished, not only from the son of Philip, but from the son of Seleucus, who was not slain till the battle of Issus. Arrian, i. 23, states that he was of the body-guard.

archers, and about forty individuals in the ranks : the enemy, retreating in consternation, broke down the narrow bridge which they had constructed over the moat, the unhappy crowd upon it falling headlong : some were crushed to death by their comrades, others perished by darts from the overlooking Macedonian stations ; numbers that escaped this calamity were destroyed at the entrance of the town ; for the terrified inhabitants apprehending that the pursuers and the pursued would enter together, suddenly closed the gate against their friends, abandoning them to the fury of the victors. All this time, Ephialtes, formidable at first by confidence, and afterwards by desperation, maintained a fierce conflict with the troops under the king, and held the victory in suspense, till the Macedonian *senior* battalion moved to the aid of their distressed companions. These veterans, though encamping with the army, and receiving pay and rewards, were exempt from duty and danger, except in cases of the last necessity ; their immunities and honours had been earned by a whole life of brave achievements begun in reigns preceding Philip's, and continued to the time of Alexander. These men, seeing their companions shrinking from the combat, and, among other symptoms of terror, alternately look to the rear, as if to

discover a place of retreat, advanced to their relief, under the command of Atharias: renewing the languid fight, they, by mixing with their exhortations to the younger bands, reproaches on account of their unsoldier-like irresolution revived their bravery: now, both classes uniting in a furious attack, each emulous to excel in inflicting fatal strokes upon the enemy; in one decisive instant victory declared for them. Ephialtes, with the bravest and largest portion of his men, were slain; and the rest were driven back upon the town. A great proportion of Macedonians entered with the fugitives, and the fortress was upon the point of being taken by storm, when the king gave orders to sound a retreat—either because he was disposed to spare the lives and property of the inhabitants, or because, as night was approaching, he apprehended danger from ambuscades in the unknown windings of the city; or because he had not learned the event of the different skirmishes and actions in the other parts of the field.

This battle consumed the most robust and courageous battalions of the garrison. This loss, and the breaches in the walls, made Memnon, and Orontobates, the governor, sensible, that much longer resistance was impossi-

Olymp. cxi. 3.

A. C. 334.

Ætat. Alex. 23.

Reg. 3.

ble *. After deliberation with the other generals, they, to diminish the booty which would fall to the enemy, set fire, in the night-time, to the wooden tower, to the arsenal and magazines, and to the houses near the wall. The conflagration, fanned by the wind, spread in all directions. The Persian commanders had transported a part of the citizens, and their valuable effects, into the island of Cos. Their braver adherents among the inhabitants, they transported, with part of the military, to a castle seated on an island, while another division of them retired to Salmacis, another neighbouring castle.

Alexander had been apprised, by deserters, of some of these proceedings; at midnight, he witnessed the raging flames: he immediately sent a detachment to extinguish the fire, and to punish those who promoted it, but with strict orders to protect such of the townsmen as were found in their houses.

The following morning, he examined the fortified retreats of the enemy: Perceiving, that they could not be reduced without much loss of time, but that it was from the city of Halicarnassus that they derived importance, he re-

luctantly demolished the metropolis of Caria, that it might never thenceforth serve as a rallying point to the Persians.

Ptolemy Lagus was left to observe the castles, and to act in the country as the lieutenant of Alexander: he was instructed to support the authority of Ada, as queen of Caria*.

Not long afterwards, Ptolemy, uniting his three thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry with the forces of Asander, lieutenant of Lydia, defeated Orontobates. And the Macedonians, irritated by the protracted resistance of the castles, and disgusted with the tedious procedure by blockade, took them by assault.

The season of winter†, which often entirely suspends military operations, the king passed in proceedings to secure, and preparations to extend, his advantages. He detached Parmenio with the squadrons called the *friends* or *companions*; the auxiliary horse and the Thessalians, under Alexander Lyncestes, to Sardis, with orders, to make thence an irruption into Phrygia, and to collect, at the expense of the enemy, provisions and forage for the army expected from Macedon. A draughted body of soldiers, who had married shortly before the expedition,

* Ante, p. 234. Et vide Arrian, p. 23. † Arrian, ut supra.

including his captains Cænös and Meleager, he sent home, under the command of Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, to winter with their wives; a measure which endeared Alexander to the army, and ensured the alacrity of his European subjects, in promoting and joining the levies for the expedition. He charged the officers, during their residence in Macedon, to be assiduous in raising recruits—to be marched into Asia in the spring, with the soldiers whom they had conducted home.

Here he had the affliction to observe, that his army was not uninfected with the depraving manners of the Asiatics, and that there were, in his camp, a great number of abandoned outcasts from nature: having collected them by a severe search, he deported them into a little island in the Ceramic gulf: The infamy which they communicated to the town is perpetuated by the name Cinædopolis.

CHAP. XI.

Alexander's progress in Lycia. Prodigy of the brazen tablet. Alexander halts in the territory of Phaselis: his demeanour before the statue of Theodectes. Conspiracy of Alexander Lyncestes. Passage from Phaselis to Perga. Alexander at a subsequent period visits Jerusalem.

ALEXANDER steadily prosecuted his plan of reducing the enemy's coast, in order to render their fleet ineffective. By the treachery of the Persian mercenary Greeks in the castle which awed the district of the Hyparni, he became master of the place and people. Afterwards advancing into Lycia, he received into his protection the Telmissians*. Having passed the Xanthus,—the town to which that river gives name, with Pinara, Patara, and thirty other inland towns or sea-ports, surrendered to him. About this time† the zeal and devotion

* Telmissus is a sea-port in Lycia, on the border of Caria. Cicero attributes it to Caria, *De Divinatione*, lib. 1. Compare with the note in p. 263, *infra*.

† This passage, transposed from book ii. chap. 8. of Freinshemius, is now unoffending with regard to chronology and geography; and however improbable the incident, which is derived from Plutarch, may still be deemed, the absurdity is avoided of making Alexander use it as an argument in *council*.

of his troops were stimulated by an opportune prodigy: a fountain near the city Xanthus boiled up, and threw up a brazen tablet engraved with ancient characters, signifying ‘ that the time was at hand, when the Persian empire should be overthrown by the Greeks.’

While his lieutenant, Parmenio*, was traversing the internal parts of Lydia and Phrygia, the conqueror proceeded to Mylias, anciently comprehended in the Greater Phrygia, but united by the Persian monarchs to Lycia. While he was accepting the submission of the nearer tracts, ambassadors came to him from the Phaselians, and from various towns of Lower Lycia, presenting, on the part of each municipality, a crown of gold, as an earnest of amity and an expression of allegiance. Having sent detachments to occupy the subordinate towns of the Phaselians, and the other cities of Lycia, the king marched in person to Phaselis. The military force of that community had been long endeavouring to reduce a fortress, erected by the Pisidians on their territory: whence marauding bands had issued and committed great ravages: after Alexander’s arrival, this fortress was soon taken. In the country of the Phaselians, he dedicated some days of repose to the

* Treins. transposit.

refreshment of himself and army ; which was rendered necessary by the difficulties of marching along the roads in the severities of mid-winter.

Here, coming from a banquet at a moment when profuse libations had perceptibly exhilarated him ; and happening to behold a statue which the inhabitants had erected to the memory of Theodectes ; he recollected his friendship with that poet and orator, when they were fellow-pupils to Aristotle ; he immediately proceeded to the monument, and went round it with the gesticulations of a dancer ; depositing upon it several garlands of flowers. The extravagant elation into which the constant operation of success, and the transient influence of wine, had seduced him, if it had not subsided, was chastized and repressed by an alarming message from Parmenio. This vigilant officer had detected and apprehended Asisines, a Persian whom Darius had sent, invested with a public character, to Atyzies, governor of Phrygia, but with private instructions, " To obtain
" a secret conference with Alexander Lynces-
" tes, and promise him a thousand talents of
" gold, with the kingdom of Macedon, if he
" performed that which had been planned : " Alluding to the atrocious undertaking to assassinate the king to which the enemy had sub-

borned him, and he had pledged himself, while he and Amyntas were fugitives at the Persian court. This traitor, as malignant as corrupt, nurtured in his dissembling heart a personal animosity against Alexander, because the prince had condemned to death his brothers Heromenes and Arrabeus, as accessory to the murder of Philip. The life which he owed to the clemency*, and the honours to the generosity of his sovereign, were insufficient to excite his gratitude or preserve his allegiance; and the wicked ambition of possessing the crown, blinded him to his danger and his guilt.

When this affair was discussed in council, the confidential friends of Alexander animadverted on “ that excessive facility of temper, “ which could not only pardon the foulest “ delinquencies, but heap on the delinquent “ distinctions and employments, so far as to “ allow him to command the chosen squadrons “ of horse. What faithful servant would, during the future, act loyally, if the king not “ only exempted parricides from punishment, “ but received them into favour, and conferred “ upon them offices of the highest trust and “ dignity? The indiscretion of such excessive “ lenity it concerned the king timely to reme-

“ dy ; for if Lyncestes should become aware
“ that he has been discovered, he will urge the
“ fluctuating Thessalians to revolt ; nor could
“ any mischief be more perplexing, than their
“ defection would prove. Lastly ; to condemn
“ the danger would be to slight the care of the
“ Deity, who had been pleased, by a superna-
“ tural occurrence, to admonish the king of the
“ treason.” They alluded to an incident during
the siege of Halicarnassus. While Alexander
was asleep at mid-day, a swallow hovered round,
perching now on one side of the couch, and
now on the other. Its incessant chattering dis-
turbed the king, exceedingly fatigued, and he
brushed it off with his hand. Instead of endea-
vouring to escape, the bird, full of confidence,
perched upon his head, and refused to be scared
away, till, through its noise, Alexander tho-
roughly awoke. The prodigy was communi-
cated to Aristander, who declared, ‘ That a
‘ conspiracy was formed against the king by
‘ one of his officers whom he treated as a friend,
‘ but that it would not remain undiscovered,
‘ because the swallow is a domestic bird, a
‘ friend to man, and exceedingly loquacious.’

Perceiving that this interpretation of the
hierophant agreed with the disclosure of Asi-
sines ; and remembering that his mother had cau-
tioned him in a letter “ to beware of this man ;”

the king, by the advice of his friends, decided against further confidence, or delay. He signified what he would have done to Parmenio—not in writing, lest, intercepted, it should unseasonably transpire; but transmitted verbal instructions by a trusty messenger of rank. Amphoterus, brother to Craterus, selected for the service, assumed a Phrygian habit. and, taking some Pergenses as guides, penetrated through the country to Parmenio. The unworthy Lyncestes is, in consequence, placed under arrest; and though respect for the ancient dignity of his family occasioned his punishment to be long respited; yet three years afterwards, when the conspirators with Philotas had suffered, he was arraigned, and precipitately executed on account of the affinity of his crime.

On his departure from Phaselis, the king divided the corps under his immediate command. A considerable detachment traversed the mountains of Lycia and Pamphilia, while the king in person pursued the dangerous track along the beach from Phaselis to Perga*. Here, the foaming sea, beating against the ladder of rocks denominated the Climax, renders the narrow road at their base impracticable, except when the surge is repelled by a strong north wind. When Alexander began his march, the wind blew from

* Gillies's *Grecce*, chap. 37 : et Freins.

the south, yet he advanced without fear, confiding in his fortune. Before they reached that section of the road where the flood would have proved an insurmountable, or a fatal obstacle, the south wind died away, a brisk gale sprang up from the north, and the sea retired; leaving the army only some streams to ford which had been swelled by winter-torrents from the mountains. Many congruent events, of a singularly propitious character, in the life of Alexander, countenance those who explain his progress by referring it to the immediate interposition of Divine Providence, which, in effecting an important revolution in the Eastern world, rendered the operations of nature, and the volitions of man, subservient to its secret purposes*.

At Dium in Macedonia, before the son of Philip had begun to march on his expedition, at an hour when he was reposing under the mantle of sleep, a personage, in appearance more than human; exhorted him to follow the vision into Asia, where he should overthrow the Persian empire. The impression subsiding, lay dormant till the following transaction, which, were it related in the order of time,

* The diffusion of the Greek language in Asia, by preparing the natives of the East to understand the writings in which the acts and doctrines of Christ and his Apostles were recorded, must have greatly contributed to the rapid propagation of the Gospel, and to a deep and firm plantation of the principles of faith among the first Churches.

would belong to the fourth book of this history*. When Alexander was engaged in the siege of Tyre, he had demanded the submission of the neighbouring kings and commonwealths, requiring them to raise him soldiers. But the Jews, who held the famous city Jerusalem, alleging their alliance with Darius, declined to form a connexion with the king of Macedon. Incensed, he marched into Judæa, with a design to punish their contumacy. But the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to disarm the anger of the invader, went out, with their wives and children, to meet him in a suppliant manner. The priests were clothed in fine linen; the multitude, which walked after the priests, a long train, also wore garments of white; the high-priest, in his pontifical habit of purple and scarlet, headed the procession. Admiring the grandeur and pleasing effect of the scene, the king alighted from his horse, and advanced unattended: after he had saluted the high priest, he bent in adoration to the sacred name of God, which was engraven on a plate of gold in the front of the pontifical mitre. This unexpected act struck the spectators with astonishment: The Jews, who saw

* The narrative of Josephus has the high authority of M. de Sainte Croix; who, in the second edition of his work *On the History of Alexander*, has done all that ingenuity can effect to render at least the main facts of the common account credible.—*Monthly Review* for Nov. 1817, p. 250.—See ADDITIONAL NOTES (H.)

themselves not only delivered from imminent danger, but received into favour, surrounded the king, congratulating him, praising him, and offering up prayers for his prosperity: On the other hand, the minor kings of Syria, who, inveterate enemies of the Jews, had attended the king, hoping to have their hatred indulged, by the punishment of their foes, doubted whether they beheld a mortifying reality, or their senses were imposed on by a dream, or whether those of the king were suspended: The Macedonians were surprised at the extraordinary scene to such a degree, that Parmenio presumed to ask the king, ‘ Why he bestowed such great honour on the rites of a foreign religion, when it was scarcely becoming his greatness to notice the homage of so abject a nation?’ The venerable and dignified air of the sacerdotal chief had reminded Alexander of his vision, which he now related to Parmenio*.

Conducted by the priests into the city, he, in their temple, a beautiful structure, offered sacrifices to the Great Supreme, according to the institutions revered by that race of people; and by magnificent benefactions he augmented

* He thus introduced this apology for the incident which had startled his attendants: “ I did not adore the priest, but that God who hath honoured him with his high-priesthood; for I saw this very person in a dream, in this very habit, when I was at Dios in Macedonia.”—WHISTON’S *Josephus*, xi. viii. 5.

its treasures. He here inspected their sacred books*, in which were several ancient prophecies to this effect : That Tyre should be destroyed by the Macedonians; and that Persia should be overcome by a Greek. Contemplating himself as the person designated, he felt such high satisfaction, that he granted to the Jews the liberty of living—both at home and in other countries—according to their own laws and ceremonies; and because their land lies untilled every seventh year, he released them from a corresponding proportion of taxes. The conqueror admired the climate and the aspect of the country, which abounds with rich fruits and vegetable productions, and alone produces the flowing balm of Gilead. He appointed Andromachus governor of these provinces: but we must not proceed in anticipating transactions occurring about the time of the siege of

* Perhaps Jeremiah, xxv. 22; xlvii. 4; Amos, i. 9, 10; Zechariah, ix. 4; Ezekiel, xxvii. 36; with relation to Tyre;—the fall of Gaza is mentioned in the context of the majority of these predictions. There are other denunciations against Tyre in Isaiah and Ezekiel, but they evidently point at the first destruction of Tyre by the Assyrians.

The prophecy of Daniel [viii. 21.] respecting Persia—is more precise, in marking out the *instrument* of divine vengeance. And Josephus merely says: “When the book of Daniel was showed him, wherein Daniel declared, that one of the Greeks should destroy the empire of the Persians, he supposed that himself was the person intended.”

Tyre, satisfied if we are allowed, for the sake of illustration, to snatch a few particulars from a later period.

CHAP. XII.

Alexander's progress in Pamphylia : He punishes the treacherous Aspendians. Marching through Pisidia toward Phrygia, he subdues the Termesians and another tribe. The activity of Memnon in the Grecian islands : his death.

HAVING passed the narrow road at the edge of the Pamphylian sea, in advancing eastward from Perga, Alexander was met by ambassadors from Aspendus ; they tendered the submission of that city and sea-port, but entreated that they might not be burdened with a garrison, offering for that exemption fifty talents towards the pay of his army, with as many horses as they had been accustomed to contribute to the king of Persia. On these terms, the conqueror received them to his allegiance.

He proceeded to the country of the Sidetæ, seated near the river Melas : a people from the stock of the Cumæans of Æolia, but Barbarians in their language, having lost their Greek—not indeed by gradual corruption proceeding during centuries of absence ; for their ancestors are

represented, at their settlement in these regions, to have suddenly forgotten their native dialect, speaking a jargon before unknown.

Having accepted the surrender of Sidis, the metropolis of Pamphylia, he marched against Syllius, a fortress which its local and artificial strength, and the presence of a powerful garrison, would have rendered difficult to reduce. While he was surveying the walls, he was informed that the Aspendians, who delayed the performance of their treaty, perfidiously intended to revolt. The greater part of their city was founded on a high and steep rock, washed by the river Eurymedon; some of its streets were, however, built on the plain, protected only by a slight wall. Thither Alexander immediately marched; on his approach, the inhabitants of the lower town ascended the mountain. The king entered the place, encamping within the walls, while his able engineers began their demonstrations. The Aspendians, alarmed, entreated him to accept the former conditions. He required the instant delivery of the horses stipulated: and to punish their treachery and insolence, he raised the immediate aid to be yielded in money to one hundred talents, and imposed on them an annual tribute: he took their principal citizens as hostages that they would thenceforth obey his governor. He like-

wise ordered the Aspendians to abide the decision of an arbitration respecting a tract of land from which they had driven their neighbours.

Alexander now determined to return to Perga, thence to penetrate into Phrygia, where Parmenio had been directed to join him. In his march thither, he had to pass a narrow defile, near Termessus*, a city of the Pisidians. This streit is formed by two mountains which almost touch; its mouths are so confined, that they may be compared to gates; here the Barbarians had posted themselves, to dispute the passage. The leader of the Greeks and Macedonians encamped before the entrance, concluding that the Termessians seeing the tents pitched, would imagine the attack to be postponed, and leaving a small guard in the streit, their main body would retire into the town. The enemy acted as Alexander had anticipated. Seizing the opportunity, he ordered the archers and slingers to advance, with the middle-armed foot, or targeteers: having beat off those who

* The text of Freinshemius has here, and in the dependent passages, *Telmissus*, on the authority of Arrian.—“There can be little doubt that Arrian has improperly called the *Termessus* of Mount Solymus, *Telmissus*; an inaccuracy which, uncorrected, throws much obscurity on his narrative.”—*Journey through some Provinces of Asia Minor in the year 1800*, by Lieut-col. Leake.—Walpole’s *Travels to various Countries of the East*, 1820, p. 280.

guarded the pass, he penetrated it, and encamped before Termessus.

Here, ambassadors from the Selgenses, a tribe of the same nation as the Termessians, from inveterate hatred to the latter, tendered their friendship and assistance to the king.

After entertaining these overtures with great courtesy,—that his time might not be consumed by the prosecution of a single siege, he encamped with a detachment before Sagalassus, a place well fortified, and garrisoned with the flower of the forces of the country; for of all the warlike Pisidian hordes, the Sagalassians are considered the bravest. Reinforced by troops from their allies the Termessians, and having more dependence on their courage than on their walls, they were posted in order of battle on a neighbouring hill. Advantages of ground enabled them to repulse the light-armed forces of Alexander: the Agrians, however, steadily maintained the conflict, encouraged by the approach of the Macedonian phalanx, and fired by seeing the king in front of the colours. The soldiers had to surmount great difficulties in forcing their way up the acclivity; but as soon as a field with less inequalities allowed them firmer footing, they easily dispersed the imperfectly-armed mountaineers.

There fell on the part of the Macedonians, Cleander, a leader, and twenty soldiers in the ranks. In the battle; and in the pursuit, which the Macedonians urged with much celerity for troops so completely armed—five hundred Barbarians were slain: local knowledge sheltered the rest in inaccessible retreats.

Having entered their deserted town, he directed his arms against the other strong-holds of Pisidia, of which he reduced some by force, while others submitted under conditions, promising fidelity.

He razed Termessus on account of its contumacious opposition, and divested the inhabitants of liberty: a little afterwards he united their territory, with that of several other Pisidian cities, under the government of Celæna, a Phrygian province.

Having triumphed over the difficulties of the country, and the undisciplined fierceness of its various tribes, Alexander pursued his march into Phrygia, by the lake Ascanius. The waters of this lake crystallize spontaneously, supplying those who live on its borders with salt.

Between the siege of Halicarnassus and these transactions, Memnon, after having evacuated all Caria, and collected the scattered fragments of his army, conceived the design of carrying the war into Greece and Macedonia, proposing

by that diversion, to move Alexander from the provinces which he had fastened on in Asia. On Memnon alone now rested the hopes of Darius, who reviewed with satisfaction the bravery and talents with which that commander had, at the capital of Caria, kept Alexander so long in check: he therefore constituted him commander-in-chief, and transmitted him a liberal reinforcement in money. Memnon, with a fleet of three hundred ships, having on-board as many mercenary troops as he could procure with the subsidy, traversed the seas without opposition. He had weighed the circumstances likely to promote or obstruct his designs: he reduced the continental towns where the garrisons were weak or negligent, among which was Lampsacus: and as the Macedonians, at once masters of both continents and destitute of a fleet, were unable to succour the islands, against the islands he principally directed his active operations.

Divisions of opinion, which made almost all men partizans, powerfully availed Memnon in his enterprize. Those who had been won to Alexander's interest by the liberty in which he had reinstated them, were counteracted by those who, having amassed great riches under the Persians, preferred the possession of individual influence, under their former masters, to the

equality of an unattempered democracy. In the island of Chios, Athenagoras and Apollonides, two of the most considerable men, in concert with Phisinus and Megareus, and others of their faction, invited Memnon thither. Thus was Chios transferred to the Persian high-admiral* and maritime satrap, who, leaving a garrison in the place, committed the administration of affairs to Apollonides and his associates.

Memnon sailed thence to Lesbos; where he possessed himself of Antissa, Pyrrha, and Eris-sus, with little difficulty: having reduced Methymna, he established there Aristonicus as regent. Of the whole island, no place now held out except the celebrated city of Mytilene, which Memnon did not live to take; for just after he had encompassed the walls with extensive works, shut up the harbour, and so disposed his ships as to exclude succour, he fell a victim to the plague. The irreparable loss of such a leader repressed the sanguine hopes, and blighted the rising plans of the Persians.

Memnon, on perceiving the approach of dissolution, had resigned to Pharnabasus, his sister's son by Artabasus, the command provisionally, till Darius, on a report of the occurrence, should decree otherwise. Pharnabasus, dividing the duties of the siege with Autophra-

dates the admiral, so pressed the city, that at length it surrendered on terms : “ The garrison
“ shall depart unmolested. The pillars on
“ which are carved the conditions of allegiance
“ to Alexander shall be thrown down. The
“ citizens shall take an oath of fidelity to Darius,
“ recal the exiles, and restore half their effects.”
But the Persians did not strictly observe the capitulation : into the city they introduced soldiers, making Lycomedes, the Rhodian, its governor ; over the rural districts they placed, as regent, Diogenes, who had been banished on account of his devotion to the Persian interest. Afterwards they levied forced contributions in money from the richest inhabitants, without lightening the tax which the common people of Mytilene had formerly paid. The insolence and oppression* by which the officers of Darius irritated and estranged the islanders, conspired with the vigilance of Antipater to defeat all their plans and movements.

* *Gillies after Arrian.*

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK III.

THE CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR COMPLETED.—THE
BATTLE OF ISSUS.

CHAP. I.

Alexander reduces Celæna. Refuses to liberate the Athenian prisoners. Cuts the Gordian knot. Puts in motion sea and land forces on the Hellespont. Transmits to his domestic lieutenants aid in money. Enters Paphlagonia.

* 1. ALEXANDER, in the meantime, had despatched Cleander, with a sum of money, to enlist a subsidiary force in the Peloponnesus. Having created administrations for Lycia and Pamphylia, he conducted his army to Celæna,

* The Arabic numerals, before paragraphs in the text, mark sections of the chapters.

a walled city, which was intersected by the stream of the Marsyas. This river is celebrated by the fictitious origin ascribed to it by the Greek poets. Its spring, poured from the extreme summit of a mountain, falls, a roaring cataract, upon the rock beneath: whence it glides, a dilated flood, over contiguous levels, bearing along only its own pellucid waters. Its face resembles that of a calm sea: and the poets fabled that nymphs loiter in the recesses of the rock, enamoured with the beauty of the river. While it flows between the ramparts, it retains the name of the Marsyas; but after leaving the town, swelled into a more copious and rapid stream, it is called the Lycus*.

Alexander entered Celæna, which had been deserted by the inhabitants, and prepared to attack the citadel into which they had fled. He apprized them by a herald, that unless they submitted, they must expect the utmost severities: they led the herald up into a tower,

* Here the commentators recognize a slight error. Curtius confounds the Lycus, a river distant 250 stadia from the site of Celæna, with the Marsyas: the former, rising in mount Cadmus, washes Laodicea, (founded since the time of Alexander,) and falls into the Meander, about 400 stadia below the Marsyas. "The Marsyas has been styled the most transparent river in Phrygia; and THE CATARACT, from its falling down the rock with a mighty noise."—*Travels in Asia Minor; by Richard Chandler, D.D. edit. 1776. vol. ii. p. 237.*

which nature and skilful engineers had combined to render strong, bidding him survey its height, and inform Alexander, ‘ That the inhabitants differed from him in their estimate of the fortress: that they knew it to be impregnable; and that, in maintaining their allegiance, they would not shrink from death.’ But, when enclosed by the besieging forces, perceiving that scarcity gained upon them every day, they negotiated a truce for two months, engaging, if not relieved during that time by Darius, to deliver up the place. No succour arriving, they surrendered on the appointed day.

2. Here, ambassadors from Attica, requested the enlargement of such Athenians as had been taken at the battle of the Granicus. The king replied, “ Not those only, but all the other Greek captives I will restore to their homes, when the Persian war shall be ended.”

Alexander knew that Darius had not yet passed the Euphrates; yet, impatient to meet him, he summoned his levies and recalled his detachments, in order that, with all his forces, he might come to a decisive action. His army he was now conducting through Magna Phrygia, which abounded with villages, but had few cities. Yet Gordium, anciently the splendid

court of Midās, was still accounted a city: with the river Sangarius flowing through it, it is seated at an equal distance from the Euxine and the Cilician* sea. Between these seas we find the narrowest part of Asia Minor, both compressing the land into an isthmus: which region is connected with the continent, and yet, from the greater part being surrounded with water, is almost an island; for were not a slender separation interposed, the two seas, which are now divided, would meet†.

Alexander, having added the citizens of Gordium to the number of his subjects, entered the temple of Jupiter, where they showed

* According to the best modern maps, this is not a good clue to the site of Gordium; it is represented to be about one hundred and fifty miles, travelling distance, from the Euxine, and two hundred and eighty from the Cilician coast. In stating that it was intersected by the Sangarius, Strabo agrees with Curtius.

† *Arctas fauces*, applied to the space between the shores, has been censured: it seems a sufficient apology for Curtius, to consider that a tract of much greater breadth may be an isthmus, provided it connect with the main-land a peninsula of correspondent magnitude. But the *nisi tenue discrimen objiceret, maria, quæ nunc dividit, committeret*, of the original, is in this respect inaccurate, that it conveys the idea of positive tenuity, not of relative narrowness, contrasted with the body of the continent.—*Transl.*—Herodotus reckoned the Isthmus to be five journeys only across: but it is more than four degrees. Eratosthenes allows 3000 stadia, which is nearly the truth. Pliny, almost 100 Roman miles too little. Even D'Anville has made it too narrow by about a degree.—RENNELL'S *Retreat of the Ten Thousand*.

him the car of Gordius, father to Midas*. There was nothing in the workmanship of this rude vehicle to distinguish it from one for common purposes. But the yoke was remarkable for the labyrinth of cord which held it; so involved was this with itself, that, in the multiplied loops, the real knot could not be discovered. Alexander, informed by the inhabitants that the oracle had conferred the empire of Asia on the

* The age of Gordius is referred to a time of remote antiquity, antecedent to regular history: the tradition respecting him is shortly this:—Born in Phrygia, he for some time resided there: his whole property consisted of a small piece of land, and two yokes of oxen; one employed in his plough, the other in his waggon. While he was one day ploughing, an eagle alighted on his yoke, and sat there till evening. Struck by the prodigy, Gordius repaired to the Telmissians, celebrated for their skill in augury. On reaching their first village, he met a virgin drawing water at a fountain: informed of the motive for his journey, she directed him to ascend the hill, and sacrifice to Jupiter; he invited her to accompany him, and they proceeded to the temple together. He afterwards married her, and she bore him Midas, who grew into repute for beauty and valour: Gordius is understood to have settled among the Telmissians. About the time Midas attained manhood, Phrygia was convulsed with sedition; the inhabitants, consulting an oracle, were told that a car should soon bring them a king who would appease their tumults. While the assembly were deliberating on this answer, Midas, with his parents, arrived in the car. The Phrygians elected him king; and Midas, in gratitude to Jupiter, consecrated his father's vehicle, suspending it in the temple by a cord made of the inner rind of the cornel tree, *the knot of which was so nicely tied, that no eye could perceive where it began or ended*. This cause of the difficulty of untying it, which is that assigned by Arrian, seems not so reasonable as the account of Curtius: the intricacy of the knot, as described in the text, is an adequate cause.

man who should untie the harness, felt a vehement desire to fulfil the prophecy.

3. Round the king was a concourse of Phrygians and Macedonians : those urged by impatient expectation, these concerned at the temerity of their prince ; for the series of knots was so perplexed, that it was impossible to perceive, or to infer, where it began or ended. Alexander, after a long struggle with the intricate crossings of the cord, apprehending that his failure would be regarded as an inauspicious omen, exclaimed : “ It is immaterial how the knots are loosened : ” and cut them asunder with his sword, either eluding or fulfilling the designation of the oracle*.

Alexander resolved to anticipate Darius in commencing the attack, wherever the latter might be posted ; and, in order to provide for the security of the places in his rear, constituted Amphoterus commander of the fleet, and Hegelochus general of the land-forces, on the coast of the Hellespont. These officers he ordered to expel the Persian garrisons from Lesbos, Chios, and Cos ; confiding to their expenditure five hundred talents. To Antipater, and the superintendants of the Greek cities, he transmitted

* The followers of Alexander retired with a conviction, that he had accomplished this task for a king. Arrian says, that a seasonable thunder-storm confirmed their credulity.

six hundred talents. The Greeks, as his allies, he required to guard the Hellespont by a fleet, conformably to treaty. For as he had not been yet apprized of the death of Memnon, he made that general the chief object of his vigilance, persuaded, that if the expedition met with obstructions, they would proceed from him.

Arrived at Ancyra, Alexander now mustered his army. He, next, entered Paphlagonia: from the bordering Eneti, some believe the Venetians to have descended. The inhabitants of this whole region readily submitted to the king; giving him hostages; and he confirming the exemption from tribute which they had enjoyed under the Persians*. He committed the government of their country to Calas; and, reinforced by the recent levies from Macedon, marched into Cappadocia.

CHAP. II.

Darius musters his army near Babylon. Its force. He marches to the plains of Mesopotamia. The free advice of Charidemus offends Darius, who orders his execution.

4. THE news of Memnon's death affected Darius in an intense degree, corresponding to

* The cause of this immunity is specified in the *Narrative Sketch of the Successors of Alexander*, [subjoined to this translation, vol. ii. p. 448.] sect. 6.

the magnitude of the loss. Resigning all other dependence, he determined to take the field in person. Dissatisfied with all their operations, he imputed negligence to most of the surviving generals; and he knew, unhappily, that they had been uniform in their failures. Having, therefore, pitched a camp near Babylon, in order to raise the spirits and confidence of his soldiers, he assembled them in sight of the city. Having carried an intrenchment round such a space as would hold ten thousand men; he, in imitation of Xerxes, used it as a scale to number his army. From sunrise to nightfall, the battalions, according to their order in the line, kept moving into this enclosure; as they evacuated it, advancing to the plains of Mesopotamia*.

This almost innumerable multitude of horse and foot exceeded in appearance their absolute amount. Of Persians, there mustered one hundred thousand, comprising thirty thousand cavalry. The Medes consisted of ten thousand horse and fifty thousand foot. From Barcania had marched two thousand horsemen, and ten thousand footmen, alike armed with two-edged battle-axes, and light, short, square bucklers. The Armenians contributed seven thousand

* The immensity of the army is strongly illustrated, by being thus, as Dr. Gillies expresses, "rather measured than numbered."

cavalry and forty thousand infantry. The Hyrcanians, of high military reputation among these nations, furnished six thousand horse. The Derbicæ, with two thousand horse, had equipped forty thousand foot ; of which, a majority carried spears pointed with iron ; and the remainder, pikes of wood, hardened in the fire. From the Caspian Sea there had assembled two hundred cavalry and eight thousand infantry: the Asiatics of less note, accompanying these, amounted to four thousand cavalry, and half the number of infantry. To the force already enumerated, are to be added thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, selected young men*. With regard to the Bactrians, Sogdians, and Indians ; with various tribes on the borders of the Red Sea, whose names were unknown to Darius ; the despatch which the crisis demanded, would not permit him to send for them.

* The aggregate of the numbers, as given by Curtius, is 311,200.

	<i>Cavalry.</i>	<i>Infantry.</i>
Persians	30,000	70,000
Medes	10,000	50,000
Barcanians . .	2,000	10,000
Armenians . . .	7,000	40,000
Hyrcanians . . .	6,000	.....
Derbicæ	2,000	40,000
Caspians	200	8,000
Small Tribes . .	4,000	2,000
Greeks		30,000
	61,200	250,000

5. It is evident, that in numerical force the Persian monarch was not deficient. To him this vast multitude was a gratifying spectacle : and his nobles, by their habitual flatteries, so inflated his expectations, that, turning to Charidemus, an Athenian; of military talents, and a personal enemy of Alexander, (Alexander had ordered his expulsion from Athens,) he inquired of him, ‘ Whether his preparations must not be judged adequate to overwhelm the enemy?’ Charidemus, undazzled by the splendours of royalty, and un-intimidated by the consciousness of his situation, thus replied : “ Perhaps, “ Sir, the truth may displease you ; and yet, if “ I do not impart it now, it will be in vain for “ me to mention it hereafter. This army, so “ powerful in show, this immense assemblage “ of so many different nations, comprising levies from all the regions of the East, may be “ formidable to the tribes under your frontiers : “ its purple and gold ornaments are so dazzling, “ its riches so imposing, its arms so refulgent, “ that those only who have been spectators, “ can frame an idea of it. But the Macedonian army, however repulsive to the eye, and “ unadorned, is a chain of columns, covered “ with bucklers, and pointed with spears, rendered immovable through the united powers “ of the men. Their phalanx is a firm body of

“ foot: the combatants and their arms being
“ articulated in the closest order, every indivi-
“ dual contributes to support the whole. They
“ are disciplined to follow the colours, and fall
“ into the ranks at a signal. All obeying the
“ word of command at the same moment, the
“ common soldiers, expert as the officers, halt,
“ wheel, extend the wings, or change the order
“ of battle. That you may not suppose they
“ are to be seduced either by silver or gold,
“ I will describe their discipline in the school
“ of poverty: when fatigued, the ground is
“ their bed; with whatever food they are sup-
“ plied, they are contented; they sleep not
“ after the approach of day. Now, with regard
“ to the Thessalian horse, the Acarnanians, and
“ the Ætolians, they form invincible bands;
“ and can I believe that they are to be repelled
“ with slings, and wooden pikes hardened in
“ the fire? No, Sir, they are to be opposed
“ only by vigour equal to their own; and you
“ should seek auxiliaries in the country which
“ produced these men; send, therefore, those
“ treasures of silver and gold to hire thence a
“ subsidiary army.” Darius was naturally
mild and open to advice, before the elevation
which his fortunes experienced had corrupted
his heart. Unable to bear the truth*, he

* With the truth, Charidemus mixed some sophistical over-

violated the laws of hospitality, and commanded his guest and suppliant, in the middle of this useful strain, to be hurried away to execution. Not deterred by this order from delivering his sentiments freely, he told the king :
“ I see at hand an avenger of my death ; and
“ he, against whose interest my counsel has
“ been directed, will chastise thee for slighting
“ it ; and thou, so transformed by recent accession to imperial greatness, will be an
“ example to succeeding ages, that men who
“ allow prosperity to intoxicate them may
“ forget their own nature.” While he was making this declaration, the executioners cut his throat. Afterwards, the Persian monarch, repenting too late, acknowledged that the Athenian had spoken the truth, and ordered him to be buried.

colouring ; and there was much absurdity in the time and manner. When we reflect on the profligate character of the speaker, we may wonder at his plainness ; the most virtuous plainness might have better served an inflated despot, by calling to its aid more grace and address, and by avoiding to overcharge the weaknesses pointed out

CHAP. III.

Darius makes Thymodes commander of the mercenaries ; and confides to Pharnabazus the defunct powers of Memnon. His dream. Order of march and pageantry of his army : contrasted with the army of Alexander.

6. TO Thymodes, the son of Mentor, a young man who had proved himself an active officer, Darius gave a commission to receive from Pharnabazus all the foreign troops ; for the king having much reliance on these, allotted them an important part in the war. He confided to Pharnabazus the extensive command and powers, which Memnon had exercised*.

Darius, whom incessant attention to important affairs agitated to extreme anxiety, was directed to the contemplation of future disasters by several dreams, occasioned either by melancholy, or by a prophetic faculty in his mind. He sees the Macedonian camp enveloped with spires of glittering flame ; and soon afterwards, Alexander, introduced to him in that habit which he himself wore when chosen king : then Alexander, riding through Babylon—together with his horse, suddenly vanishes. The discordant intimations which

* Ante, p. 231 and 267.

the soothsayers drew from this vision, increased the perplexity of the Persian monarch. Some held the picture which had impressed his imagination to be auspicious, because the enemy's camp was on fire; and, because Alexander, divested of his regal attire, had been brought to him in the dress of a Persian subject. Others, construing it differently, affirmed, that the brightness of the Macedonian camp portended splendour to Alexander, who (to avow their opinion,) would be seated on the throne of Asia, because his garb was similar to that in which Darius had been saluted king. The present solicitude, on this, as on other occasions, turned awakened recollection to former presages. When Darius, at the beginning of his reign, had caused the Persian scabbard to be modelled after the Grecian form*,—the Chaldæans had prognosticated that the empire of the Persians should pass into the possession of the people whose arms were imitated.

* Some who understand the *mutari in eam formam qua Græci uterentur* of the original, to signify a change in the *shape* of the scabbard, not merely in its materials, discover a difficulty in the passage, because it then implies a similarity of length and curvature between the Persian scimitar and Grecian sword. Now, Diodorus asserts, that, after the battle of Issus, Darius ordered swords and spears of an increased length to be manufactured, because he attributed the victory of the Macedonians to the superior length of their swords. But it might have been a Lacedæmonian, Athenian, or Theban scabbard which Darius before introduced.

The king himself, however, caused the answer of the diviners to be circulated in the camp; and becoming at length elated by the agreeable interpretation which his dream would bear, ordered the army to move towards the Euphrates.

7. From remote antiquity, it was the custom of the Persians not to break up their camp till after sunrise, when a trumpet from the king's tent gave the signal: at the same moment, elevated so that all might perceive it, the image of the sun, [of burnished gold,] cased in crystal, glittered at the top of the pavilion.

The army marched in this order. The fire which they call sacred and eternal, was borne in the van on silver altars. Some *Magi* followed, singing the national hymn. These were succeeded by three hundred and sixty-five youths, clothed in scarlet, answering to the number of days in the year; for the Persian year is also thus divided. Next in the procession came the chariot consecrated to Jupiter, which was drawn by white horses; and was followed by a horse of extraordinary magnitude, distinguished as the *steed of the sun*: the officers managing the horses carried golden wands, and wore white habits. At a small distance, were drawn ten chariots, with a profusion of engraved work in silver, and gold. Prolonging

and diversifying the train, rode the cavalry of twelve nations, each division in a peculiar costume, and with different arms. Then succeeded the corps whom the Persians name the *Immortals**, amounting to ten thousand: none of the Barbarians exceeded these in the pomp of superb equipment: the chains hanging from their necks, like the embroidery on their uniform, were of gold; and their SLEEVED-JACKETS† glittered with jewels. After a small space, appears a train bearing the title of the *king's relations*, consisting of fifteen thousand men; this assemblage, attired almost like women, were more remarkable for sumptuous dresses, than for beautiful armour. The next column to these had the name *Doryphori*, accustomed to guard the royal wardrobe. They marched before the car of the king; this bore Darius in person, conspicuous by his elevated seat: Each side of the car was enriched with figures of the gods, cast in silver and gold; sparkling gems embossed the beam, from which sprang two golden statues a cubit high, of which one pre-

* Composed of the bravest and most distinguished soldiers, the corps received this name, because casual vacancies were regularly supplied by new members: its strength was never suffered to fall below the number in the text.

† In the first ages of the Roman republic, it had been considered a mark of effeminate luxury for a man to walk out with a sleeved garment.

sented the lineaments of Ninus, the other of Belus,—and between these, a golden eagle, consecrated, [for an ensign,] expanded its wings*.

8. Amidst all these pageantries, the king's dress displayed sovereign magnificence. The field of his vest was purple interwoven with white; on his mantle, embroidered with gold, were depicted two hawks flying at each other, with their beaks crossed†. He wore a golden girdle, in the ladies' fashion; and the scabbard to the depending sabre was studded with jewels. The regal costume for the head is by the Persians termed a *ciduris*: round this tiara‡, went a turban of azure-blue, relieved with white||.

The king was encompassed, on the right and left, by about two hundred of his nearest

* Xenophon states, that the royal ensign was a golden eagle, with its wings resting upon a spear.

† *Hawks.*] Kai Kobad, the founder of the Kaianian dynasty, when on the eve of being invited to assume the sovereignty by Zal, general of the Cabul army, and his son Roostum, dreamt that the crown of Persia was placed upon his head by two white hawks.—MALCOLM'S *Persia*, vol. i. p. 31.

‡ Curtius has not mentioned the very elevated shape of the tiara. "It is the prerogative of the king to wear an upright turban."

SPELMAN'S *Cyrus*.

|| *Hoc cœrulea fascia alba distincta circumibat.* This is inconsistent with lib. vi. 6. unless *cœruleus* and *purpureus* are sometimes promiscuously used.—See OVID. *Metam.* xii. 211.

relatives. The royal car was followed by ten thousand spear-men, carrying lances adorned with silver, and javelins headed with gold*. Now came the files of thirty thousand infantry: upon whom closed four hundred household cavalry. At the distance of one hundred and twenty-five paces, Sysigambis, the mother of Darius, appeared in the procession; and, near her, the consort of Darius, in separate chariots: the train of women waiting on the queens rode on horses. Next advanced fifteen *armamavas*†, or roofed-carriages, in which were the king's children, and their tutors, with a number of eunuchs, a class not despised in Eastern countries. The line was continued by vehicles, in which were three hundred and sixty of the king's concubines, whose dress and ornaments partook of imperial grandeur. Six hundred mules, with three hundred camels, followed; bearing the king's money, under the charge of

* Respecting the meaning of *spicula*, see reasons for a varied translation in ADDITIONAL NOTES (I).

† In addition to our former procession, we had a *takhteravan*, or litter, in which the nurse and the Ambassador's infant were conveyed. It consists of a cage of lattice work, covered over with cloth, borne by two mules, one before, the other behind [harnessed to poles like those of a sedan]; and conducted by two men, one of whom rides on a third mule in front, and the other generally walks by the side. Perhaps this may resemble the vehicle called *Armamava*, in which the children of Darius and their attendants were carried.—MORIÈRE'S *Second Journey through Persia*, p. 113.

a guard of archers. Then, the wives of the relatives and friends of the sovereign. Then, columns of suttlers and camp-slaves. The light-armed troops brought up the rear. Such was the army of Darius.

Whoever surveyed the army of Alexander, in the order of march, found a different spectacle; neither the men nor the horses glittered—with gold or painted trappings, but with iron and brass. His troops were always prepared either to halt or to advance; not a crowd encumbered with baggage;—but a body attentive to the general's signal, and obedient even to his nod. The Macedonian leader was careful timely to collect supplies, and to encamp where he had sufficient room. Hence, in battle, he appeared not to want soldiers: whereas Darius, who had the absolute disposal of an immense multitude, was rendered incapable, by the confined limits of the place where he fought, to bring into the front more than the small number which he had despised in the enemy.

CHAP. IV.

While Alexander is marching toward Cilicia, Arsanes, the Persian satrap, devastates that province. Description of the Northern pass from Cappadocia, and of the river Cydnus. Alexander advances to Tarsus.

9. MEANWHILE—Abistamenes having been appointed governor of Cappadocia,—the Macedonian king, leading his army towards Cilicia, had already reached the district called *Cyrus's camp*: at this station Cyrus* halted when marching into Lydia against Cræsus. It is fifty stadia distant from the defile which leads into Cilicia: this narrow pass, which the inhabitants name the *Gates*, by its natural construction resembles the bulwarks piled by the hand of man.

Upon intelligence of Alexander's approach, Arsanes, governor of Cilicia, revolving the proposition of Memnon at the commencement of the war, now executed it when the measure was too late to be salutary; ravaging Cilicia with fire, and the *axe*, that the enemy might

* Arrian's explanation of this name is to be preferred; which, in unison with Xenophon's account, makes the younger Cyrus encamp here. None of the authors who treat of the expedition of the elder Cyrus against Cræsus represent him to have held this course.

enter a desert; destroying every thing useful, that he might abandon, in unproductive nakedness, that territory which he could not defend. But it had been far more availing to occupy the narrow streit opening into Silicia, with a strong guard, and to take timely possession of the cliffs commanding the road, whence he might, with impunity, have either repulsed or crushed an invader. The satrap, however, leaving a weak company in the pass, returned to devastate that country which it was his office to protect from plunderers. This induced the party left, conceiving themselves betrayed, not even to wait till the enemy came in sight, though the post was tenable by a smaller number. For Cilicia is enclosed by a continued chain of craggy and steep mountains; which, rising from the sea, is prolonged in the form of a bow till it reaches the coast again at the opposite angle. Through this ridge there are three passes, craggy and extremely confined; by one of which, in that part which recedes inward, the farthest from the sea*, is Cilicia entered [from the north].

* *Per hoc dorsum, qua maxime introrsum mari cedit, asperi tres aditus et perangusti sunt, quorum uno Cilicia intranda est.* The Original is so far entangled by the turn of expression in one comma, that it seems to predicate of all the passes, that they intersect that curvature of the ridge which is farthest from the sea. Only the pass from Cappadocia is in that part. The two remaining passes—the streits of Amanus leading eastward to Commagena, by which there

That part of Cilicia which lies toward the sea, is level, and is watered by multiplied streams, of which the most celebrated are the rivers Pyramus and Cydnus.

10. The Cydnus is not so remarkable for breadth as for the clearness of its water: descending gently from the source, it is received on a bright bed; nor do any torrents fall into it, to disturb the placid stream: while it thus flows unmixed, and translucent as its own fountains, all the way to the sea, the water is deeply shaded by the pleasant scenery on the banks; hence it is chillingly fresh.

Though time had dissolved many ancient monuments of Cilicia, of which the splendid fame survives in the poets, yet the contemplatist might still behold the ruins of the cities Lyrnessus and Thebes*, or descend into the

was a circuitous road to Syria, and the streits of Syria, directly communicating with that province—are nearer to the sea; and the last so near as to give name to a harbour. As Curtius, *infra*, cap. vii. 16, 17, 19, conducts Alexander and Darius in perfect accordance with their true locality, I believe his intention here was only to mark the position of that pass at which Alexander has arrived, and that the comma “in that part which recedes inward the farthest from the sea,” is misplaced by some error of the old transcribers. The simple alteration of transposing it a line lower reconciles the passage with Strabo, *lib.* xiv. and with modern travels.

* These places are not in Cilicia Proper: but in the time of Cicero, the government of Cilicia comprized Cilicia Proper, Pisidia, Lycæonia, Isauria, and part of Phrygia. It is said that [the sites of] Thebes and Lyrnessus are to be seen between Phaselis and Attalia;

cave of Typhon. The Corycian grove is interesting to the naturalist, because it still produces saffron of superior quality: while most of the other local curiosities have only a traditional existence.

Alexander now entered the jaws of the ridge which is called the *Gate*. Having surveyed the positions about the narrow places*, never, it is said, was he more astonished at his good fortune; confessing, ‘That his army might have been overwhelmed with massy stones, had there been hands to propel them on the passengers underneath†.’ The avenue would scarcely admit four armed men to march abreast‡; the ridge of the rock hung projecting over the track, which was not only confined, but in many places broken up by the numerous

and Callisthenes informs us, that part of the Trojan Cilices were driven from the plain of Thebe into Pamphylia.—STRABO.

* That is both of the contracted openings, and commanding heights.

† I do not understand Alexander as alluding to loose crags lying there by accident,—but to a line of large stones at the edge of the precipice, prepared for dislodgment. The ground for this opinion may be seen in vol. ii. p. 22, note.

‡ It was only wide enough to admit a single chariot. XENOPH. l. i.

A party from Capt. B.’s frigate, who had penetrated to Tarsus, twelve miles from the coast, were informed by an Armenian that this pass now admits about eight horses abreast; it had been cut through the rock to the depth of about forty feet; the marks of the tools are still visible at the sides.—BEAUFORT’S *Karamania*. London, 1817. p. 264.

meandering rivulets which spring from the bases of the hills.

The leader of the Greeks and Macedonians, therefore, ordered the light-armed Thracians to lead the van, and to penetrate into all the ways, lest an ambuscade of the enemy should surprize the forces marching through. He also detached a company of archers to occupy the summit of the mountain, instructing them to advance with their bows bent, not as in a march, but an engagement. In this order, he reached the city of Tarsus, which the Persians had fired, expecting that that seat of opulence must fall to the invader. But the king, who had sent Parmenio forward with a light detachment to arrest the conflagration, apprised that the enemy had fled on the approach of his men, entered the town which he had saved from destruction.

CHAP. V.

The king, bathing in the Cydnus, is seized with a sudden illness.

11. THE river Cýdnus, above described, flows through this city. It was then summer; in which season no climate is more sultry than that of Cilicia, from torrid exhalations sus-

pended by the sun*; and it was the hottest time of the day. The clearness of the stream invited the king to lave the sweat and dust from his over-heated frame. Having, therefore, taken off his dress, he, in the sight of the army, (conceiving it would be a worthy trait, to show that he was satisfied with those personal accommodations which were in the reach of all,) went into the river. He had hardly entered it, when a sudden tremor seized his limbs, he turned pale, the vital heat almost forsook his body. Like one expiring, he was taken out by his attendants, who carried him, in a state of insensibility, to his tent†.

The camp, afflicted almost as deeply as mourners for the dead, lamented with tears their leader. “ In the midst of a rapid course
“ of victory, the brightest military genius of
“ any age is snatched from us, losing his life—
“ not in battle, penetrated by the weapons of
“ the enemy, but bathing securely in a placid

* As the heat of the weather increased, so did a dense white haze.—BEAUFORT'S *Karamania*, p. 270.

† In the year 1190, the emperor Frederick I. of Germany, surnamed *Barbarossa*, was tempted by the intense heat of the climate to bathe in the Calycadnus, a neighbouring river; and either owing to its coldness, or the violence of the current, was drowned. He had conducted an army of 150,000 men to co-operate in the Crusade against Saladin. After surmounting many difficulties, he had just forced the pass of Mount Taurus, and was on the eve of complete success, when he thus lost his life at the age of 69.

“ river. Darius, who is approaching, will have
“ all the advantages of a conqueror without
“ having met his antagonist. As a vanquished
“ army, we must retrace our steps over those
“ countries which we have recently subdued.
“ Should no enemy harass our retreat through
“ tracts which we, or the Persian commanders,
“ have desolated, yet famine and every want
“ will cause us to perish in these immense un-
“ peopled wilds. Who will conduct our re-
“ turn? Who will presume to command us,
“ after Alexander? Admit we reach the Hel-
“ lespont, who will provide a fleet to transport
“ us across?” Then regretting Alexander on
his own account, they exclaimed, “ That flower
“ of youthful kings has drooped; death hath
“ silently crushed that athletic spirit, our great
“ leader and companion in arms!”

12. Meanwhile the king began to breathe more freely, to open his eyes, and, by degrees, recovering his senses, to know his attendants: but his malady seemed only in this particular abated, that he was conscious of its violence. The morbid state of his body oppressed his mind, when contemplating the consequences. Having received information that Darius was but five days' march from Cilicia*, he com-

* Darius, in his progress from Mesopotamia, lay a long while encamped on the plain of Sochos; where his first design was to wait for Alexander: hence it was nearly two months before he reached Issus.

plained, that he should be delivered, bound, to the enemy,—and that having an opportunity for complete victory snatched out of his hands, he should die obscurely and ignobly in his tent. Having summoned to his presence as well his friends as his physicians, he spoke to this effect. “ You perceive the critical situation of affairs “ in which fortune has surprised me. I already “ hear the rattling of the enemy’s arms : and “ I, who have been hitherto the assailant, am “ challenged by him to the battle. When Darius transmitted those arrogant orders*, it “ would appear that the genius controuling my “ fortune had been of his council,—but to no “ avail, if I may be permitted to prescribe for “ myself. My case requires neither tardy “ remedies, nor timorous physicians : Though “ I were to die from a decisive course, it were “ better than to recover slowly ; therefore, if the “ medical art has any powerful resources, let “ all my friends who profess it understand, that “ I do not seek so much an escape from dissolution, as a remedy for the stagnating war.” This impatient temerity struck all his attendants with concern, which made each personally entreat of the king, ‘ That he would not aggravate his danger, by precipitation, but conform ‘ to the directions of his physicians ;’ adding,

* See ante, p. 191.

‘ that there was cause to suspect untried remedies, since the enemy had employed the temptation of money upon his domestics for his destruction;’ (Darius had offered, by proclamation, a thousand talents to that man who should kill Alexander;) ‘ on which account, they did not believe, that any person would venture to make trial of a preparation which, by its novelty, might excite distrust.’

CHAP. VI.

Interesting scene between Alexander and his physician. The king recovers. The army's oration to Philip.

13. AMONG the eminent physicians in the train of Alexander, was Philip of Acarnania, whom genuine friendship and intense loyalty attached to his master: having had the charge of the prince's health when a child, he loved Alexander not merely as his king, but as his foster-son. As a professor of the healing art, he undertook to compound a medicine, not too violent, but possessing sufficient activity to expel the disease. This promise pleased no one, but him at whose hazard it was to be performed:—the magnanimous patient preferred

all extremities to delay; the Persians drawn up for battle were before his eyes, and he considered that, to obtain victory, he need merely take his station before the Macedonian colours: that part of the communication which he heard with dissatisfaction was,—for this the physician added—“Before it will be proper to administer the draught, three days must elapse.”

In the meantime the king receives a letter from Parmenio, among his purpled* chiefs the highest in his confidence, admonishing him not to entrust the care of his health with Philip; for that Darius had corrupted him, by promising him a thousand talents, and by amusing him with the expectation of his daughter in marriage. This intimation made the king's mind the seat of anxiety and perplexity: he balanced within himself the suggestions of suspicion and the motives to confidence: “Shall I persevere in the determination to take the preparation—should it be charged with poison, shall I not be deemed to deserve the result? Are not there grounds to distrust the fidelity of my physician? But shall I linger here, that Darius may crush me in my tent? It is nobler for Alexander to die by

* It appears that Alexander allowed to some of his vicegerents and captains the distinction of wearing purple, which was usually confined to kings.

“ another’s perfidy, than through his own diffidence.” Long did clashing surmises and reasonings fill the king’s divided mind. Without revealing to any one the contents of the letter, he sealed it with his ring and laid it under his pillow.

14. After two days of doubt and agitation, dawned the morning appointed by the physician. Philip entered, bearing the cup in which he had proportioned the decisive draught. Alexander, seeing him, raised himself upon his elbow, and holding Parmenio’s letter in his left hand, took the mixture, and drank it off with composure: he, then, gave the letter to the suspected physician, who read it by his desire,—Alexander closely observing his countenance, persuaded that, if he were a traitor, he should there detect conscience writhing with guilt. Philip having read the letter, displayed more indignation than fear: and, flinging down his cloak with the letter at the bed-side, he said: “ Sir! my life has always depended on your Majesty; but, now, the breath which passes from those sacred lips is the vital breath of us both. As for the treason charged against me, your recovery will acquit me. When I shall have saved your life, I appeal to your goodness to continue mine. In the meantime, suffer the potion to diffuse itself through

“ your veins ; and, dismissing all distrust, recal cheerfulness to your mind, which the
“ unseasonable anxiety and officious zeal of
“ your friends have disturbed.” This speech not only restored the king to composure, but raised his spirits and renewed his hopes. He answered : “ If the gods, Philip ! had granted
“ thee a test of my disposition towards thee,
“ thou wouldst have chosen some other : but
“ thou couldst not have wished for a more decisive proof of my confidence : notwithstanding the letter, you have seen me take your
“ preparation ; and, be assured, that I wait the
“ effect, not less solicitous that it may vindicate your fidelity, than that it may conduce
“ to my recovery.” Having thus said, the hero gave the physician his hand.

15. As soon as the medicine began to operate, alarming symptoms in the patient seemed to countenance Parmenio’s accusation. Alexander swooned ; his respiration became difficult, and scarcely proceeded : The attentive physician omitted no application that his skill suggested : with fomentations he sought to awaken the irritability of the body ; with the odour of meat and wine, he invited back the senses. When he perceived the king returning to himself, he reminded him of his mother and sisters,

and introduced the animating subject of the great approaching victory.

When the mixture had circulated through the veins of Alexander, and penetrated every part of his frame, indications of returning health could be gradually perceived. First his mind resumed its vigor; then his body, in the progress of recovery, surpassed expectation. In three days' time he showed himself to the army, gratified to see him, nor less eager to behold Philip, whom every one pressed by the hand, and thanked as a divinity.

Besides the national veneration for the monarch, which was a characteristic of the Macedonians, they had a personal admiration and love for Alexander which language is inadequate to describe. The first ground of that attachment was,—that he appeared to have embarked in no undertaking without the assistance of the Deity; and as victory had attended his enterprizes, his temerity had contributed to his glory. Moreover, his immature age, which previous to his great actions, had naturally been deemed unequal to such performances, now reflected on them the greater lustre. Other traits, less dazzling, had endeared him to the soldiers in the ranks: his performance of gymnastic exercises in the midst of them; his

moderation in apparel, and in the accommodations for his individual lodging, and refreshment, little superior to those of the private men; his martial vigor and hardihood. These gifts from nature, or acquisitions from education, held the hearts of the army to Alexander, by bands in which love and respect were equally interwoven.

CHAP. VII.

Darius advances toward Cilicia. Festivals in honour of Alexander's recovery. Victory in Caria. Parmenio returns from a successful expedition to Issus: the army marches thither. Catastrophe of Sisines.

16. **DARIUS**, informed of Alexander's sickness, moved with as much expedition as his immense army would permit, to the banks of the Euphrates: having laid bridges over that river, in five days he conveyed his forces across, hastening to anticipate Alexander in Cilicia.

But Alexander, with restored health and vigor, had reached the city Soli: having reduced it, he levied a contribution of two hundred talents, and placed a garrison in the cita-

del. Here, in discharge of vows offered on account of his recovery, he devoted an interval to sports and festivities, in honour of Æsculapius and Minerva : this security displayed his contempt for the Barbarians. While celebrating these pageantries, he is gratified by intelligence from Halicarnassus, that the Persians had been defeated by his lieutenant, and that the inhabitants of Myndus and Caunus, and of several other districts of Caria, had submitted to his government.

The series of games and spectacles being completed, he broke up his camp ; and having thrown a bridge over the Pyramus*, advanced to the city Mallos. Next day he encamped at the town of Castabala, where he was joined by Parmenio, whom he had detached to examine the *pass of the forest*†, through which he was to

It will become more than probable that the above channel was once the bed of the Pyramus, and that the little islet [in the salt water lake] already noticed, was the spot where Alexander threw his bridge across that river.—BEAUFORT'S *Karamania*, p. 274.

† The ruined town of Kastanlee seems to occupy the position of the ancient Castabala. Thence we directed our course for the first three miles over a sort of table land abounding in partridges, hares, and antelopes : when we entered a narrow valley, or rather DEFILE, CLOTHED WITH THICK COPSE WOOD AND EVERGREENS. At the eighth mile the rocks on either side approached each other ; and we passed under an arch of an old gateway built of black granite, called Kara Cape, or the Black Gate. This building is evidently intended to defend the entrance into the defile ; and I should guess it to have been

penetrate to the city Issus. Parmenio, having seized this streit, and left a small force in charge of it, proceeded to occupy Issus, which the inhabitants had abandoned: then advancing further, he dislodged the fugitives from their strong recesses in the mountains:—After securing all the posts by garrisons, and by a guard at the defile, he returned to Alexander, both the achiever and the herald of these successes.

17. Hereupon the king led the army to

constructed at a period antecedent to the conquests of the Turks; and to have been once much more extensive than it now is. The pass expanded immediately when we had quitted the gate.—*Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan. By John Macdonald Kinneir, Captain in the service of the Hon. East-India Company. 8vo. London, 1818. p. 135.*

This second, or middle pass, is WITHIN Cilicia. As Curtius is the only writer among the Antients, with the exception perhaps of Strabo, who has described this pass; so Capt. Macdonald Kinneir is the only traveller among the Moderns who has distinctly indicated its site by painting the character of the scenery in his way to the old arch mentioned by Dr. Pocock to have had an iron gate. The Translator thinks, however, that Strabo points to the same defile, or one very near it, in the following notice.—This celebrated geographer, p. 676, says, after mentioning *ÆGÆÆ* [the modern Ayass], “then come the *Amanides Pylæ*, or Gates of Amanus, having a place fit for a harbour. At these gates M. Amanus terminates; a mountain branching from Taurus, and overhanging the eastern frontier of Cilicia.” The place, fit for a harbour, is *Ægææ* itself. This marks, therefore, the north-western extremity of Amanus; a spur from which appears to run thence in a curve to the north-east, connecting itself with Taurus, while another spur shoots southward, and just piercing the frontier of Syria, ends at the ancient *Pagræ*. We shall have occasion more particularly to mention *Pagræ* in a note upon the THIRD pass, that, *from Cilicia to Syria*, below, p. 309.

Issus, where he debated, in council, whether it behoved him to prosecute his march, or await there the junction of the new levies hourly expected from Macedon. Parmenio declared his opinion, ‘ That Alexander could not select
‘ a more eligible position to give battle in,
‘ since it would reduce the forces of both kings
‘ to an equality, as the streits denied passage to
‘ a multitude. That it concerned the Macedo-
‘ nians to avoid plains and open levels, where
‘ they might be surrounded, and crushed by an
‘ attack at once on the front and rear. In that
‘ case, he did not apprehend that their defeat
‘ would be the effect of bravery in the enemy,
‘ but of fatigue in themselves; for the Persians,
‘ in a spacious field, could be incessantly re-
‘ lieved by fresh troops.’ The propriety of this salutary counsel was readily perceived: therefore Alexander determined to wait at the pass of the *forest** for the enemy.

There was in the Macedonian army a Persian, named Sisines, whom the governor of Egypt had formerly employed on a mission to Philip. This man, being courted by gifts and

* Subsequently, however, he changed this feature of the plan, without departing from its spirit. Alexander was penetrating into Southern Syria, by the pass called the *gates of Syria and Cilicia*, when Darius reached the defile of Amanus and the city of Issus.— See below, chap. viii.

promotions, abjured his native connections, and settled in Macedon. In the expedition against Asia, attending Alexander,—he was treated by the king as one of his companions and confidants. To him a Cretan soldier delivered a letter, sealed with an unknown seal: Nabarzanes, a satrap of Darius, in this communication, exhorted Sisines “ To do something worthy his quality and merit; something that should entitle him to high dignities at the Persian court.” Sisines, pure and loyal in intention, had often endeavoured to show the letter to Alexander: but finding him always engaged in important affairs, and in preparations for the approaching action, he awaited a convenient interview: this delay created a suspicion that he was the instrument of a foreign plot. For the letter had first reached the hands of Alexander, who, having read it, sealed it with an unknown seal, and desired that it should be delivered to Sisines, employing it as a test of his fidelity. The Persian courtier, not presenting himself for a series of days, was considered to suppress the letter from an unpardonable motive; and he was killed in his quarters by the Cretan band, no doubt under the orders of Alexander.

CHAP. VIII.

Darius rejects the advice of the Greek mercenaries. The Persians pass the streits of Amanus, while the Macedonians penetrate those of Syria. Darius pursues. Alexander marches to meet Darius. Terror of the Persians. Military dispositions of Darius in part described.

18. THE Greek mercenaries, on whom Darius founded his principal, almost his sole expectations, transferred from the command of Pharnabazus to that of Thyimodes, had now arrived in his camp*. Officers of consideration among these, endeavoured to prevail upon him, ‘ To retire, and gain the spacious plains of Mesopotamia: or, if he rejected that advice, at least to divide his immense army, nor expose the embodied energies of his empire to be crushed in one battle, or scattered, never again to be collected.’ These propositions were not so ill received by the king, as by his nobles. They urged, ‘ The duplicity, venality, and perfidy of the Greeks; which made it perilous to act from their suggestions. They

* Arrian states, that they marched from Tripolis, whither a fleet had sailed with them from Greece.

‘ had recommended a partition of the forces,
‘ that they might deliver up to Alexander that
‘ army, which should devolve to their separate
‘ management. And no measure of defence
‘ would avail more, than to surround them
‘ with all the Persian troops, and cut them in
‘ pieces, as a warning to traitors.’ To this,
Darius, not insensible to the sanctions of hu-
manity and religion, replied: “ I abhor so fla-
“ gitious an act, as the massacre of men rely-
“ ing on my protection, and engaged in my
“ service. What foreign state would hereafter
“ trust me with the lives of its citizens, were I
“ to stain my hands with the blood of so many
“ soldiers? Weak advice ought not to be visit-
“ ed as a capital crime: if to deliver an opinion
“ be rendered so dangerous, we shall have no
“ counsellors. Among you, whom I every day
“ summon round me, for your sentiments, I
“ find advocates of opposite measures; nor do
“ I regard those whose propositions are most
“ judicious, as better affected to me than their
“ colleagues, whose propositions I reject.” Then
Darius ordered the following answer to be re-
turned, in his name, to the Greeks: ‘ That the
‘ king thanked them for their good dispositions
‘ towards him: but, with regard to a retrograde
‘ march, its effect would be to transfer his king-
‘ dom to the invader. That military operations

‘ depend greatly on reputation; and he who
‘ withdraws, is considered to fly. That to en-
‘ deavour to protract * the war, were a species
‘ of folly; because the winter was approaching;
‘ when it would be impossible to provide food
‘ for his immense army in a desolate country;
‘ alternately wasted by his own troops, and by
‘ the enemy. That to divide his forces, were
‘ contrary to the practice of his ancestors, who
‘ always brought out their whole strength when
‘ they hazarded a battle. And, in fact, the Ma-
‘ cedonian, previously so formidable, at a dis-
‘ tance swelling with airy confidence, now he
‘ perceived Darius to be at hand, had resigned
‘ his temerity for caution; lurking in the de-
‘ files of the forest, like those beasts, at once
‘ untamed and abject; who, on hearing the ad-
‘ vance of passengers, steal in woods to their
‘ dark holes:—even now, counterfeiting sick-
‘ ness, he was deluding his own soldiers. But
‘ he should not longer refuse to fight, for Da-
‘ rius would seize him in the den to which his
‘ fainting heart had carried him for delay.’
These magnificent vauntings had a frail founda-
tion.

* While this answer of the ministers, in the name of Darius, embraces topics not touched in the proposal of the Greeks,—the essential suggestion, the policy of making a level country the seat of war, receives no reply.

19. Darius, having sent all his money, and most valuable treasures, under a moderate escort, to Damascus, in Syria, marched with the rest of his army into Cilicia; his consort and mother following with the rear-guard, according to the Persian usage; his daughters, also, and little boy, were in the train. It happened, that the Persian forces came to the streits of Amanus*, on the same night that Alexander reached the streits which lead into Syria. The Persians confidently concluded, that the Macedonians were on the retreat,—because the latter had abandoned their recent conquest, Issus,—and because some of the wounded and sick, who could not proceed with Alexander's army, were there taken. Darius, at the instigation of his nobles, exercising the vengeance of a savage, caused the hands of the prisoners to be cut off: then, with the wounds seared, he ordered them to be led round his camp, that they might survey his forces, and, having thoroughly observed every thing, report to Alexander what they had seen.

Darius, moving to a new encampment, passed the river Pinarus, in order to strike at the rear of the Macedonians, whom he imagined to be in full retreat. Meanwhile, the soldiers whom the Barbarians had mutilated, arriving in

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (J).

the camp of Alexander, inform him that Darius is pursuing the track of the Macedonians with impetuous steps. The king could not fully credit the information; he therefore despatched a small reconnoitring party coastwise*, to examine whether Darius had reached the neighbourhood of Issus in person, or whether one of his satraps were not causing a demonstration, to be taken for the advance of the whole army. But by the time the reconnoitring party had returned, the extended multitude could be seen at a distance. Soon afterwards, fires began to blaze throughout all the plains, and the Persian camp had the appearance of a general conflagration†: The space over which the irregular mass had spread themselves, was the more dilated on account of their cattle.

Hereupon Alexander ordered his forces to encamp in their present position‡; exulting in the prospect of deciding in those streits who should hold the empire; a crisis for which he had long devoutly prayed.

20. It is not uncommon for the most sanguine to feel a moment of anxiety, when a decision which deeply concerns them is on the eve

* We learn from Arrian, that they went in a trireme.

† See PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION, *Testimonies to the Accuracy of Curtius, by recent Travellers, No. I.*

‡ On the Syrian side of the defile which he had just passed.

of being pronounced. Such was now the case with Alexander. Of fortune, under whose wings he had been wafted to such a height of prosperity, he became diffident—and not entirely without reason; for the possessions which she had transferred to him reminded him of her fickleness. The reflection occurred: “Only the curtain of a night hangs before the event of the mighty conflict.” Then he revolved the fortifying considerations: “The prize far outweighs the danger. Whether I shall conquer is doubtful — — this is certain, that if I fall, it will be worthily, and my memory will be embalmed.”

The leader of the Greeks and Macedonians gave a general order to the troops to refresh themselves, and afterwards, at the third watch*, to be at their stations, armed and in marching order.

Meanwhile, he ascended the summit of a lofty mountain, by torch-light, and there offered sacrifices, according to the rites of his country, to the local genii or deities†.

* The ancients divided the night into four parts, equal with each other, but varying in length, according to the season; and because among military bodies, guard was mounted during each of these divisions, they received the name of watches; the third watch began at midnight.

† It was a received opinion among the Greeks, that every place had one divinity, or a plurality of divinities, peculiarly presiding over it.

Now the trumpet a third time resounded, the appointed signal; the army stood prepared to march or to engage. The command was, to march in the quickest time; and, at the rising dawn, they had gained the streits which their leader destined them to occupy. The advanced videttes now reported, that Darius was distant but thirty stadia. Alexander commanded the troops to halt, and, having put on his armour, drew up his army in order of battle.

21. Darius, to whom the affrighted peasants communicated the arrival of Alexander, with difficulty credited that the fugitives whom he was pursuing had come to intercept him. The unexpected meeting appals his soldiers, who were better prepared for marching than for action: they start to take their weapons; but the precipitate bustle with which they run to and fro, in obedience to the incessant cry of "to arms!" propagates their increasing terrors: Some individuals climb one of the heights in the chain, thence to view the enemy; numbers are bridling their horses. This incongruous army, not moving by orders emanating from a general leader, was convulsed with agitation and tumult.

The first determination of Darius was to occupy the ridge of the mountain with part of his forces, in order to attack the enemy as well on the rear as in front: From a station along the

sea-side, which covered the extremity of his right-wing, he proposed that another body should take the enemy in flank: Moreover, twenty thousand archers were sent forward with orders to pass * the Pinarus, whose stream separated the two armies, and charge the invaders; —or, if that were found impracticable, to retire † to the mountains, and thence steal upon the enemy's rear. But fortune, which triumphs over human arrangements, rendered abortive his most able dispositions: some divisions of his army, from cowardice, disobeyed his orders, and some executed them to no effect; for where the parts fail, the whole is disconcerted.

* From Arrian it may be collected, that these archers did not pass the river, or passed and returned; joined by thirty thousand cavalry, they, in a position on its hither bank, in vain opposed the passage of the Macedonians, notwithstanding the bank was craggy along a great part of the line, and in other places the Persians were defended by an entrenchment.

† According to Arrian, it was another body, of twenty thousand, who were instructed to occupy the mountain on which is the source of the Pinarus, whence they were to gall the right-wing, and, as far as it could be effected, the rear of Alexander.

CHAP. IX.

Order of battle of the Persian main army. Alexander's order of battle. Unsteady conduct of Persian partizans on the heights. Macedonian order of march through the defile.

22. THE following was the Persian order of battle*. In the right wing† was Nabarzanes with his cavalry, and about twenty thousand slingers and archers:—this part of the line was strengthened by thirty thousand Greek mercenaries commanded by Thymodes; these were, indisputably, the main pillar of the Persian army, and equal to the Macedonian phalanx. In the left, Aristomedes the Thessalian directed twenty thousand Barbarian infantry; behind these, levies from the most warlike nations formed a reserve:—In this part of the line‡, the king in person, attended by three thousand cho-

* The troops mentioned in the preceding section seem to have been a surplus force, which, not having room to form with the body of the army, Darius distributed on surrounding points, ready to take advantage of circumstances

† It will prepare the reader to understand the description, to be apprised that Curtius here speaks only of two wings, which being prolonged till they meet, absorb the centre.

‡ Arrian places the king in the centre, according to the ancient Persian custom; but as one third of the left [see the last note] belongs to the centre, both accounts may be reconciled.

sen horse, his usual body-guard, led forty thousand foot :—Near them were posted the Hyrcanians and Medes, with cavalry from the remaining nations disposed on their right and left.

Before the army, thus drawn up, there was a vanguard of six thousand archers and slingers. Every opening in these streits where men could be introduced, was filled with troops. The army of Darius, with its right wing touching the sea, extended its left to the chain of mountains.

23. Alexander stationed the phalanx (the Macedonians had no description of force on which they more depended,) in the van. Nicanor, the son of Parmenio, commanded on the right: near him, in succession, were stationed Cænos, and Perdiccas, and Meleager, and Ptolemy, and Amyntas, with their respective corps. The left wing, which extended *toward* the sea, was directed by Craterus and Parmenio; but Craterus had orders to obey Parmenio. The cavalry covered the flanks, of which they formed the extremities; the Macedonians, with the Thessalians, were on the right; the Peloponnesians, on the left. Before the main army there was an advanced guard of slingers, interspersed with archers, supported by the Thracians and Cretans, who were also lightly armed.

The Agrians, who, trained in Greece, had lately joined, were instructed to keep in check

those whom Darius had sent forward to occupy the heights. The king had ordered Parmenio to extend his lines as far as he could toward the sea, the farther to remove the army from the heights in the possession of the Barbarians. The latter neither opposed the Agrians when approaching, nor ventured to surround them when they had passed, but fled in consternation on the first appearance of the slingers: their infirmity of conduct rendered secure the flank of the Macedonians, which Alexander had been greatly apprehensive would suffer from exposure to the impending stations of the enemy.

The army marched [by its flank] thirty-two in a file, while the confined entrance of the streits would not admit a wider column: as the avenue gradually expanded, the infantry were enabled to march with extended ranks, and at length the cavalry spread out into their places on the wings.

CHAP. X.

The armies in sight, Alexander restrains his men from marching too eagerly. His address to the different national bodies in his army.

24. THE two armies, now mutually in view, were yet beyond the range of each other's ar-

rows; when the van * of the Persians made a ferocious shouting; but not in unison, so as to produce the effect of a volley. The burst of acclamation returned by the Macedonians was so imposing, as to appear to come from an army superior * in number; the Macedonians, deeper embosomed in the woods and forests of the scene, were indeed more assisted by the local echoes, which reverberate and multiply every sound.

Proceeding in the front with the colours; Alexander with his hand repeatedly made signs to his men, to restrain their impatient steps; lest, at the critical moment of coming up with the enemy, their accelerated respiration, interrupted and exhausted, should disable them from making a vigorous charge. Then, riding along the line, he delivered addresses to the troops,

* "Van of the Persians." The original is *priores Persæ*. Many commentators have, in this paragraph, discovered a difficulty on account of the acclamations of the Macedonians being represented as the loudest; and have therefore been willing, by supposed emendations, to reconcile the account with that of Diodorus Siculus, [lib. xvii.] which makes the Macedonians first cheer. By understanding *priores Persæ*, which would appear to have been habitually construed "the Persians first," rather as a phrase, not indeed very military, for the "van of the Persians," an additional cause is gained why the shout from the smaller army should exceed in deepness and fulness; which, with the other causes in the text, seem quite equal to the effect. Indeed, if the power and intenseness of the two volleys of sound had corresponded with the size of the two armies, the circumstance would have been too common to merit notice.

accommodated to the views and prepossessions of the several national corps. ‘ He reminded
‘ the Macedonians of their established bravery;
‘ which had made them the victors in so many
‘ wars in Europe, and which had assembled
‘ them under his standard, with volunteering
‘ zeal, ardent as his own, to subdue Asia, and
‘ the remote countries of the East. That, des-
‘ tined to deliver the world, having penetrated
‘ beyond the conquests of Hercules and Bac-
‘ chus, they were to found an empire, embrac-
‘ ing not the Persians only, but all nations:
‘ Among their possessions would be Bactriana
‘ and India. That their immediate prospect
‘ was inconsiderable: but victory had every
‘ prize in store. That the craggy rocks of Il-
‘ lyricum, and the sterile tracts of Thrace, were
‘ not to be the reward of their achievements:
‘ the rich East offered her spoils. That they
‘ would find it scarcely necessary to exercise their
‘ swords; for that the ranks of the enemy, fal-
‘ tering and alarmed, might be driven with their
‘ bucklers. He apostrophized his father Philip
‘ the conqueror of the Athenians; he brought
‘ into review their recent conquest, and destruc-
‘ tion, of the celebrated city of Thebes; he di-
‘ rected their recollection to the battle of the
‘ Granicus, and to the numberless Asiatic towns
‘ which had been reduced, or had submitted;

‘ in fine, all the countries in their rear lay prostrate under Macedonian lieutenants.’ Having then proceeded to the columns of the Greeks, Alexander represented, ‘ That the army in view, were the Barbarians who had made war upon Greece: he^a adverted to the insolence, first of Darius, [Hystaspes,] and afterwards of Xerxes, who exhausted and devastated all their *water and land*^{*}, leaving them neither flowing fountains, nor provisions. He desired them to keep in mind, that hordes of Persians had over-run and plundered their cities, and had subverted and consigned to flames the temples of their gods.’ But the Macedonian leader, when he had reached that part of the line which consisted of Illyrians and Thracians, who were accustomed to live by rapine, thus spoke: “ Behold the army of the enemy! How the bosses of gold glitter on their purple mantles, carrying not armour, but a rich booty! As men, advance and rifle those weak women of their gold. Exchange your rugged piles of rock, and barren heights, cold and pale with eternal frost, for the luxuriant plains and fields of Persia.”

* An allusion to the tribute of earth and water which the Persian monarchs arrogantly required from the Greeks, as a symbol of obedience.

CHAP. XI.

The battle of Issus. The wife and children of Darius are taken captive.

25. THE armies had approached within the range of each other's darts,—
Olymp. cxi. 4. when the Persian cavalry furiously
A. C. 333. charged the left wing of the ene-
Ætat. Alex. 24. my; for Darius was desirous to de-
Reg. 4. cide the affair by the horse, sensible that the phalanx was the grand dependance of the Macedonians. At the same time, the right wing of Alexander was on the point of being surrounded*: Alexander, perceiving this, while he left two squadrons to continue guarding the acclivity of the mountain, adroitly removed the others into the midst of the conflict. Then detaching from his line the Thessalian cavalry, he directed their commander to conduct them, by the most private road, to the rear of the

* It has been related in chap. ix. sect. 23, that a Persian detachment, occupying some height in the chain, which menaced Alexander's flank *while marching up to engage*, was dispersed: but that does not affect the circumstance of Alexander's right being nearly surrounded when it reached the more open space where the battle took place; for the main army of Darius, by its disproportionate superiority, must have greatly outflanked the Macedonians.

army, there to effect a junction with Parmenio, and promptly to execute his orders.

Now the Macedonian forces, almost enclosed by the Persians, who had spread themselves on every side, intrepidly maintained their ground. They * stood, however, so closely locked together, that they could not cast their darts with freedom: the darts, discharged at the same moment, met, intermingled, in the air, whence they fell, a few upon the enemy with feeble effect; the greater part innocuous upon the ground. Therefore, the Macedonians gallantly drew their swords, and engaged the Persians in a close fight. Then it was that blood was prodigally spilt: in such close contact are the hostile lines, that their thrusting and parrying swords strike together; and they direct the points into each other's faces. Neither the cowardly nor the imbecile can practise any illusion: foot to foot, each fights as in a duel, not moving from the spot, till by the death of his antagonist he opens a way. When thus enabled

* The Macedonian heavy infantry, or phalanx. The severe engagement which ensues, appears, from Arrian, to have been with the Persian Greek mercenaries. The latter perceiving, that, by the rapidity of an assault which Alexander had directed against the Barbarians, his right had separated from the centre, rushed into the interval where the phalanx was disjointed. This desperate conflict proved fatal to Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, and one hundred and twenty officers of distinction,

to advance, the fatigued combatant is assailed by a fresh enemy. Nor can the wounded, as is customary, retire from the ranks; for while the enemy press them in front, their own men lock them in on the rear.

26. Alexander did not discharge the office of a general better than he acquitted himself as a combatant, ambitious of killing Darius with his own hand. The conspicuous height at which Darius was seated in his lofty car, animated his Persians to defend, while it provoked the Macedonians to attack him. Hence, Oxathres, the brother of the Persian monarch, perceiving that Alexander was penetrating in that direction, interposed, before the royal car, the cavalry which he commanded: He was not more conspicuous for the refulgency of his armour, than eminent for his vigorous frame, consummate courage, and loyal affection: he acted a distinguished part in defence of the king, striking down assailants who rushed on with temerity, and forcing the cautious to fly. But the Macedonians, who encircled Alexander, so exhorted and supported each other, that, with their leader, they at length broke into the column of the enemy's cavalry: then began the triumph of remorseless slaughter; empurpled nobles of the highest rank were strewed round the chariot of Darius, having received a glori-

ous death in the presence of their king : in their stations they had fallen fighting, all their wounds being in the forepart of their body. Among them might be recognized Atizyes ; and Rheomithres ; with Sabaces, satrap of Egypt ; who had respectively commanded powerful armies : héaps of infantry and cavalry, of less illustrious rank, or obscure condition, surrounded them.

In this part of the field, the Macedonians slain or disabled, were not numerous : but they were the most bold and enterprizing men : Alexander was wounded in the right thigh with a sword.

27. The horses yoked to the royal car, pierced with lances, and raging in consequence of the anguish, shattered the yoke* by their plungings, and were on the point of dashing Darius from his unsteady seat,—when he, apprehensive that he should fall alive into the hands of the enemy, leaped down, and mounted a horse which had been held in readiness, ingloriously divesting himself of his arms and the ensigns of his dignity†, lest they should betray him in his flight. Then the remainder of the Persians, in consternation, dispersed, by what-

* *Jugum*, which occasionally signifies the HARNESS, perhaps should here be translated the TRANSVERSE DRAFT-BEAM. See a note on book iv. chap. ix. 34.

† His shield, his mantle, and his bow,

ever route offered escapé; every one casting away the armour which he had taken for defence: Thus terror abandons the means of safety.

Parmenio detached a body of horse to pursue the fugitives; for it happened that these had all urged their course by his wing. On the Macedonian right-wing, however, the Persians had severely pressed the Thessalian cavalry, and had, by an impetuous shock, broke the line on one flank: but the Thessalians, wheeling about and rallying, returned to the attack, and routed, with excessive slaughter, the Barbarians, who, in the security of victory, had dilated in disorder. The Persian horses being loaded with plates of armour, as well as the riders, their heavy squadrons could not form again with sufficient celerity; while wheeling, many were killed by the Thessalians.

As soon as Alexander was informed, that success on this flank completed the victory, he commenced a pursuit, which he did not before deem judicious. He had at hand no more than a thousand horse to lead on this service: but they made a prodigious slaughter of the enemy: But who, either in a victory or flight, counts and balances the forces? The fugitives were, therefore, driven by this handful of men, like so many sheep; and the panic which prompted their tumultuary haste, obstructed their escape.

28. The Greek division of the Persian army, under the command of Amyntas, a lieutenant of Alexander, who had gone over to Darius, separating themselves from the rest, retreated in good order*.

The Barbarians [who had been opposed to the Macedonian right-wing] sought safety in various directions: some fled by the direct road to Persia; some, taking a circuit, repaired to the rocky cliffs, and woody recesses, of the mountains; a small division penetrated to the camp of Darius,—but the enemy had anticipated them. The Macedonians found in the Persian camp every description of riches. Immense quantities of silver and gold articles, serving for the purposes of luxury rather than of war, formed part of the booty†. As the plunder of the soldiers accumulated, they lightened themselves, by strewing the roads with packages of treasure, disdained by their avarice as worthless, as soon as greater prizes could be seized. The lawless

* Though they might, in the first instance, retire with Amyntas, they subsequently dispersed. Four thousand joined Darius; [see book iv. sect. 1;] Amyntas carried four thousand into Egypt; [see book iv. sect. 5;] Eight thousand reached the sea-coast, through Cilicia, and returned to Greece.—See book iv. sect. 6.

† The camp contained in money but three thousand talents, a great proportion of the magnificent treasures of Darius having been removed, previous to the battle, to Damascus.—Gillies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.—See ante, p. 309.

conquerors had now reached that part of the camp appropriated to the women: the more superbly the Persian ladies were habited, the more outrageously were they stripped of their ornaments; nor were their persons exempted from the violations of lust. Passionate shrieks of terror and lamentation resounded through the camp, expressing every variety of distress and calamity; amid the perpetration of every kind of atrocity; for to every rank and age did the wild licentiousness and cruelty of the victors extend.

In the scene stood a striking proof of the versatility of fortune; for the domestics of Darius, who had decorated his tent in all the Persian luxury and magnificence, these same domestics kept it prepared for the reception of Alexander, as though they had been old servants in his household. This was the only thing which the soldiers left untouched, in compliance with an ancient custom of preserving the tent of the vanquished monarch for the victor.

29. But those imperial captives, the mother and wife of Darius, awakened the sympathies of all the spectators. The age and the majestic deportment of the former made her doubly venerable; the latter gained the homage of the heart by her beauty, which, under the unfavourable

influence of calamity, was still transcendent. She supported on her lap her little son, not six years old, the heir so lately of that immense empire which his father had lost. The daughters of Darius, two blooming marriageable virgins, leaned on the bosom of their grandmother, deeply afflicted by the misfortunes which involved her with themselves. Round the queens and princesses stood a circle of noble ladies, with their hair torn, and with the splendours and ornaments of dress laid aside, calling upon the queens, by the titles "majesty" and "sovereign," which had ceased to belong to their condition. The queens themselves, unmindful of their own disaster, impatiently inquired in which wing Darius had fought, and with what degree of success? denying that they were prisoners, if the king were safe.

At this time, Darius, who repeatedly changed horses, had proceeded in his flight to a great distance.

Of the Persians, there fell in this action one hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse. On Alexander's side, there were [two hundred and *] thirty-two infantry killed, five hundred and four infantry wounded; one hun-

* See ante, p. 321. n. Diodorus makes the infantry slain amount to three hundred.

dred and fifty cavalry killed. At so small a price did Alexander obtain this eminent victory.

CHAP. XII.

Alexander's banquet interrupted by an alarm among the royal prisoners. Alexander buries the slain. Visits the captive queens.

30. ALEXANDER, fatigued by a protracted pursuit after Darius, finding that night approached, and despairing of overtaking him, returned, and entered the camp of which his men had just before taken possession. The king invited his most intimate friends to a banquet, at which the wound in his thigh, being but skin-deep, did not prevent him from being present. In the middle of the entertainment, the convivia were disturbed by a sudden burst of dreadful lamentations from a neighbouring tent, mixed with dissonant and dismal shriekings. The band that kept guard at the king's tent, supposing it to be the prelude to a greater commotion, took to their arms. The cause of alarm was this: the piercing groans and wailings escaped from the mother and wife

of Darius, and the other captive ladies, under an impression that he was slain; for an eunuch, taken prisoner, standing by accident before their tent, when a Macedonian soldier carried along the mantle of Darius, (thrown off by Darius in his flight, lest it should betray him,) recognized the habiliment, and concluding that his royal master was no more, reported his melancholy surmise, to the queens, as a fact. Alexander, informed of the mistake of the ladies, is represented to have shed tears, commiserating the fate of Darius, and sympathizing with the affection of his family. As a herald to the queens of consoling news, he at first selected Mithrenes, (who had surrendered Sardis,) on account of his superior knowledge of the Persian language; then, reflecting that the sight of this traitor might awaken indignation in them, and aggravate their grief, he dispatched Leonatus, one of his nobles, to convey them an assurance, that Darius, whom they lamented, was living. Leonatus, with a few of Alexander's body-guards, proceeded to the tent of the royal captives, and announced that he was the bearer of a message from the king. The domestics who waited at the entry of the tent, perceiving the armed attendants of Leonatus, concluded that a tragical doom awaited their mistresses, and ran into the tent, exclaiming

that their last hour was come, for the king had sent soldiers to kill them. The queens, neither capable of resisting, nor of summoning resolution to meet executioners, gave no answer, but in silence expected the will of the conqueror. Leonatus, after having waited a long time for some person to introduce him, when he found no one durst come out, left his attendants in the front, and entered the tent alone. The apprehensions of the ladies were confirmed by his rushing in, uncalled. The mother and the consort of Darius, falling at his feet, implored permission to bury the corpse of Darius according to the solemnities of their country, before their lives were taken away; telling him, that when they had rendered the last duty of humanity to their king, they should be ready to die. Leonatus answered, that Darius was living, and that, with respect to themselves, they were secure of protection, and of being treated as queens, without any diminution of their former grandeur. Then the mother of Darius suffered herself to be raised.

31. On the following day, Alexander interred, with funereal rites, those of his soldiers whose bodies had been found: he directed the same respect to be shown to the Persians of highest distinction among the slain; permitting the mother of Darius to bury such as she

chose, according to the manner of her country. Sisygambis exercised this privilege in the sepulture of a few of her relatives, in which she was regulated by her present condition, apprehending that the more splendid style in which the Persians solemnize funerals, might be regarded invidiously by the conquerors, whom she observed to bury their dead with comparatively little ceremony.

Having finished the charities due to the departed, Alexander apprised the captive queens, by a messenger, that he was coming to attend them as a visitor. Leaving his retinue without, he entered the tent with Hephæstion only. Of all his friends, this officer was the highest in his affection; educated with him, the depository of his secrets. He, alone, was allowed by Alexander to address him in the free and candid language of a monitor; a liberty which he so exercised, that it seemed rather to be conferred by Alexander than assumed by himself. Of equal age with the king, he excelled him in a beautiful exterior. Therefore the queens, supposing him to be the king*, paid him the homage customary in the East. Now, one of the eunuchs, sensible of the impropriety, showed Sisygambis which was Alexander. She, pros-

* From Arrian we learn, that their dress was alike,

trating herself at his feet, apologized for ‘ a mistake which had resulted from ignorance: she had never before seen his majesty.’ The king, lifting her up, replied: “ You committed no mistake, my revered mother! Hephæstion likewise is Alexander.”

32. If the Macedonian hero had preserved the same moderation to the end of his life,—I should have esteemed him to enjoy more internal satisfaction than he felt, when, with every exterior sign of happiness, he imitated the triumph of Bacchus, after a victorious career through all the regions from the Hellespont to the [Indian] ocean: — — Then he would have subdued his pride and his anger, which became invincible maladies; then he would not have embrued his hands in the blood of his friends at the convivial board; then he would have revolted from executing, without a trial, able officers, his companions in arms, who had contributed to his successes. Prosperity had not yet overwhelmed his mind: he bore its rise with equanimity and stemming prudence: afterwards, when it had swelled to a flood, it swept away his self-controul. At this time, he so conducted himself, as to excel, in clemency and continence, all kings who had preceded him: To the royal virgins, whose charms were of a superior kind, his deportment could not

have been more delicately correct had they been his sisters. The wife of Darius he not only refrained from violating, but he protected, by special regulations, all the female captives from insult. He directed every accommodation to be provided for the royal prisoners: nor was there any thing of their former magnificence wanting, except a confiding sense of perfect security.

Sisygambis thus addressed the conqueror:
 “ You deserve, Sir! on our part, the same
 “ prayers which we have been accustomed to
 “ offer for Darius; and you are worthy, as I
 “ perceive, of your superior fortune, because of
 “ your superior clemency. You are pleased to
 “ give me the titles of ‘ mother’ and ‘ queen,’
 “ but I acknowledge myself to be your
 “ slave. I could support the loftiness of my
 “ vanished fortune, and I can submit to my
 “ present servitude. It concerns your charac-
 “ ter, that your power over us should be dis-
 “ played in acts of benevolence, rather than se-
 “ verity.” Alexander entreated the mother, and
 the consort, of Darius, not to be dejected. Then
 he took the son of Darius in his arms, who was
 so far from being affrighted, though it was his
 first time of seeing the king, that he put his
 arms round his neck. Alexander was so affect-
 ed by the child’s confidence towards him, that,

turning to Hephæstion, he said: "How glad
" should I be, if Darius had something of this
" disposition!"

33. Now, parting from the royal prisoners,
he quitted their tent*.

He consecrated, on the banks of the river
Pinarus, altars to Jupiter, to Hercules, and to
Minerva.

Then he marched into Syria, sending Par-
menio forward to Damascus, where the king of
Persia's treasure was deposited.

* Alexander was never greater than after the battle of Issus. [Gil-
lies's Greece, chap. xxxvii.] The city of Solon, in Cilicia, though a Gre-
cian colony, had discovered ardent zeal in the cause of Darius: to
punish this apostasy from Greece, Alexander demanded a heavy con-
tribution from Solon. After the victory he remitted this penalty.
With the same magnanimity, he released the ATHENIAN prisoners
taken at the battle of the Granicus, a favour which he had sternly
refused in the dawn of his fortune. [See ante, p. 273.]

The Grecian ambassadors, captives [see infra, p. 339.] at Da-
mascus, were conducted into his presence. Thessaliscus and Diony-
sodorus, Thebans, he declared free, acknowledging that the misfor-
tunes of their country entitlèd the Thebans to apply to Darius, or
any foreign monarch, for relief. To Iphicrates, the Athenian, he
showed respect on account of his country and his father. Euthy-
cles, the Spartan, he detained in custody, because Sparta sullen-
ly rejected the friendship of Macedon: But as his forgiveness in-
creased with his power, he afterwards [infra, book iv. chap. viii. 33.]
released Euthycles.

CHAP. XIII.

Account of the spoil and captives surrendered at Damascus by the treachery of the governor.

PARMENIO, having discovered that one of the satraps of Darius had obtained the start of him in repairing to Damascus, and apprehending that his small detachment might appear contemptible to the enemy, resolved to send for a reinforcement. But it happened that his scouts took, and brought before him, a Mardian, who delivered to him a letter from the governor of Damascus, addressed to Alexander; desiring 'That Alexander would promptly send thither 'one of his generals with a small force.' The emissary, who had been detained while Parmenio opened and read the letter, added, 'That 'the governor's intention, he doubted not, was 'to deliver up to Alexander all the Persian 'king's furniture and money.' On this information, Parmenio sent back the messenger, under a slender escort, to the traitor. The messenger, eluding those who had the care of him, entered Damascus before day-light. This occurrence disconcerted Parmenio, who suspected

an ambuscade; and, therefore, would not venture to proceed without a guide. Having impressed some peasants as guides, he, confiding in the good fortune of his sovereign, reached the city on the fourth day; when the governor had begun to apprehend, that his communication was not credited. Pretending, therefore, to consider the place as untenable, the governor ordered the money belonging to the *regal treasury*, (which the Persians call *gaza*,) together with the most valuable movables, to be brought out; dissimulating an intention to escape with the whole, but covertly designing to surrender it as a prize to the enemy.

34. Evacuating the town, he was followed by crowds of both sexes, to the amount of some thousands; a painful spectacle to all, him excepted, to whose protection they had been committed. To obtain the greater price for his infamous treason, he had prepared for the enemy a booty more acceptable than gold—the wives and children of several of the nobles and satraps of Darius. At Damascus, too, resided the ambassadors from the Greek cities, whom Darius had lodged, with the perfidious governor, in the citadel, as an impregnable asylum.

The Persians denominate those who carry burthens on their shoulders, *gangabæ*. These

men, unable to endure the cold*, (for there came on a sudden fall of snow, in the midst of a severe frost,) took the royal robes of gold and purple, which, as well as money, they were carrying, and put them on; no one daring to oppose them, for the misfortunes of the king emboldened the vilest wretches to insult his authority.

At a distance, the multitude appeared to Parmenio as no contemptible army: he, therefore, having in a short speech exhorted his men to preserve a steady front, commanded them to set spurs to their horses, and charge the enemy vigorously. Upon this, those who were carrying the burthens, flung them down, and in wild alarm took to flight. The soldiers, who followed, participating in the panic, threw away their arms, and turned into the bye-ways, with which they were familiar. The governor himself, counterfeiting terror, completed the general confusion. The plains were covered with the scattered imperial treasures—the cash provided for paying an immense army—the splendid suits of apparel of so many nobles and princesses—vessels of gold—bridles with bits, and ornaments, of gold—tents formed with regal

* The battle of Issus is hence supposed to have happened about the month of November. Indeed, Arrian states it to have been fought in the month *Mæmacterion*, answering to November,

magnificence—carriages laden with riches, abandoned by their drivers; altogether, a scene distressing to the plunderers, could avarice feel remorse. Among the incredible stores which opulence had accumulated through a long course of prosperity, draperies of exquisite fabric were seen torn by the roots of trees; other treasures, sunk into a miry bed, required to be dug out. There were not pillagers enough to grasp the spoil.

35, Those who had been the first to fly, were now overtaken; among them, many women leading their little children by the hand. In the higher class of fugitives, were three maiden ladies, the daughters of Ochus, a predecessor of Darius; fallen long since, from the splendour which surrounded their father's throne, by no small vicissitude; fortune now sternly aggravated their calamities. Members of the deposed and reigning families intermingled in the struggle to escape—the wife of Ochus—the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; accompanying her was the wife of Artabazus, the first nobleman of Persia, with his young son Ilioneus. In the train of captives, were found the wife and son of Pharnabazus,

* Between the reigns of Ochus and Darius, the throne was filled for a short interval by Arses, (or Arsames,) the youngest son of Ochus. See ante, p. 162.

to whom Darius had deputed the sovereignty of the coast; the three daughters of Mentor; together with the wife and son of that illustrious commander, Memnon. Here, also, were made prisoners several Athenians, who, contrary to the treaty with Alexander, had sided with Persia; Aristogiton*, Dropides, and Iphicrates, each of high birth and distinguished reputation. The Lacedæmonians, Pausippus and Onomastorides, with Monimus and Callicratides, who fell at the same time into the victor's power, ranked among their countrymen, as men equally considerable.

The coined money taken amounted to two thousand and sixty talents†. The wrought silver was equal to five hundred talents in weight. There were taken, bearing away burthens, thirty thousand porters, and seven thousand pack-horses or other cattle.

But the celestial arbitors of vengeance promptly visited with punishment the betrayer

* Arrian varies from Curtius in the names of the Grecian deputies taken: but among the prisoners subsequently made at the battle of Arbela, he enumerates several mentioned in the list above. Arrian names no more than Iphicrates the Athenian, Euthycles the Spartan, with Thessaliscus and Dionysodorus, Thebans, as taken at this place.

† From the comparative smallness of this sum, commentators have supposed the text to be corrupted. One conjectural emendator is willing to read SIXTY-TWO THOUSAND.

of so much wealth. For an individual, to whom the governor had disclosed his perfidious practices, retaining, it would appear, due allegiance to his unfortunate sovereign, cut off the traitor's head, and carried it to Darius. This was a seasonable satisfaction to the prince whose confidence had been abused : he was revenged of his enemy, and he perceived that fidelity was not extinguished in all his subjects.

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK IV.

THE SIEGE AND DESTRUCTION OF TYRE. THE REDUCTION OF GAZA. THE BATTLE OF ARBELA.

CHAP. I.

Darius escapes to the Euphrates. Alexander appoints a governor of Syria. Letters between Darius and Alexander. Abdalominus raised to the throne of Sidon. The renegade Amyntas invades Egypt, and perishes. Antigonus protects Lydia. Hostilities between Agis and Antipater.

1. **DARIUS** — recently at the head of so powerful an army, riding in his car, more in the manner of a victor in a triumphant procession, than of a general advancing to battle — passed with the hurry of a fugitive through districts, once filled with his numerous columns, now empty wastes, dreary with solitude. Few were the attendants of the king; for the flying army did not take one road; and as the king frequently changed horses, his followers, destitute of that advantage, could not keep pace

with him. When he reached Unchas*, he was received by four thousand Greeks; with these he proceeded hastily to the Euphrates; sensible that these provinces, only, would continue under his dominion, which he could anticipate the enemy in occupying†.

Meantime Alexander directed Parmenio, who had taken Damascus with its valuable treasures, to secure as well the place as the captives by a vigilant guard. He made Parmenio governor of Syria [Proper], otherwise called Cœle‡. The Syrians, not having yet sufficiently felt the scourge of war, spurned against the new sovereignty; but the revolt was speedily crushed, and they afterwards obeyed the imperial commands.

* From all the circumstances indicating local points in the advance and retreat of Darius, *Unchas* appears to be identified in position with the modern town of *Aëntab*, situate on the north-western edge of the immense plain of Sochos, where Darius lay encamped before the battle of Issus. *Aëntab* stands in a smaller plain surrounded by hills: from this place the FIRST gorge in the series of defiles leading through mount Amanus to the *pass of the forest* of Curtius, on the road to Issus and Castabala, is distant but about eight hours' journey at a caravan's pace, in a direction varying from due west by alternate curves, half north, and quarter south; the whole distance from the field of battle to *Aëntab* might be seventy miles.

† He marched by long journeys to Thapsacus. *Arrian, lib. ii. cap. 13.*—From *Aëntab* Thapsacus bears south-east. Zeugma would, therefore, seem a more eligible point for the fugitives to cross at.

‡ *Cale*, equivalent to the *cavern-like recess*, alluding to its situation between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus.

The island Aradus likewise surrendered to Alexander. Strato, the king * of Aradus, possessed, as well, part of the continental coast, with some inland territory which stretched to a considerable distance. Alexander, having received these dominions into his allegiance, marched his army to the city of Marathos.

Here was delivered to him a letter from Darius, of which the haughty style highly incensed him. What chiefly irritated him, was, that Darius styled himself king, without addressing Alexander by that title. The Persian monarch rather demanded, than entreated, ‘ That Alexander would restore to him his mother, wife, and child; offering, for their ransom, as much money as all Macedon was worth. With regard to the empire, if Alexander were so inclined, he would contest it once more in the field. If Alexander could be impressed by salutary counsel, he would be content with his own dominions, and would retire from the frontiers of that kingdom which was the rightful possession of another; he would become the friend and ally of Darius, who was

* Arrian makes Strato—not the king, but the son of Gerostratus the king; stating, that in the absence of his father, who had joined the Persian fleet under Autophradates with his ships, Strato negotiated the surrender of Aradus, and of the neighbouring continental cities, which Gerostratus himself, deserting the cause of Darius, afterwards confirmed.

‘ prepared to interchange with him pledges of
‘ fidelity.

2. The Macedonian king replied by a letter to this effect :

“ King Alexander to Darius.—That * Darius
“ whose name you have assumed, devastated
“ with slaughter the Grecian colonies in Ionia,
“ together with the coast of the Hellespont,
“ also inhabited by Greeks : then he trans-
“ ported his army across the sea, and invaded
“ Macedon and Greece. After him,—Xerxes,
“ a prince of the same family, attacked us with
“ an infinite number of Barbarians ; and though
“ he was defeated in a naval engagement, yet
“ he left Mardonius in Greece, in his absence,
“ to pillage the cities, and burn our corn-fields.
“ Besides, who is not apprised, that my father

* The word *Cēles*, met with in ancient copies of the original, though it has perplexed the critics, is supposed not to have been lightly introduced. It may be translated the *horseman* ; but it is uncertain to which Darius it should be applied. The commentator Raderns, with Glareanus, reads it in the nominative case : as though Alexander had said, alluding to the trick by which the first Darius obtained the throne, “ That Darius, the *horse-jockey*, whose name “ you have taken.” Freinshemius conjectures that it should be in the dative case, as belonging to Codomannus : “ King Alexander to “ Darius the *swift rider* ;” adverting either to his having been originally employed under Ochus as a *government-messenger* ; or, to the rapidity with which he escaped on *horseback* from the battle of Issus. As no sense in which the word could be applied, is worthy of the magnanimity of Alexander, it seems proper to reject it wholly from the text.

“ was assassinated by those whom you had corrupted with your money? You [Persians!] conduct war on an impious plan; for, though you do not want arms, you set a price on the heads of your enemies. Thus you, [Darius!] lately while you had that immense army, offered a thousand talents to hire a man to kill me*. Not the aggressor, I combat to crush that kind of hostility†. The gods, always auspicious to the just, have already reduced under my dominion great part of Asia, and given me a victory over you in person. Though you have no claim to kind offices from me, since you have not conducted yourself towards me by the laws of war, yet if you come as a suppliant, I promise that you shall receive your mother, wife, and children, without ransom. I know how to conquer, and how to alleviate the calamities of the conquered. Do you fear to place yourself in our power? Hostages from us shall secure the inviolability of your person, coming and returning. For the future, when you write

* Ante, p. 253.

† The translator has moulded this sentence so as not to put it on worse terms with fact than state declarations usually are: the original, *Repello igitur bellum non infero*, is diametrically opposite to truth. To have been literally forced into the field to defend himself from attack, Alexander would have deemed a reproach; and the beginning of his letter tends to justify the invasion of Persia.

“ to me, remember, that you are addressing
“ not merely a king, but your king.” Ther-
sippus was charged with this letter.

From Marathos, Alexander descended into Phœnicia, where he received the submission of the town of Byblon.

3. Thence he marched to Sidon, a city celebrated on account of its antiquity; and the glory reflected on it from its founders*. Strato, its king, was secretly sold to the Persians; his recent submission had been rather a temporizing compliance with the inclinations of his subjects, than a voluntary act; therefore Alexander deemed him unworthy of reigning. The Macedonian victor authorized Hephæstion to raise to the vacant throne that individual among the Sidonians † most distinguished by merit. Hephæstion was lodged and entertained in the house of two brothers, young men of brilliant reputation among their fellow-citizens. To them he offered the sovereignty; but they successively refused it, on the ground, that it was contrary to the laws of the country to ele-

* Respecting the origin of that, and Tyre, see below, sect. 18.

† Justin agrees with Curtius, in laying the scene of this transaction in Sidon. Diodorus, relating a similar story, places the parties in Tyre; Plutarch, in Paphos: these are evidently both inaccurate: we have the testimony of Arrian, that Alexander pardoned Azelmicus, king of Tyre; and none of the *original* writers of Alexander's life ever conveyed him to Paphos.

vate to that dignity any other than a member of the royal family. Hephæstion, admiring that greatness of soul which induced them to slight what others employ fire and slaughter to obtain, thus spoke: "Fortify those virtuous principles, till now without example, through which you can perceive, how much better it is to reject a diadem, than to accept it. Name, however, some person of the regal line, who may remember, when he is king, that he was indebted for his power to you." But though they witnessed many servilely courting the favourites of Alexander, and ambitiously grasping at the kingdom with impatient solicitude,—they declared, that none deserved it better than Abdalominus, who, though remotely related to the royal family, was reduced to work as a gardener in the suburbs for a small stipend. His penury, not an uncommon case, had resulted from his probity. Intent on his daily labour, he had not yet heard the clashing of arms which shook all Asia.

4. On a sudden, the two disinterested Sidonians, bearing the robes and ensigns of royalty, enter the garden, from which Abdalominus was rooting up the weeds. Having saluted him king, one of them said: "This splendid dress I bring in exchange for your sordid cover-

“ing: wash from your body its habitual dirt.
“Assume the mind of a king; but, in your
“merited dignity, retain your frugality and
“moderation. When seated on the throne,
“with the life and death of the citizens in
“your power, forget not the condition in
“which you were when a sceptre was placed
“in your hand, nor the purposes for which you
“are appointed king.” This address affected
Abdalominus as a dream: recovering himself,
he asked them, if they were in their senses?—
then, how they could so wantonly ridicule him?
In the stupor of surprise and doubt, he showed
no readiness to exchange his squalor for elegance; but passively submitted to the necessary ablutions, and to be habited in an embroidered mantle of purple and gold. Having received from the same attendants oaths of allegiance, in earnest now a king, he accompanied them to the palace. Rumour quickly circulated the transaction. Some it gratified: in others it excited indignation. The opulent acrimoniously displayed to Alexander’s friends the degrading occupation and poverty of Abdalominus. Alexander ordered him to be brought into his presence: having deliberately surveyed him, he said: “My friend, your air and deportment are
“not at variance with the account of your ex-
“traction: allow me to inquire with what de-

“gree of contentment you bore indigence.” Abdalominus replied: “Would to God I may bear the weight of a kingdom with equal tranquillity! These hands sufficiently ministered to my necessities: I possessed nothing; I wanted nothing.” The Macedonian king, perceiving in this answer indications of a noble spirit, not only ordered that the royal furniture of Strato should be delivered to Abdalominus, but also enriched him with presents out of the Persian plunder, and annexed to his jurisdiction, as king of Sidon, a contiguous tract of country.

5. Meanwhile, that Amyntas, whom we formerly mentioned to have deserted the cause of Alexander for that of the Persians, effected his flight to Tripolis*, with four thousand Greeks, who had, since the late battle, adhered to his fortunes. Having embarked, he sailed with these troops to Cyprus. And observing how, in that conjuncture of affairs, every one appropriated whatever he could seize, as though it were rightfully his property, he determined to invade Egypt; the enemy of both kings; veering with the versatile aspect of the times. He exhorted his soldiers to undertake with confidence this great enterprise, reminding

* This city and sea-port was founded by the united efforts of three cities, Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus; whence its name.

them, ‘ That Sabaces, the satrap of Egypt, ‘ had fallen in the engagement ; and that the ‘ garrison-forces of the Persians were feeble, ‘ and without a leader :’ and he promised, ‘ That the Egyptians, habitually dissatisfied ‘ with their governors, would receive them ‘ as deliverers, not as enemies.’

Necessity drove him round the circle of experiment ; for when disaster has destroyed the first pleasing creations of speculation and hope, —man, disgusted with the present, embraces new plans, and with sanguine impatience expects the future. Catching this spirit, the soldiers unanimously exclaimed : “ Lead us where “ you think proper !” Before their ardour and renewed hopes could subside, Amyntas wafted them into the harbour of Pelusium ; pretending to the garrison that he had been sent forward by Darius. Having obtained Pelusium, he proceeded to Memphis. On the rumour of his arrival, the Egyptians, whom national levity fitted for innovation, and disqualified for achievement, assembled from the villages and towns, designing to coöperate with him in expelling the Persian garrisons. The Persian garrisons, surprized and alarmed, did not, however, abandon the hope of preserving Egypt. But Amyntas forced them, defeated in battle, to fly into Memphis. From the camp which he had pit-

ched*, he then drew off his victorious army, to scour and pillage the country ; and as all things remained in the usual posture †, all the property of the enemy was destroyed. At this conjuncture, Mazaces raised his followers from the consternation into which their late defeat had plunged them, by representing to them; that the invaders, elated by their recent victory, had incautiously dispersed themselves: he then exhorted his troops not to despair of dislodging such as were before the city, and regaining every thing which had been lost. This counsel was not more seasonable than the enterprize was successful. The Greeks, with their leader, were slaughtered to a man. Thus heavy was the retribution on Amyntas for breaking his faith with the king to whom he went over, and the king from whom he basely withdrew his allegiance.

* *Castris positis*. In a work where the *ablative absolute* perpetually recurs, a translator is in danger of construing it where the author intended a *simple ablative with a preposition implied*.

† The original, *ac velut IN MEDIO omnibus positis, hostium cuncta agebantur*, is termed by Freinshemius a hopeless passage: but, from the view of the translator, its obscurity vanishes, if he may be allowed to construe *IN MEDIO*, either to signify *in the usual posture*, i. e. in a state of security and peace; or as equivalent to *in the open country*, in contradistinction to fortresses, whither, had the invasion been foreseen, the portable property might have been carried. The interpretation in the text differs nothing from a recognised acceptance of *medio*, if the word be regarded as an adjective, and *habitu*, or any substantive of the same import, be understood.

6. Now, the satraps of Darius, who survived the battle of Issus—having, by great exertion, collected their scattered adherents, and made a levy of young men from Cappadocia* and Paphlagonia—were struggling to reconquer Lydia. Antigonus, Alexander's lieutenant there, had weakened the garrisons by detaching from them great numbers of soldiers to the king's army: but holding the Barbarians in contempt, he took the field against them. Fortune proved constant to the cause of Alexander. The Persians were defeated in three engagements, fought successively in as many provinces.

At the same time, the Macedonian fleet was summoned from the harbours of Greece, to fall upon the ships which Darius had sent out under Aristomenes, to retake the Hellespontian coast; and none of these escaped being captured or sunk. On the other hand, Pharnabazus, admiral of the chief Persian fleet, which comprized a hundred vessels, exacted a contribution in money from the Milesians; then sailing to the islands, Chios, Andros, and Syphnus, he introduced garrisons into each, and punished the inhabitants of each by a pecuniary mulct.

* Hence it would appear—either that when Alexander (*ante*, p. 289,) appointed a governor of Cappadocia, that province was but partially subdued; or, that a portion of the inhabitants, taking advantage of the difficulty of guarding, at once, many extended tracts of country, were now in a state of insurrection.

The war for universal empire between the two most powerful princes of Europe and Asia, affected Greece and Crete. Agis, king of Sparta — having embodied eight thousand Greeks, who had escaped from Cilicia, and were returned home — directed his arms against Antipater, Alexander's lieutenant over Macedon; and as the Cretans espoused this or that side, their cities were garrisoned, sometimes by Spartans, and sometimes by Macedonians. These were trivial contests, compared to the mighty conflict on which fortune seemed exclusively to attend as involving the final issue of all the others.

CHAP. II.

Embassy from the Tyrians. Commencement of the siege of Tyre. Alexander chastises the Arabs.

7. SYRIA subdued, — the Macedonians had dominion over all Phœnicia, excepting Tyre. The king was encamped upon the continent, from which a narrow sea divides the city. In splendour and extent, Tyre disdained competition with any of the cities of Syria or Phœnicia. Without any disposition to submit to

Alexander, it aspired to his alliance and friendship. While its ambassadors were the bearers to him of a crown of gold, the inhabitants hospitably conveyed to him a large quantity of provisions for his army. He desired his officers to take charge of these, as presents from his friends. He then, with an air of courtesy, informed the ambassadors, ‘ That he proposed to offer a sacrifice to Hercules :’ (whom the Tyrians adored as their chief deity;) ‘ that the kings of Macedon traced their descent from that god ; and that he had been directed by the oracle to that act of devotion.’ The ambassadors answered, ‘ That there was on the outside the town, in the place named Palætyrus, a temple in which he might perform that solemnity.’ This answer incensed Alexander, who, on slighter provocations, could not controul his anger : “ I perceive,” said he, “ that reposing on the security of your situation, because you inhabit an island, you despise these land forces : but I will shortly show you that your place is part of the continent : know, that either you must open the town to me, or I will take it by assault.”

This declaration terminated the audience : some of the king’s friends, however, strenuously admonished the Tyrian ministers, that it would be politic to imitate the example of Syria and

Phœnicia, and admit the king into their territories. The Tyrians, confiding in the strength of the place, resolved to endure a siege.

8. The streit which separated Tyre from the continent, was four stadia broad; it was much exposed to the south-west wind, which drove crowding waves from the main sea against the shore: nor does any thing more obstruct the work by which the Macedonians prepare to connect the island and the continent than this wind. When the sea is unruffled, to construct the mole is difficult: but when this swell comes raging in, all the materials thrown into it are carried away by its violence. Nor could the pier be so firmly built as to prevent the waters from insinuating between the joints, corroding and sapping the work: and when the blast more fiercely raged, the flood beat over the top of the pier. There was another difficulty not less trying. The sea by which the city was encircled was of great depth: thus against the walls* and towers battering shafts could be directed only from ships; and the ships, dismissed, were at a distance:—Scaling ladders could not be applied; for the wall running, strait as a precipice, down into the sea, left no

* Its walls exceeded an hundred feet in height, and were eighteen miles in circumference.—GILLIES'S *History of Ancient Greece*, chap. xxxviii.

basement on which they could be planted. If Alexander had brought up his fleet, it might have been forced off by missile weapons from the forts; nor could engines floating on so agitated a flood act with precision.

At this juncture, an incident, not immaterial, heightened the courage of the Tyrians. Ambassadors arrived from the Carthaginians, to offer, according to their national custom, the annual sacrifice to Hercules; for Tyre, which had founded and colonized Carthage, was venerated by the latter, as the parent state*. The Punic ministers exhorted the Tyrians to defend their city with tenacity, and Carthage would promptly send them succours: indeed, at that time powerful divisions of the Carthaginian navy commanded several seas.

9. Having decided on war, the Tyrians dispose along the walls and on the towers their

* Authorities concur in ascribing the foundation of Carthage to Dido, while they disagree as to the time. "This probably arose," says Petavius, "from the building of the city having been a gradual work, carried on at intervals, and finished in parts. As a correction of the common statement, I should date the emigration of Dido into Africa in the 7th year of Pygmalion's reign. *Bosra*, the name of the fortified town which she there built, the Greeks converted into *Byrsa*, to countenance the fiction which they added. Afterwards this place was called *Carthada*, as we learn from Solinus; that is, the *new city*: hence *Carthago*. The seventh year of Pygmalion corresponds to A. C. 890, one hundred and fourteen years before the first Olympiad."

machines, distribute arms to their young men, and set in motion the forges and foundries, summoning to them the artificers, of which Tyre contained a great number. Providing grappling-irons, crows, and other instruments for the defence of fortresses, the whole city rung with preparations for war. At one of the forges, as the workmen were blowing the furnace, in which was a quantity of iron, streams of blood are represented to have issued from under the flames: which the Tyrians interpreted into an ill omen to the Macedonians. Further, in the Macedonian camp, it happened, that one of Alexander's soldiers, in breaking his bread, observed drops of blood to burst from the inside: The king, not unalarmed,—Aristander, the most skilful among the diviners, answered, ' That if the blood had flown from without, it ' would have portended disaster to the Macedonians; but as it sprung internally, it was a ' presage of destruction to the city which the ' army was destined to attack.'

His fleet on a remote station, and a tedious siege in prospect, which would materially interfere with his other designs,—Alexander sent heralds to the Tyrians, inviting them to accede to peaceful conditions. The Tyrians, in violation of the law of nations, murdered these messengers, and cast their bodies into the sea.

Exasperated at the atrocious crime, the king determined to prosecute the siege.

But it is necessary, as a preliminary work, to join by a pier the city and the continent. When this immense labour was assigned to the soldiers, they became oppressed with despondency; they deemed, that even with celestial aid they could not fill up so deep a sea. ‘Whence could they fetch stones large enough, or timber of sufficient length? It would exhaust regions to furnish materials for such a mole. Should the narrow channel between the island and continent be contracted, the sea would burst through with augmented fury.’ Alexander, who understood how to lead the minds of his followers, announced to them, ‘That Hercules in a dream, taking him by the hand, had appeared to conduct him into the city.’ Alexander adverted to the murder of his heralds, in defiance of the law of nations; he asked his soldiers, ‘Whether they would suffer a single town to arrest their career of victory?’ He then gave it in charge to his captains, individually, to extinguish the spirit of murmuring in their bands. The animation of his followers restored,—he commenced the work*.

* Not merely by issuing orders; but, setting a personal pattern of exertion, he carried, at the head of his men, a bin filled with earth. *Polyan. lib. iv.*

At hand, the ruins of the ancient town*, was an inexhaustible magazine of stone; and mount Anti-Libanus† supplied them with materials for rafts and wooden turrets.

10. Rising from the bottom of the sea, the mole had already swelled to the magnitude of a mountain‡; still it had not reached the surface

* A peculiarity in the prediction, [Ezekiel, xxvi. 17, 21,] "That [the first] Tyre should be thrown into the sea; so that, though sought for, it should never more be found," was not fulfilled till near three centuries afterwards, when Alexander employed part of the ruins of this capital [destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar] to raise a stupendous mole, reaching three quarters of a mile from the coast to the walls of New Tyre, built on the opposite island.—GILLIES'S *History of the World, from Alexander to Augustus*, vol. i. p. 161.

————— Her lofty domes no more,
Not ev'n the ruins of her pomp remain;
Not ev'n the dust they sunk in; by the breath
Of the OMNIPOTENT offended, hurl'd
Down to the bottom of the stormy deep.

DYER'S *Fleece*, book ii.

Some passages in the sacred Writings, which predict the destruction of the second Tyre, are pointed out, ante, p. 260, n.

† Libanus. *Curt.*—By a geographical error, he has confounded the two.—Anti-Libanus, which begins above Sidon, stretches as far as Ituræa: whereas, Libanus, rising near the ancient Tripolis, and extending eastward, is distant the whole breadth of Cœle-Syria from Anti-Libanus.

‡ Curtius says, that it had increased in *altitudinem montis*: but Arrian confines the depth of the channel to three fathoms; (a Greek fathom is, according to Herodotus, six feet; according to Pliny, ten feet;) there is, therefore, a departure from accuracy in the original phrase—unless we can suppose that a considerable mass of the materials, washed from the pier, but remaining in the channel, might

of the water ; and the further it extended from the shore, the greater quantity of materials the increased depth of the sea absorbed. During the progress of the work, the Tyrians came out in their boats, and tauntingly reproached the Macedonians, ‘ Men so famed in arms, carrying burdens on their backs like pack-horses !’ They also asked them, ‘ Whether Alexander was superior to Neptune ?’ These insults but stimulated the soldiers. And now the pier began to be conspicuous above the water, to expand in breadth, and to approach the town.

When the Tyrians saw the vast dimensions of the pier, of which, while it was in progress, they had not been aware, they rowed in skiffs round the work, yet incomplete, attacking with their darts those soldiers who were upon it. They, with impunity, wounded several from their boats, in which they could advance and retire at will ; and the Macedonians were forced to suspend their labour to defend themselves. The king, therefore, caused skins and sails to be hung up before the workmen, to protect them from the darts ; and he erected at the

have made it, through after-ages, comparatively shallow. The blocks of stone used in the foundations of the two piers must have been favourable to the constant accumulation of shelves of sand throughout the streit, so that no admeasurement, taken in Arrian’s time, could be a true criterion of the original depth.

head of the pier two wooden turrets, whence the Macedonians might annoy with missile weapons the enemy's boats passing underneath.

At a distant spot, the Tyrians, unperceived by the Macedonians, debarked some soldiers and cut in pieces a party fetching stone. And an Arabian horde attacking, on mount Anti-Libanus, Alexander's scattered men, killed about thirty, and carried off a few prisoners. This affair, concurring with a desire to avoid appearing to loiter before a single city, induced the king to divide his army. He committed the siege to Perdiccas and Craterus; and marched in person with a flying detachment into Arabia*.

* Arrian makes the excursion against the Arabs take up the time only of eleven days. Alexander could not make any local attack, calculated to awe the Arabs along an extensive line of communication, better than by moving on Petra, the mart of the caravans with merchandize from Arabia Felix and India; but as the distance from Tyre was not less than 200 British miles, the interval of eleven days may seem scarcely sufficient for a flying detachment to go and return. But shall we rate the expedition of Alexander, by which he effected such great results, lower than that of the modern Persian cavalry, as described by Major Scott Waring? "The length of the Persian marches is surprising; they think nothing of 40 or 50 miles a day; and it is a circumstance well known, that they have, on urgent occasions, marched 70 miles for three days together. They march of course without baggage; but the usual rate that caravans travel in Persia is not less than 35 miles a day."—*Tour to Sheeraz*, p. 84.

In the reign of Trajan, the Roman empire began to have a province called Arabia; it was conquered by his lieutenant Palma; its capital was Petra.

CHAP. III.

The siege of Tyre continued.

11. MEANWHILE, the Tyrians deposited in the stern part of a large ship a heavy pile of stones and ballast, in order to cause its head to float high: they then coated it thickly with pitch and sulphur*: urged forward by oars, assisted with a press of sail in a favourable wind, it was promptly brought in contact with the pier. Having fired the forecastle, those on board leaped into boats which attended to receive them. The fire-ship spouted its flames widely, which, before they could be counter-acted, had seized the wooden turrets and other works at the head of the mole. Those Tyrians who had escaped into boats, plied the works with torches and other blazing combustibles. The conflagration now invaded the highest stories of the turrets, where some of the Macedonians fell victims to it; others flinging off their armour, plunged down into the sea,—and the

* They filled a large hulk with dry twigs, pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles: towards the prow, they raised two masts, each armed with a double yard, from whose extremities were suspended vast caldrons, filled with whatever might aggravate the conflagration. *Gillies*, after *Arrian*.

Tyrians, desirous to take these prisoners, bruised their hands with clubs and stones, while they were swimming; and, when they had rendered them unable to hold weapons, took them into their boats. Nor were the timber-frames only consumed: a boisterous wind conspired to complete the destruction of the bulwark: the tempest-driven surge, having shook the articulations of the work, forced a passage through its centre. When the stones, on which the earth had been deposited, were washed away, the whole structure sunk into the deep; Alexander, when he had returned from Arabia, could discern scarcely any traces of so vast a pile.

12. As usual among partners in distress, every one censured all the rest, when it had been as reasonable to have inveighed against the sea.

Commencing a new pier, Alexander directed that its head should meet the south-west wind, to which the former pier presented its side*: thus the other works lay sheltered behind the front as behind a rampart. He constructed it with an increased degree of breadth, that the towers built in the middle might stand out of

* Hence, if the former pier projected strait towards the city, this must have had an oblique direction.

the reach of the enemy's darts. Whole trees, of which the branches were of vast dimensions, were with their branches cast into the sea; on these the Macedonians let down massy stones: they then piled a second layer of trees; and upon these they deposited a superstratum of earth: and proceeded — with successive layers of trees, stones, and earth — to increase and cement the work, till the whole was a consolidated mass.

Meanwhile, the Tyrians omitted no exertion — had recourse to every stratagem, which might frustrate the labour of the Macedonians. The expedient, which most availed them, was to employ expert divers, who entering the water, at a distance, unperceived by the enemy, glided by submarine swimming to the pier: having fixed cramp-irons to the slenderer branches which projected from between the stones, the divers pulled out the branches; and many heavy materials, dragged away with them, sunk into the deep. Lightened thus of their incumbent loads, the trunks of trees and wooden piles were easily displaced; the foundation gone, the whole work, which had been held together by the timber-frames, became a wreck.

While Alexander, mortified, was deliberat-

ing, whether to prosecute, or to raise the siege, — his fleet arrived from Cyprus*; and Cleander, as opportunely, with fresh recruits from Greece. His fleet of one hundred and eighty† vessels, the king divided into two squadrons: the left, Phytagoras, king of Crete, commanded jointly with Craterus: the right, Alexander manœuvred in the royal quinquereme‡. The Tyrians, though possessed of a fleet, durst not venture a sea-fight with Alexander, but ranged their triremes under cover of their fortresses: three of the more exposed, the king attacked and sunk.

13. On the following day, Alexander advanced his fleet to the walls, of which he bat-

* Compare with 1 *Maccab.* i. 1.—Cyprus is the Chittim of Scripture, under which Hebrew word is couched *Citium*, the name by which a royal city and kingdom in Cyprus was known to the Greeks. See, *ante*, p. 187. “*Ships shall come from CHITTIM, and shall afflict Assur, and shall afflict Eber, and he also shall perish for ever.*”—Num. xxiv. 24. The rev. and learned Dr. Henley, lately deceased, promised the world a dissertation on the particular application of this prophecy to the present naval armament. Letter cited in *Travels* by *Edward Clarke*, vol. ii. 4to. p. 333, n. (7.)

† Arrian makes the fleet two hundred and twenty-four; and enumerates the contingent squadrons which formed it; one hundred and twenty ships from Cyprus; eighty furnished by the Phœnicians; ten by the Lydians; as many from Rhodes; three from Soli and Mallos: with a galley from Macedon of fifty oars.

‡ See ADDITIONAL NOTES (K).

tered the whole circumference with his engines, chiefly employing the shock of the rams. The Tyrians promptly closed the chasms with blocks of stone; they also began to build an interior wall, to retire behind, should the former give way. But on every side annoyance pressed them; the mole approached within the range of a dart; a fleet invested the walls; land and sea-forces threatening to overwhelm them. The Macedonians had so connected quadriremes, two by two, that while their heads touched, their sterns were kept diverging; the interstice between the hulls was floored by sail-yards and planks, strongly corded together; upon these were laid bridges, as platforms, for the soldiers. Thus disposed, the quadriremes were towed to the city. From these floating bridges, darts were showered on the besieged by the soldiers, themselves out of danger, under cover of the prows. It was at midnight, that Alexander ordered the fleet, thus appointed, to invest the city; and when the Tyrians saw the vessels standing in from every direction, they were unnerved by despair:—on a sudden, the sky is veiled by heavy clouds, and the portion of chequered light which had prevailed, is intercepted. The sea trembles; its agitations gradually increase; now the wind, rising in vehe-

mence, aggravates the tumult of the waters, and the vessels dash against each other. The bands are strained by which the quadriremes are connected: they break, the platforms fall with a stupendous crash, and the soldiers are swept with them into the deep. Nor could the galleys, which remained lashed together, be managed in the dark tempest. The soldiers interrupt the manœuvres of the seamen, and the rowers impede the soldiers in their duty; and as it happens in similar cases, the skilful take orders from the ignorant. For the pilots, accustomed to command in their province, menaced now with death, obey landmen. At length, the sea, as conquered by the perseverance of the rowers, resigns the rescued galleys, which gain the shore, the greater part much shattered.

14. About this time arrived thirty deputies from Carthage, bearing to the besieged friendly assurances rather than aid; for they announced, that the Carthaginians, embarrassed by the invasion of their own territories, were fighting, not for empire, but for security. At that time the Syracusans* were ravaging Africa, and had

* The name of the invaders would appear to be a mistake; as we do not elsewhere read, that the *Syracusans* invaded Africa, except when, under Agathocles, tyrant of Sicily, they carried terror to the

encamped not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians were, however, not depressed, although disappointed of powerful assistance: but delivered to the ambassadors from Carthage* their wives and children, to be transported thither; better able themselves, now, to meet the common danger, since that which was dearest to them was placed beyond its reach.

At this conjuncture, one of the citizens declared in the assembly, that, in a vision which he had seen in sleep, Apollo, whom the Tyrians adored with great devotion, appeared in the act of departing from the town†, — and the pier which the Macedonians had constructed, was transformed into a forest. On this slender au-

gates of Carthage: this happened, Olymp. cxvii. 3, two-and-twenty years after the fall of Tyre.—*Freinshemius* after *Reineccius* and *Raderus*.—But see PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION, p. xxxiv. sect. 11.

* According to *Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. s. 46*; and *Justin. lib. xi. c. x.*; these women and children, amounting to a great number, were embarked to take refuge in Carthage at the commencement of the siege, and before the ambassadors had arrived. Diodorus adds, that a proportion of the more aged inhabitants took passage with the other non-combatants.

† Plutarch relates (*Alex. cap. 41.*) that several of the Tyrians heard Apollo say, when sleep suspended every faculty but imagination, *That he would pass over to Alexander; nor were the things then acting in the city such as he could sanction.* There was a tradition among the Ancients, that a similar fear oppressed superstitious minds when Troy was on the eve of destruction: the gods were seen carrying their own statues from their own temples.

thority, inclined, out of fear, to entertain gloomy presentiments, they fastened the image, bound with a golden chain, to the altar of Hercules, their tutelar deity, as expecting by his aid to detain Apollo. The Carthaginians having carried off this image from Syracuse *, had set it up in their mother country; for they were accustomed to adorn Tyre and Carthage, equally, with the spoils of other states.

15. A sacrifice, which had been discontinued by the Tyrians many ages, and one which I must contemplate as abhorred by the gods, some individuals proposed to revive,—that of offering up to Saturn a free-born male child: this kind of sacrifice, rather this unholy sacrilege, the Carthaginians, who imbibed it from their founders, are represented to have used till their city was destroyed; and, now, had not the *aldermen*, who controulled public proceedings, opposed this accursed superstition, it had triumphed over humanity.

Urgent necessity, a tutor more effectual than all the arts which descend to us, not only

* Unless there were any temple in the suburbs of Syracuse from which this figure of Apollo could have been taken, this is also an error; for the Carthaginians, though they often besieged, never reduced Syracuse. Diodorus relates, that the Geloni originally possessed this image, which ancient superstition seems to have prized, as affording, like the palladium, protection by its presence.

made the Tyrians fly to usual methods of defence, but suggested to them new. Against the gallies lashed together*, which rode close to their walls, they prepared long beams, armed with crows, grappling-irons, hooks, and sithes, fastened by cords; when the beams had been shot forward by balistæ, they slackened the cords†. The hooks and sithes hanging down from the beams, cut in pieces the men and [tore asunder] the gallies. Further, the besieged heated brazen targets to a red heat, which, filled with burning sand and boiling slime, they suddenly discharged from the walls. None of their pestiferous devices was more terrible: whenever the burning sand insinuated between the armour and the body, it was impossible to dislodge it; and where the caustic touched, it consumed the flesh: the wretches tortured by it, flinging down their weapons, and tearing off every defensive covering, lay,

* *Implicanda navigia.* ORIG.—If this construction can be supported, it would appear that Alexander was not deterred by the disasters related in p. 367, from repeating the experiment of floating platforms.

† The translator *supposes*, that the destructive appendages were bound close to the beam, to allow it to slide freely in the engine which projected it; but that as soon as the beam was driven out far enough to impend over the enemy, the cords, loosened, hung down with the weapons, and the beam worked with a sawing motion.

unrevenged, receiving incessant wounds. The crows and grappling irons shot from engines swept off a number of men.

CHAP. IV.

Tyre is taken. Its antiquity. Sketch of its Colonies. Its state when Curtius wrote.

16. NOW, weary of the siege, to raise it, and strike at Egypt, was a purpose which the king began to revolve. What though he had, with unparalleled celerity, overrun Asia—Before the walls of a single town he was still fixed, and the opportunity to execute imperial designs was escaping. On the other hand, he felt that it were as much a disgrace to retire from the city foiled, as to linger before it: His reputation, by which he had effected more than by military strength, would be essentially impaired, were Tyre to subsist a memorial that he might be overcome. Wherefore, that he might leave no resource unemployed, he prepared for action a great number of ships, conveying the choicest of his soldiers on board. At this time it happened that a whale, of no ordinary size, after having been seen to beat about the channel, laid itself against the pier, with its back pro-

jecting above the water, so as to be conspicuous to both parties. Then, near the head of the pier, it plunged again into the sea; alternately displaying and concealing itself, it finally sunk from view near the walls of the city. Both parties construed the appearance of the monster as an auspice to themselves. The Macedonians concluded, that it had marked the track in which they should extend the mole:—the Tyrians imagined, that Neptune was vindicating his right to the invaded deep, and that suddenly as he had snatched away the whale, the mole would fall to ruin: under this delusion, they proceeded to festivity, and gorged themselves with wine. At sun-rise they manned their vessels, which they had adorned with garlands of flowers, confident of victory, and rejoicing prematurely.

17. Fortuitously the king had appointed his divided fleet to different stations*, leaving upon the [Sidonian] shore thirty vessels of secondary rate†. Of these, the Tyrians captured two, and imminently endangered the remainder; till Alexander, whom the clamour had reached,

* One before that harbour of Tyre which looked towards Egypt; and a second squadron watched the port facing Sidon.

† But among these, if we credit Arrian, was the quinquereme of the king of Cyprus, and not a few smaller galleys; Alexander having appointed the Cyprian fleet to this station. Still the king might, by a ruse, for a moment weaken this division to invite attack.

brought up his fleet to the shore. Of the Macedonian reinforcement, one quinquereme advancing with velocity, shot a-head singly. As soon as the Tyrians perceived this, they sent against it two gallies, one on each quarter. The quinquereme plying its oars to drive against one of them*, was itself severely struck by the adverse prow, but, in its turn, grappled the assailant. The other galley, unconfined, having swung round, to have a free impetus, was preparing to attack her on the other side; when — most opportunely — one of Alexander's triremes so furiously charged the galley bearing upon the quinquereme, that the Tyrian pilot was shook from the helm into the sea. The Macedonian vessels coming up in numbers, and Alexander appearing in person, — the Tyrians *backed water* with their oars; and having with much difficulty disengaged their grappled galley, all their vessels hove about together to escape into port. Alexander pursued with adhesive constancy; but could not enter the harbour, on account of the missile weapons

* In ancient times the success of a naval engagement principally depended on the activity of the rowers and the skill of the pilots, whose object it always was to dart, with great violence, the sharp beak or prow of the ship, armed with brass or iron, against the sides of the enemy's. By a repetition of these assaults, and sometimes at one stroke — while they themselves, with superior dexterity, eluded such a shock — they shattered or sunk the vessel of their opponents.

by which he was repelled from the walls above. He, however, either sunk or captured nearly their whole fleet.

18. He allowed his soldiers two days' repose. He then put his ships in motion, and advanced his engines, that with both he might press the now appalled enemy. In this attack, the king posted himself on a lofty turret, and with exemplary courage met combining dangers; conspicuous by the ensigns of royalty, and by his splendid armour, he was the mark at which the besieged chiefly aimed. Altogether a worthy spectacle by his achievements, many conflicting on the battlements he killed with his spear; others, who engaged him hand to hand with sword and buckler, he precipitated by a stroke into the deep; for the turret on which he fought almost touched the enemy's walls.

The battering rams had now, by incessant shocks, disturbed the cement which had embodied the stones of the tottering fortifications: the fleet had entered the port*: and several parties of Macedonians had taken possession of towers which the besieged had evacuated:—the Tyrians sink under so many concurrent calamities; a crowd fly to the temple as an asylum; others, barring up the entrances to

* The Phœnicians broke into the Egyptian, the Cyprians into the Sidonian, harbour.

their houses, exercise the wretched freedom of dying as they choose: some rush furiously on the troops pouring in, resolved not to perish unavenged. The majority, however, ascended the roofs of the houses, whence they hurled down on the enemy ponderous stones, or such other things as accident armed them with.

Alexander gave orders to spare those only who had taken refuge in the temples, and to fire the houses. After this had been proclaimed, still none, capable of bearing arms, sought protection from the gods. Boys and virgins filled the sanctuaries: the men, every one in the doorway of his own habitation, stood ready victims to slaughtering rage. A multitude was, however, saved by the Sidonians, who made a part of Alexander's armament. These had entered the city with the victors: but remembering their relationship with the Tyrians, (inasmuch as they believed Agenor to have founded both *

* Justin reports that Sidon derived its name from the abundance of fish on the coast, *Sidon* being the Phœnician word for a *fish*. Josephus makes its founder to have been Sidon, the eldest son of Canaan: living later, Agenor was contemporary with some of the first judges over Israel. But Sidon might have been founded by the son of Canaan, and be afterwards rebuilt or enlarged by Agenor. Compare with *Genes.* x. 15; xlix. 13;—*Joshua*, xix. 28;—*Isai.* xxiii. *passim*. M. de Sainte-Croix has remarked, that Homer speaks of the Sidonians: (*Odyss.* l. iv. 84; l. xiii. 285,) but makes no mention of the Tyrians; and that Tyre was built a long while after Sidon, of which it was called the daughter.

cities,) they protected a number of the citizens by taking them on board their ships, and clandestinely conveying them to Sidon. Fifteen thousand were thus saved. How profusely human blood was spilt, may be estimated from this,—that six thousand slain were counted within the walls. The rage of the king was monstrous: two thousand, which the mad hour of slaughter failed to destroy, he ordered to be nailed to crosses along the sea-shore; a lamentable spectacle even to the victors*. Alexander spared the ambassadors from Carthage; but declared against it a war, of which the urgent importance of his previous undertakings forced him to postpone the prosecution.

Olymp. cxii. 1. 19. Tyre was taken in the seventh
A. C. 332. month after the commencement of
Ætat. Alex. 25. the siege; a city which the antiquity
Reg. 5. of its origin, and the numerous vicissitudes in its history, have combined to render interesting to posterity. It had been built by Agenor, and long held the trident not only of the neighbouring sea, but of all the seas on which its fleets appeared. If we credit tradition, the Tyrians were the first people that

* Justin, to assign a cause for this procedure, states these victims to inhumanity, to have been of the families of a set of slaves who had formerly murdered their masters and usurped power in the state.

taught or acquired alphabetical writing*. Tyre had planted colonies over almost all the world: Carthage in Africa; Thebes in Bœotia; and Gades upon the ocean†. I believe that, unrestrained in their naval enterprizes, and exploring countries unknown to the rest of mankind, the Tyrians selected these remote seats for their youths, when their population had multiplied to excess: or, (for this allegation has been transmitted to us,) because their native country was subject to earthquakes, worn out with privations and inquietude, they were driven, at once emigrants and conquerors, to seek for themselves—in armed bodies—new and distant settlements. Having risen from many falls to be thus annihilated, even after this extinction,

* Many authors support this representation, while the majority dissent from it. The invention of letters has been ascribed to Noah: to Abraham: to Moses: to Cadmus. It may briefly be noticed, as tending to reconcile these contradictory statements, that of those classed among inventors, some either merely remodelled or rearranged the first-invented, or introduced new letters; others framed systems of hieroglyphics. Lastly; when the variety of alphabets which have been used in different times and places are considered, it is not surprizing that the original inventor of the divine art is obscured by a crowd of imitators and improvers. It is probable that Cadmus carried alphabetical writing into Greece, notwithstanding Dr. Marsh's contrary hypothesis.

† *Gades*, the modern *Cadiz*.—Curtius enumerates the more considerable. Of minor colonies, Leptis and Utica are mentioned by Pliny; Hippo and Adrumetum, by Sallust. Other writers add Tyros, in Sarmatia.

Tyre was reproduced. And now, a long peace making all its concerns flourish anew, it enjoys serenity under the mild protection of Rome.

CHAP. V.

Correspondence between Darius and Alexander. At the Isthmian games a crown is decreed to Alexander. Minor operations by his lieutenants.

20. AT this interval is delivered an epistle from Darius, who at length yields to the conqueror the title of king. He entreats him, ' To accept his daughter Statyra in marriage ; offering, as a dowry, the whole tract of country between the Hellespont and the Halys*— and declaring himself satisfied with the provinces eastward from that river. Did Alexander hesitate to accept this overture, the conqueror should know that fortune maintained no one attitude long ; the greater an individual's felicity, the more has he to fear from violent envy. As a volatile bird is, by natural levity, buoyed up to to the skies : so, it was to be apprehended, Alexander could not restrain his juvenile and airy mind from extravagant elation. Nothing was more diffi-

* The boundaries of the ancient Lydian empire.

‘cult than to know how to support success at
‘such an age. Darius had many resources un-
‘impaired, and might not always be circum-
‘vented in a narrow defile. Alexander had still
‘to force the Euphrates, the Tigris, the ARAXES,
‘and the HYDASPES* ; those great breastworks
‘of the Persian empire ; in the spacious plains,
‘he would become ashamed of his scanty force.
‘When would he penetrate to Media, Hyrcania,
‘Bactriana, to the Indians who verge on
‘the remote ocean ? or to the Sogdians and
‘Arachosians, known but by their names ; as
‘well as to the nations on the ridges of mount
‘Caucasus and the banks of the Tanais ? Were
‘he to obtain undisputed admission to those
‘countries, he would become old before he could
‘traverse them all. Let him desist from sum-
‘moning Darius to meet him, for when Darius
‘comes, it will be to his ruin.’ By the same
heralds that had brought this letter, Alexander
transmitted his reply. He reminded the Per-
sian king, ‘That he did not possess the terri-
‘tory which he had tendered, having already
‘lost what he offered to partition. The dowry,
‘made up of Lydiā, Ionia, Æolia, and the coast
‘of the Hellespont, was previously, by con-
‘quest, Alexander’s. It belonged to the vic-
‘torious to prescribe conditions, and to the

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (L).

‘ vanquished to receive them. If Darius could
‘ alone be ignorant in which of those relations
‘ he stood, a battle might speedily decide it.
‘ When Alexander crossed the sea, he did not
‘ purpose to himself Cilicia or Lydia: (an in-
‘ adequate object for so weighty a war;) but
‘ he meditated the subjugation of Persepolis,
‘ the capital of his adversary’s empire, then
‘ of Bactra and Ecbatana, and of tracts extend-
‘ ing to the farthest shores of the Eastern world.
‘ Whithersoever Darius might fly, he could
‘ follow. Nor could rivers obstruct him, to
‘ whom the sea had not been a barrier.’

21. To this effect was the correspondence of the two sovereigns.

Meanwhile, the Rhodians surrendered their city and harbour to Alexander’s forces.

The king committed the government of Cilicia to Socrates; and the country dependent on Tyre, to Philotas. The administration of Syria, Parmenio had resigned to Andromachus*, that he might attend Alexander in the prosecution of the war. The king, having directed Hephaestion to steer along the Phœnician coast with the fleet, moved with his whole army to the city Gaza.

* Eusebius also states Andromachus to have received this appointment; and Curtius again speaks of him as the governor, sect. 33, *infra*.

About this time, fell one of the quinquennial periods for the Isthmian games, celebrated by a confluence of people from all parts of Greece. The temporizing Greeks decreed, that a deputation of twelve from the assembly should bear to Alexander a golden crown of victory, their grateful offering for the deeds by which he had promoted the safety and liberty of Greece. The same men, a short time previous, had entertained equivocal rumours with avidity, keeping their suspended support ready for that party which fortune should favour.

Not only the king went on, marching against all the cities [in Syria*] which still refused the yoke of his dominion : but his lieutenants, also, who were able commanders, had carried the Macedonian arms into many distant provinces. Calas subdued Paphlagonia ; Antigonus, Lycania ; and Balacrus, having defeated the Persian satrap Idarnes, recovered Miletus†. Amphoterus and Hegelochus, with a fleet of one hundred and sixty vessels, brought the islands between the Grecian coast and Asia under Alexander's

* M. de Sainte-Croix refers to this period the march of Alexander against Jerusalem.

† *Miletum cepit.* CURTIUS.—See *Supplement*, ante, p. 224. Many places which Alexander had subjugated, had been since retaken in the diversion made by Memnon and the Persian governors co-operating with him.

government :—having accepted the submission of Tenedos, —invited by the inhabitants of Chios, they expected to occupy it with the same facility : but Pharnabazus, the admiral of Darius, having seized the principals of the Macedonian faction, restored Apollonides and Athenagoras, who were in the Persian interest, to power in the city, leaving with them a small garrison. The lieutenants of Alexander persevered in their enterprize, relying less on the amount of their forces, than on the disposition of the besieged. Nor did this expectation fail ; for a seditious quarrel between Apollonides and the military commanders allowed the besiegers an opportunity to break into the town. When a regiment of Macedonians had forced one of the gates, a party of inhabitants, acting on a plan concerted for the surrender of the place, joined Amphoterus and Hegelochus. The Persian garrison slain,—Pharnabazus, with Apollonides and Athenagoras, are delivered up as prisoners. Here were taken three thousand Greeks in the Persian service, twelve triremes, with their compliments of mariners and rowers ; besides thirty ships and piratical brigantines. The Greeks were incorporated, as recruits, into the Macedonian battalions ; the rowers were compelled to serve in the fleet ; and the corsairs were punished with death.

22. It happened, that Aristonicus, the tyrant of Methymna, unapprised of these transactions, arrived, with some piratical vessels, about the first watch, at the mouth of the harbour, which was secured by a boom. The guard demanded, 'Who he was?' He answered: "Aristonicus brings succours to Pharnabazus."—"Pharnabazus is reposing, and cannot now be spoken with: but, as an ally, or a guest wanting shelter, we will admit you into the port, and in the morning you can have an audience of Pharnabazus." Aristonicus, without hesitation, immediately entered the haven, followed by the piratical brigantines. As they were standing in towards the quay, the guard closes the port: a division of the centinels keep watch, while a part alarm the garrison: Aristonicus and the piratical crews, taken without resistance, are delivered in chains to Amphoterus and Hegelochus.

Hence the Macedonians sailed to Mitylene, which Chares the Athenian, who had lately debarked there, defended with a garrison of two thousand Persians: but finding himself unable to hold out, he surrendered the city, on condition that he might retire unmolested. He departed for Imbros. The Macedonians gave quarter to the garrison.

CHAP. VI.

Darius prepares to renew hostilities. Alexander besieges Gaza.

23. **DARIUS**, despairing of peace, which he had expected to negotiate by letters and ambassadors, was wholly engaged in creating an army, in order to recommence hostilities with vigor. He summoned to Babylon the chieftains of his provincial levies; and, in particular, commanded Bessus, leader of the Bactrians, to join him with as powerful an army as he could embody. Among those hordes, the Bactrians are the most intrepid; they are a ferocious people, and totally averse from the luxury of the Persians. Their country lies toward the warlike Scythians, who subsist by plunder, roving in armed bands. But the impatient dissatisfaction with which Bessus attended to the offices devolving on the second personage in the empire, rendered his loyalty suspected, and disturbed the tranquillity of the king; for, as he affected the sovereignty, it was apprehended that he would grasp at it by some traitorous act.

Meanwhile, Alexander, exploring various channels of intelligence, endeavoured to trace the retreat of Darius; but was unable to ascertain in what region he was concealed. It is a moral habit of the Persians to keep, with illustrious fidelity, the secrets of the king; neither fear nor hope can extort a word tending to discovery; for the venerable institutes of that monarchy fortify silence by the penalty of death. The Persians punish intemperance of the tongue more severely than any other delinquency: nor can they esteem a man qualified for great employments who feels any difficulty in conforming to enjoined taciturnity, a duty which nature has rendered easy.

Alexander, uninformed of the movements of the enemy, laid siege to Gaza*. Its governor, Betis, an officer of approved fidelity, with an inconsiderable garrison defended a stupendous circuit of fortifications.

24. Alexander, having surveyed the position of the works, directed the excavation of several mines; the subterraneous approaches were favoured by the lightness of the soil, which,

* It is said to have received this name from Cambyzes, because, on his way to Egypt, he lodged his treasures in the fortress; for, says Curtius, [ante, p. 336,] the Persians call the regal treasury *gaza*. If this be true, ancient expositors of the Scripture must have substituted *Gaza*, in Genesis and Judges, in place of the old name.

formed chiefly by accessions of sand from the neighbouring sea, was free from rocks and stones. The mines were commenced from a point which was out of the view of the besieged; and Alexander, to keep the garrison amused, gave orders to advance the towers to the walls. But the ground was ill adapted to these ponderous engines; for the sand, giving way, retarded the movements of the wheels; the platforms in the towers were shattered, and many soldiers were wounded; while the enemy remained unannoyed. To replace the towers in safety, was as difficult as it had been to advance them. The signal is made for a retreat. But Alexander orders, that on the following day a *military circle** shall be drawn round the fortress. At sun-rise, before he put his army in motion, he offered a sacrifice with the solemnities of his country, imploring aid from the gods. A raven, flitting over, dropped from between its talons a clod of earth on the royal worshipper's head, whence it fell on the ground, broken to pieces: the bird alighted on a contiguous turret, slimed with pitch and sulphur. Its wings adhering to the viscous surface, the raven in vain struggled to liberate itself, and

* *Corona*. ORIG. — This close mode of investment intimidates the besieged, imprisons them, and cuts off their supplies. The lines of a *corona* might be two or three ranks in depth, or still denser: The infantry lined the inside of the circle. The horse were planted on the outside, for observation and defence.

was caught by the attendants. That this incident merited the elucidation of the soothsayers, was admitted by Alexander, who had a tincture of superstition. Aristander, the diviner of highest reputation, affirmed, ‘ That it portended the
‘ fall of the city, but that the king, involved in
‘ danger, might receive a wound ; he therefore
‘ dehorted him from entering upon any opera-
‘ tion during the day.’ Alexander impatiently endured, that one fortress should restrain him from penetrating into Egypt, unless at imminent risk ; yet he was influenced by the hierophant, and made the signal for retreat.

25. This augmented the courage of the besieged, who sallied upon the Macedonians as they withdrew from the attack ; deeming that the indecision of the enemy presented a moment of advantage : but their ardour was not steady and persevering, for when they saw the Macedonians face-about, they suddenly halted. And now the acclamations of those engaged reached to the king : Little mindful of the danger of which he had been forewarned ; yet induced by the entreaties of his friends to defend himself with armour, which he rarely wore ; he repaired to the front division. As soon as he appeared there, an Arab among the common soldiers of Darius dared an enormous enterprize above his condition ; covering his sword with his buckler,

he knelt before the king, as though he had come over: the king bade him rise, and directed that he should be enrolled: but the Barbarian nimbly shifting his sword into his right-hand, swung it at the king's neck. Alexander, by a slight bend of the body, avoided the blow, and lopped off the perfidious hand of the Barbarian. The special danger with which the day was commissioned, he considered as now past. But it would appear, that destiny is not to be eluded; for while the king was intrepidly combating among the most advanced, an arrow pierced his armour, and remained planted in his shoulder, till Philip his surgeon extracted it: Blood now flowed in a copious stream: His attendants were alarmed; because they had never witnessed a shaft overcome the obstruction of armour, and bury its head so deeply. Alexander, from whose cheeks the colour did not move, bid them staunch the bleeding, and bind up the wound. Inattentive to the first importunities of pain, he remained in front of the banners a considerable time, till the blood-vessels, which an application had compressed, burst with a new hæmorrhage; and the pain, which had been moderate, increased to acute anguish; and the lacerated part, as the gore congealed, began to swell. Then Alexander, swooning, sunk down upon his knees: Where-

upon his attendants bore him to his tent. And Betis, concluding him to be dead, returned into the town in triumph.

26. Alexander, while his wound was under cure, completed a terrace* as lofty as the fortress, and he conducted mines under its walls. Meanwhile, the besieged carried up an interior rampart equal in height with the old fortifications, but below the level of the turrets which Alexander raised upon the terrace; so that the interior of the city was annoyed by the darts of the enemy. A consummate disaster to the garrison, the walls, which had been silently sapped, now fell down; and the Macedonians poured in at the brèches. The king led the vanguard; and while he was incautiously climbing to the attack, a stone bruised his leg; afterwards supporting himself on his spear, he fought among the combatants who had pressed to the front, though his former wound was not cicatrized. To have received two wounds in the siege, inflamed his desire of revenge.

Betis, having displayed signal gallantry, almost dissected with gashes, was deserted by his men. Blood from his antagonists, streaming

* Arrian states this bulwark to have been carried quite round the city, a stupendous circle,—and to have been two hundred and fifty feet high, and two furlongs broad: which is altogether extravagant.

with his own, had made his weapons slippery to the grasp, yet he still fought resolutely. At length, pressed on all sides, exhausted by resistance disproportionately maintained, he was taken alive, and carried before the king. The young conqueror, with arrogant elation, no longer the Alexander who admired intrepidity in an enemy, said to his nobler captive: “The kind of death, Betis! which thou hast court-
“ed, thou shalt not obtain: prepare to endure
“all that torture can devise.” Betis, undaunted, replied to the menace merely by a disdainful look. Then Alexander, speaking to his attendants: “Do you mark his stubborn silence?
“Does he kneel? Have you heard one word
“of submission? But this silence I will sub-
“due; if nothing else will burst it, it shall
“give way to groans.” His anger turns to brutish madness; for already his last successes had vitiated his manners. He had thongs fixed to the ankles of his captive; and the yet breathing hero, lashed to a car, was dragged by horses round the city: the frantic victor vaunting that he punished his enemy in the manner of Achilles*, from whom he had descended.

Of Persians and Arabians there fell nearly ten thousand: nor to the Macedonians was it a

* Achilles was more humane, because Hector was first a corpse.

bloodless conquest. The siege is renowned, not so much from the celebrity of Gaza, as from the critical train of incidents to Alexander.

The king now detached Amyntas, with ten triremes, to Macedon, to levy fresh troops; for even victories had attenuated his army; and to enlist a great proportion of soldiers from the conquered countries would have been unsafe. Alexander now advances with celerity toward Egypt.

CHAP. VII.

Alexander is received in Egypt without opposition.

He visits the temple of Jupiter Hammon.

27. LONG-TIME to the Egyptians the ascendancy of the Persians had been odious; the government of the satraps, grinding and imperious. The expected approach of Alexander revived the courage of a people who, from a propensity to revolt, had eagerly received Amyntas*, intruding with precarious authority. A confluence of Egyptians, therefore, repaired to Pelusium, imagining that Alexander

* Ante, p. 350.

would enter by that port. But, on the seventh day after leaving Gaza, he reached a different part of Egypt, since named Alexander's camp. Having ordered the bulk of his army to march thence to Pelusium, he, with a chosen division, is wafted along the Nile. The Persians, in consternation at the insurrection, did not wait his attack. Already he had arrived in the vicinity of Memphis. The satrap Mazaces, abandoning the cause of Darius, hastily crossed a branch of the river, and delivered to Alexander eight hundred talents, with all the royal movables. From Memphis, ascending the river, the king penetrated to the interior of Egypt. Having settled an administrative government so as not to disturb the usages of the country, he proposed to visit the oracle of Jupiter Hammon*.

28. The track thither was barely practicable. to a small band lightly equipped. Water, from springs, or from the clouds, is rarely afforded. The solar heat is intolerable; the atmosphere is a glowing vapour; a desolate expanse of sand burns the feet. Besides the excess of summer in an arid region, the traveller has to struggle

* Understood, by some critics, not without the countenance of ancient writers, to be Ham, the son of Noah, and king of Libya, deified after his death; the Egyptian Jupiter, worshipped under the name of Hammon.

with a deep layer of loose sharp dust, which giving way to the tread, and sticking to the flesh, renders stepping painful. The Egyptians magnified these difficulties.

Alexander, however, was stimulated by a powerful desire to present himself before Jupiter, whom, dissatisfied with a mortal origin, he believed to have been his father; or, he designed that others should believe it. He, therefore, with select attendants, descended the river to the lake Mareotis.

Hither ambassadors came to him from the Cyrenians, with gifts, supplicating peace, and entreating his presence in their cities. The king, having accepted their friendship, prosecuted his journey. Throughout the first and second day the fatigue was not immoderate, the party not having reached the naked immensity of desert, though the surrounding country was barren and dead: But as the levels covered with deep sand spread themselves out, the eye ached for hospitable land in the boundless view, as in the midst of an ocean. Not a tree, not a vestige of cultivation met the sight. Here the water failed, which had been brought in bottles on camels: and there were no springs in the fervid ground. To make the extremity consummate, the raging heat had parched or consumed every thing, when, suddenly,—by a natural casualty, or by

the providence of the gods—clouds, spreading over the sky, curtained the sun : a considerable relief to men sinking under its power, though they still wanted water. Soon a tempest discharged a flood of rain, when every one caught a supply.; some individuals, with impatient thirst, received it in their mouths as it fell. Four days had already fretted away in the desert.

29. Here, the column, not greatly distant from the seat of the oracle, was met by a flock of ravens*. These birds, afterwards, flew gently before the van; now alighting, as the column paused; now on wing, preceding it in the manner of a guide. At length the party arrives at the recess consecrated to the god. We hesitate to believe, that in the midst of an immense desert there should be a spot protected on all sides by branching trees and entwining thickets, an asylum of shade which the sun never violates; while fountains, whose waters are grateful to the taste, bubbling from multiplied sources,

* On the morning of the 25th of May, 1819, we continued westward, and passed several isolated rocks and sand-banks. At noon we saw a high hill at a distance, and soon after the guide pointed out the Rocks of Elloah : in a few minutes after this we saw two crows, which *appeared* to have come to meet us—a sure sign that water is not far off; for though these birds can travel a long way on slender resources, they generally keep near the water in those deserts. *Narrative of Operations and Recent Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia.* By G. Belzoni. Section entitled, "JOURNEY TO THE OASIS OF AMMON," pp. 401, 402.

maintain the luxuriance of the groves: Nor less miraculous is the temperature of the air, at all times of the year alike salubrious, constantly mild as the breath of spring.

Bordering on [the desert which surrounds] this seat, — eastward is the country of the Hither Ethiopians. On the south, opposite Arabia, TROGLODYTES occupy a region stretching to the Red Sea. Westward, are seated the Simoes, a colony of Ethiopians. Northward, are found the Nasamones, a SYRTIC TRIBE, who batten on wrecks, lurking about the coast on shallows with which they are acquainted, ready to board ships which are stranded*.

The Hammonians live in cottages interspersed through their verdant recess; the middle of the wood is the site of a citadel surrounded by a triple wall.

30. The first rampart encloses the ancient

* This paragraph demands a commentary; as the positions involve some relative errors if examined by the true bearings of the compass. 1st. The nations enumerated are distant from the OASIS: whereas the word "*accola*" implies immediate vicinity—but by construing "*sedes*" literally, (put, by Synecdoche, for "the Libyan deserts,") the apparent magnitude of the error has hitherto been strangely aggravated. 2dly. Unless Curtius means, by "Nasamones," a colony of the Nasamones, he has placed on the north the same horde which the map of Ptolemy places on the west; and the SYRTES, (as the QUICKSANDS infesting two bays on the coast of Africa Proper, were by eminence called; and from which the appellation, Syrtic tribe, was derived,) were distant from Hammon the whole breadth of Marmarica and Cyrenaica.

palace of their kings; within the second are lodged the prince's wives, children, and concubines,—here, likewise, is the oracle of the god; in the outward circle of bastions were posted the royal armed attendants and body-guards.

In the bosom of a second grove of Hammon, is the “fountain of the sun.” At sunrise, its waters are tepid; at mid-day, cold;—but the stream, beginning to grow warm at sun-set, by midnight is steaming hot: thence, as morning approaches, its temperature declines from the nightly maximum, at day-break constantly found in a tepid state*.

* This curious fountain is particularly described by Quintus Curtius, [citing the above passage,] Pliny, ii. 103; and Pomponius Mela, i. 8. It is also referred to by Silius Italicus, iii. 669; by Ovid, *Met.* xv. 309; and by the more philosophical Lucretius, vi. 848. The heat of this well was, unquestionably, caused by subterranean inflammable substances in a state of ignition: its alternation of cold in the day-time may have been produced, and especially in the summer season, by evaporation from the groves that surrounded it. The fountain, like the pool of Bethesda, John, v. 2—4, might be a hot spring, with a tide recurring once in twenty-four hours. It is an extraordinary fact, that the ice in the celebrated cavern of *Grace Dieu*, at Paris, is plentiful and solid during the summer, and almost wasted in the course of winter. *Translation of Lucretius, by John Mason Good.* 4to. London, 1805, vol. ii. pp. 548, 549. “Near the town [Cohaut] runs a stream as clear as crystal, which issues from three fountains, and is collected in a reservoir not far below. It is hot in winter, and cold in summer.”—*Elphinstone's Caubul*, London, 4to 1816. p. 40.

For an account of the oases attributed to the territory of Hammon,

The image here adored for the god, has not the same form, which artists commonly assign to deities: it resembled a NAVE^L more than any thing else, composed of an emerald and other gems*. When it was consulted, the priests bore it about in a golden ship, from the sides of which hung silver goblets; matrons and virgins followed, singing, in their national manner; an inharmonious hymn: by which they hoped to influence Jupiter to deliver an unambiguous oracle.

31. As the king was approaching, the senior priest saluted him "son," affirming, 'That his father, Jupiter, bestowed that title†.' Alexander replied, 'That he accepted it, and perceived a token of its validity:' forgetting that he was a mortal man. He then inquired, 'Whether his father destined him to the empire of the globe?' The hierophant, with concerted adulation, declared, 'That he should govern the whole earth.' Afterwards, the

as they appear in their modern state; and for a description of a fountain in one of them examined by Belzoni;—See ADDITIONAL NOTES (M.)

* UMBILICO would also bear the interpretation of a jewelled CONCH, which might be a conical shell. The image so obscurely designated may possibly have been the *lingam*.

† It is mentioned by Plutarch, that some have maintained, that the priest meant to say, *ὦ παῖδιος*, my son; but, from his imperfect acquaintance with the Greek tongue, said *παῖ διος*, son of Jupiter: but this is refining to excess; for while Curtius makes the priest say no

king proceeded to inquire, 'Whether all* who
' conspired the death of his father had been
' punished?' The response was, 'That the
' crime of no one could hurt the memory of
' his father: but that all the murderers of
' Philip had suffered punishment.' It was
added, 'That he should continue invincible
' till he joined the assembly of the gods.'
Alexander then, having sacrificed, presented
gifts to the priests, and to Hammon. After-
wards his friends, permitted to consult the
oracle, merely sought to know, 'Whether it
' sanctioned their yielding to their king divine
' honours?' The priest answered, 'That it was
' agreeable to Jupiter, that they should render
' to their victorious king the honours of di-
' vinity.'

Any person who had sagaciously weighed
the credit due to the oracle, must indeed have
perceived the inanity and delusion of its echoes.
But when fortune has induced men to confide
entirely in herself, she commonly makes them
more avaricious of glory, than able to sustain
it. Alexander, therefore, not only suffered him-
self to be called Jupiter's son, but required it;

more than *son*, what is added, shows him to have spoken as the repre-
sentative of Jupiter;—and Justin asserts, that the priests of Hammon
acted a deliberate part, to which they had been suborned.

* Alexander Lyncestes had been spared, ante, p. 119; now in
custody for a conspiracy against himself, ante, p. 256.

thus designing to heighten, but impairing, the lustre of his exploits. And the Macedonians, accustomed to monarchical government, yet retaining a greater semblance of liberty than other nations, when the king affected immortality, more pertinaciously revolted against his extravagance than was expedient for either party. But those things I reserve, to follow the order of time.

CHAP. VIII.

The king founds Alexandria. Appoints administrations for Egypt, Lybia, and other provinces. Catastrophes of Hector and Andromachus. Minor details. Alexander marches from Syria toward the Euphrates.

32. RETURNING from Hammon, Alexander

Olymp. cxii. 1. had now come to the lake Mareotis, not greatly distant from the
A. C. 332. island Pharos. Having surveyed
Ætat. Alex. 25. the situation, the king at first designed to build a city on the island——. Afterwards regarding the island as too small for a metropolis, he selected that place on which Alexandria, named after its founder, at present stands. Embracing the whole extent of ground between the lake and the sea, he assigned eighty stadia for the circuit of the walls. Having appointed officers to superintend their construction, he proceeded to Memphis.

Alexander felt a strong inclination, laudable had it been well-timed, to visit the interior of Egypt, and even Ethiopia. The celebrated palace of Memnon and Tithonus was about to draw him, eager to explore antiquity, almost as far as the tropic of Cancer. But the impending

war, of which the weightier business was unperformed, denied time for excursions comparatively idle.

He constituted Æschylus the Rhodian, and Peucestes the Macedonian, subgovernors* of Egypt, leaving with them four thousand men to garrison the country: he commissioned Ptolemon, with thirty galleys, to defend the mouths of the Nile. Apollonius was the king's lieutenant over Lybia, Cyrenaica, and Marmarica. Cleomenes was appointed to receive the revenues of those countries, and of Egypt.

The king's edicts transplanting to Alexandria families from places contiguous, a great population was collected in the new capital. It is affirmed, that when Alexander was marking out the walls of the future town with boiled-barley paste, according to the Macedonian custom †,—birds in flocks came and devoured it: After many persons had regarded this as an unfavourable presage, the soothsayers announced it to indicate, 'That the new mart would be the constant resort of strangers, and would supply several countries with provisions.'

* Arrian informs us, that the administration of Egypt was committed to Dolonspus, an Egyptian, as chief governor.

† So Curtius alone. Arrian, Plutarch, Strabo, Valerius Maximus, and Marcellinus, state that the use of the barley-paste was accidental, and occasioned by the deficiency of lime or chalk.

33. Alexander, afterwards descending the [Eastern branch of the] Nile,—Hector, Parnenio's son, in the flower of life, from eagerness to follow the king, in whose favour he ranked high, embarked in a skiff into which more people had crowded than it could carry. Presently the vessel swamped. Hector long struggled in the current: his clothes penetrated with wet, and his sandals closely bound to his feet, impeded his swimming: he gained the bank, with remaining life: respiration, which had been repressed during the conflict with the suffocating flood, laboured with sudden liberty: the other persons in the boat had escaped to the opposite shore, and, for want of restoring attentions, the unfortunate youth expired. The king, much afflicted, bestowed on the corpse a sumptuous funeral.

His grief is aggravated by the catastrophe of Andromachus, lieutenant of Syria, whom the Samaritans had burnt alive. To avenge his murder, Alexander marched with all practicable expedition. On his arrival, they delivered up to him the instigators of the atrocious deed, whom he punished with death. He nominated Memnon the successor of Andromachus.

Of several Grecian cities he gave up the [Persian] regents to the popular assemblies. Among those, Aristonicus and Chrysolaus, aban-

doned to the Methymneans,—the people, for their unjust acts, hurled* from the walls. Thus were they killed.

Then he gave audience to ambassadors from the Athenians, the Rhodians, and the Chians. The Athenians congratulated the victor; entreating him to liberate the GRECIAN captives: The Rhodians, aggrieved by his garrisons, demanded redress:—All these suits seeming reasonable, were granted.

To the Mitylenians, in consideration of their tried fidelity, he restored their hostages; and remunerated their aid in money, by annexing to their jurisdiction a considerable territory. The kings of Cyprus, who had revolted from Darius, to co-operate, with a fleet, at the siege of Tyre, he rewarded with honours proportioned to their services. He then sent Amphoterus, his admiral, to deliver Crete from the Persian and the Spartan arms; (both had invaded Crete;) and he especially charged him to reclaim the sea from pirates, with which it had been covered while the two kings had been engaged in land operations. After these arrangements, he dedicated to the Tyrian Hercules a bowl and thirty goblets of gold.

* HURLED *from the walls*. Commentators have proposed various conjectural emendations of the original, in which the translator cannot see a difficulty. *Tortos*, here, is not TORTURED, but HURLED.

Now, prepared to fall on Darius, he led his army towards the Euphrates.

CHAP. IX.

The new army of Darius retrogrades, to encamp on the Bumadus. Alexander passes the Euphrates and the Tigris. Skirmish with Satropates.

34. DARIUS having ascertained that Alexander had turned aside into Africa, deliberated whether he should remain on the borders of Mesopotamia, or retire farther into his dominions. He was persuaded that the remote provinces would be excited, by his presence, to engage in the war with vivacity; which under the satraps were slow in arming.—But fame had circulated, by convenient agents, that Alexander would strike with all his forces into whatever region he might remove: not ignorant of the invader's invincible perseverance, the Persian king, therefore, directed levies from countries far distant to assemble at Babylon. The Bactrians, Scythians, and Indians, repaired thither; and, with these, the other nations mustered their proportion of troops. His army, more numerous, by nearly half its amount, than it had been in Cilicia,—many of the men were without weapons: which the highest exertion was used to supply. The horses, as well as the

men, of the cavalry, were provided with breast-plates and greaves of iron. The soldiers who, before, had javelins — received, in addition, swords and shields. That his cavalry might be stronger than the former; horses in droves were dispersed among his foot to be broken in. Of chariots, armed with sithes, there were two hundred; the grand dependence of the Barbarians, as they imagine such machines panic-strike an enemy. Each was drawn by four horses abreast: The two poles [one between each pair of horses] were armed in the front with projecting iron spears: The transverse beam*, to which the horses were yoked, carried at either end three swords: To the spokes of the wheels shorter blades were laterally appended; and to the fellies were fastened sithes; other sithes pointed [from the axletrees] toward the ground: to mow in pieces every thing in the way of the precipitated car.

35. His army, thus constituted and equipped, — Darius marched from Babylon. On his right flowed the noble Tigris; and the Euphrates covered his left. His forces filled the plains of Mesopotamia. Then having passed the Tigris, — learning that the enemy was not far distant, he sent forward Satropates, general of cavalry, with a thousand chosen horse. And

* In position, the SPLINTER-BAR of modern carriages; but massy.

Mazæus, with six thousand cavalry, was detached, — to defend the passage of the Euphrates; and to waste and burn the country which the invader was approaching. Darius deemed, that Alexander's forces, bringing no provisions, but depending on pillage, might be overcome by famine: while to his own troops supplies would be conveyed by land and by the Tigris.

Now, the Persian king had reached the village Arbela*, which was soon to be made renowned by his defeat†. Leaving here the greater part of his provisions and baggage, he laid a bridge across the Lycus, over which the passage of his army consumed five days. Then he advanced about eighty stadia, and encamped near the bank of the Bumadus. This position was convenient for his infantry and cavalry to parade and manœuvre; an immense field, with-

* *The village Arbela.* Arrian makes it a city. Strabo speaks of it as a memorable residence, founded, according to tradition, by Arbelus the son of Athmoneus. It was probably unwall'd, and, on that account, termed by Curtius a village. The Hague, one of the most considerable towns in Holland, defended, indeed, by fosses and drawbridges, but destitute of walls, is called a village by geographers.

† *Renowned by his defeat.* Darius lost the battle near the stage-town Gaugamela, in Aturia, a district divided from Arbela by the Lycus. The "inn for camels" was so named by Darius the son of Hystaspes, who assigned this domain, for the supply of camel-forage, to carriers of provisions for the royal table. The Macedonians, seeing Gaugamela to be an obscure place, circulated the account, in their reports and histories, that the victory was gained near Arbela.—STRABO, lib. xvi.

out roots of trees or stumpy bushes: and the eye had a free prospect to objects very remote. Where the ground swelled, Darius ordered it to be levelled; extending the elevated plain*.

36. Macedonian scouts having calculated the enemy's force, on a distant survey,—their report scarcely induced Alexander to believe, that after the slaughter of so many thousands, the recruited army of Darius had risen above its former strength. Contemning danger, particularly danger from superior numbers, the hero in eleven days reached the Euphrates. Having laid a bridge, he ordered his cavalry over, followed by the phalanx: Mazæus, who had been sent with six thousand horse to oppose his passage, not daring to risk a conflict.

Alexander gave a few days to his soldiers, not of rest, but [of easy marching] to recruit their spirits. Then he resumed a vigorous pursuit; apprehensive of Darius retiring to a remote part of his empire,—whither, he should have to follow through natural deserts, or regions laid waste. On the fourth day he gains the bank of the Tigris, higher up than Arbela†. All the country beyond the river, recently fired, was yet smoking: for wherever Mazæus went, he spread conflagration as though he had been

* See *Preface to the Second Edition*, TESTIMONIES TO THE ACCURACY OF CURTIUS BY RECENT TRAVELLERS, No. 2.

† See ADDITIONAL NOTES (N).

the invader. As the undispersed smoke created artificial darkness, Alexander suspected an ambuscade. The scouts announcing all to be safe, he sent forward some horsemen to try the ford. At the first plunge, the water reached the chests of the horses; and, at the middle of the stream, it flowed as high as their necks.

The east has not another river equally rapid: many torrents fall into it, sweeping stones along its bed. The name Tigris was given from its swiftness; an arrow in Persic is called *tigris*.

37. The infantry, in two divisions, flanked by the horse, waded without much difficulty as far as the mid-channel. Passing among the foot, the king was the first to gain the opposite bank; whence, with his hand, because his voice could not be heard, he directed his soldiers to the proper ford. But they could scarcely keep their feet, now betrayed by slippery stones, and now supplanted by the rushing stream. The chief difficulty was theirs who carried loads: hindered from governing themselves, they were borne away into the rapid whirlpools: As every one endeavoured to reclaim his wreck, they struggled more with each other than with the torrent: packs of baggage, floating on the water, beat many of them down. The king exhorted them, 'To take care of their arms; he would make good their other losses.' Consternation prevented some from following

the king's orders and advice: his words were drowned by the mutual clamour of others. At length, alighting on a ford where the current was less rapid, they gained the shore; having lost nothing but a small quantity of baggage.

38. The army might have been destroyed, had a Persian dared to conquer: but Alexander's uniform fortune kept the enemy aloof. Thus he passed the Granicus—where so many thousand horse and foot guarded the opposite bank: thus, in the defiles of Cilicia, he vanquished an immense host.

His extravagant daring is absolved from censure, when we consider, that the result of an enterprize never permitted the question, “Has he not acted absurdly?”

Mazæus, had he fallen on the Macedonians during their confused passage, might doubtless have defeated them; they were on the bank, and under arms, when some of his squadrons appeared. He had sent forward but a thousand cavalry. Alexander, despising this scanty force, ordered Ariston, commander of the Pæonian horse, to charge at full speed. The Pæonians behaved gallantly; Ariston, distinguishing himself, launched his spear into the throat of Satriapates, the Persian general; and pursuing him into the midst of the adverse squadrons, unhorsed him. The fugitive now resisting,

Ariston, by a sabre-cut, took off his head. Laying this at the feet of the king, he obtained high plaudits.

CHAP. X.

Lunar eclipse. Mazæus prevented from burning the country, stored with supplies. Intercepted letters of Darius. Death of the queen.

39. **ENCAMPED** here two days, the king gave the army marching orders against the morrow. But, about the first watch, the moon became eclipsed, despoiled of her reflected lustre*. Afterwards a bloody hue, suffusing her face, at length **TARNISHED HER WHOLE LIGHT**. The soldiers, previously filled with anxiety, on account of the approaching conflict, are struck with religious awe, which is followed by boding terrors. They complained, ‘ That they were
‘ led towards the bounds of the earth in defi-
‘ ance of the gods : rivers refused them a pas-
‘ sage, and stars withdrew their light. Before
‘ them lay immense, unpeopled regions. The
‘ blood of so many thousands was about to be
‘ shed to gratify the restless pride of one man,

* The eclipse happened on the twentieth of September, Olymp. cxii. 2. eleven days before the battle.—See **ADDITIONAL NOTES (O)**.

‘ disgusted with his native land, disavowing
‘ his father, and madly affecting affinity with
‘ heaven.’ Their murmurs bordered on open
sedition. Alexander, undisturbed, required
the Egyptian sages, whom he esteemed as su-
perior astronomers, to disclose their sentiments
respecting the phenomenon, in the presence of
his generals, and minor officers, whom he had
summoned to head quarters. These philoso-
phers well knew, that the celestial bodies per-
form their revolutions in appointed periods of
time, and that the moon suffers an eclipse when-
ever it passes under the shadow of the earth, or
is otherwise shut out from the sun : neverthe-
less, they withheld from the multitude the true
cause of the appearance ; affirming, ‘ That the
‘ sun was the planet of Greece ; as the moon
‘ was of Persia, — and that a lunar eclipse por-
‘ tended the slaughter and overthrow of the
‘ Barbarians.’ In confirmation, they recited
ancient accounts of Persian kings, who had
been warned by occultations of the moon,
‘ That to fight were to rebel against the gods.’
Nothing has more influence over the many than
superstition. The populace — otherwise turbu-
lent, cruel, and fickle — when carried away by a
solemn imposture, yield that obedience to
soothsayers which they refuse to their rulers.
Thus the answer of the Egyptians, circulated
among the soldiers, revived their drooping

hopes, and inspired them with new confidence.

40. Alexander, availing himself of their ardour, decamped at the second watch : marching with the Tigris on his right, the Gordæan mountains on his left*. Proceeding in this direction, he was informed by his scouts that Darius was approaching. He therefore, having formed the order of battle, led in person the van. But it was a flying body of about a thousand Persians, left behind to maraude, that had been mistaken for an army. Thus, when circumstances cannot be accurately measured, fear magnifies the danger. The king, discovering the fact, with a small band chased the enemy, who flew precipitately ; he killed several, and took some prisoners. Parties of cavalry he then detached to gain intelligence, and to rescue from conflagration the villages fired by the

* Ptolemy agrees with Curtius in the local name. Strabo, with a slight literal difference, calls *this section of the range of Mount Zagros* the GORDYÆAN mountains. As it was then the principal seat of the *Gordæans*, so it is now of the *Curds*, which are considered to be the same race of people. But the modern *Curdistan*, not confined to a line of ridges, corresponds nearly with ancient *Adiabene*; because, in the unsettled state of the frontiers of the Turkish and Persian empires, some descendants of the original mountaineers have overrun the neighbouring plains. Tribes of Curds also now occupy elevated tracks westward from *Adiabene*, marked in the map *Niphates Gordæan*, and *Masius M.* And this countenances the greater extension of the term which is required to reconcile a passage in Curtius, V, chap. i. sect. 2, with the geography of the country.

Barbarians ; who, in their retreat, had thrown burning torches on the roofs of the houses, and on the corn-stacks : before the flames could spread downwards, they were extinguished. Here were found a great quantity of grain, and an abundance of other useful stores*. This stimulated the soldiers to press close upon the enemy, whom they “ must check in the work “ of destruction, or every thing will be consumed.”—Impending distress converted them to reason. Mazæus, who before devastated at leisure, now satisfied to escape, abandoned to the invaders substantial resources, for the major part untouched.

Alexander now discovered that Darius was distant but one hundred and fifty stadia. Therefore, that he might store up, to redundancy, every kind of provisions, he remained four days in the same station.

41. Letters, at this time, were intercepted from Darius to the Greeks in the Macedonian

* Concurring indications of a fertile country. Alexander has just passed into the upper part of *Assyria Proper*, or *Adiabene*.—“ Surrounded, on the North and East, by lofty mountains, from which flow several great rivers, and a vast number of lesser streams, this tract of country, and particularly that part of it North of the Little Zab, has been in every age a rich and productive province ; and it still continues to supply Bagdad, Mosul, and the other cities, with corn, cattle, cheese, butter, and dried fruits, and almost every other kind of provision.”—KINNEIR'S *Geogr. Memoir on Persia*, p. 295.

army, urging them, ‘ Either to kill, or to betray the king.’ Alexander had it in meditation to read these letters to the assembled army, as he felt entire reliance on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks. But Parmenio dissuaded him : ‘ It is inexpedient to infuse such temptations into the minds of soldiers ; the king would thus be committed to the treason of any individual ; and avarice does not scruple at a crime.’ The counsel was adopted.

Now Alexander broke up his encampment. In the course of the march, one of the eunuchs who attended the consort of Darius, reported, that, seized with illness, she scarcely respired. Worn down with sorrow, and the fatigue of incessant travelling, the queen had swooned in the arms of her mother-in-law and her two daughters. Presently a second messenger announced that she was dead. Not less afflicted than if the melancholy information had related to his mother, the king passionately sobbed : a torrent of tears escaped him, as though he had been Darius. He immediately repaired to the tent, in which the mother of Darius was sitting by the corpse. When the king beheld the deceased queen stretched on the ground, the violence of his grief returned. The mother of Darius, reminded by the present calamity of past misfortunes, strained to her bosom the two

royal virgins; in mutual distress, they were *her* powerful supporters, to whom she owed consolation. At her side stood the infant prince*, the most affecting object for commiseration, inasmuch as he was yet insensible of calamities in which he had the deepest share. A witness of Alexander's sorrow might have supposed him to be a mourner among his own relatives, and that, instead of administering, he needed comfort. During an interval he fasted. He appointed a splendid funeral in the Persian manner. How worthy does he seem, by courtesy and continence, of the reward which he afterwards obtained! Darius' consort he saw but once, at the commencement of her captivity; and then it was rather Darius' mother, than her, that he visited. Her matchless beauty he regarded, not as an incentive to violation, but as inviting him to display the true lustre of a conqueror.

42. In the alarm created by the mournful occurrence, a domestic eunuch of the queen, named Tyriotes, escaped through a gate, guarded with the less vigilance, because it was in the rear of the camp. Arrived at the Persian quar-

* Ochus, the son of Darius, now almost eight years old. With the princesses and queens, he had been a captive almost two years.

ters, and arrested by the centinels, he was conducted to the royal marquee, uttering lamentations and rending his garments. Darius, when he beheld him, agitated with complicated presentiments of occasions for grief, doubtful what weightiest ill to fear, thus spoke: "Thy countenance is charged with some overwhelming disaster: conceal nothing from a disciple of adversity; for I have learned to be unhappy; to know the full measure of calamity, is a consolation. Speak, then! Hast thou to announce (what I most suspect and dread to name) the violation of my wife and daughters; to me, and I believe to them, more shocking than the last torture?" Tyriotes replied: "The gods forbid it! No, Sir, all the sacred respect which subjects can pay to queens, is preserved to yours by the conqueror: but your royal consort a few hours since resigned her life." While, at this, the tent resounded with lamentations, which spread through the camp,—Darius, concluding that she had been killed for refusing to yield up her honour, frantic with agony, exclaimed: "What is my crime, Alexander? Which of your relatives have I destroyed, that you should thus requite me with barbarity? You have been my unprovoked enemy: but admitting your

“ war to be just, ought it to fall on women?” Hereupon Tyriotes swore, by the gods of Persia, ‘ That no severity had been offered her : ‘ nay, Alexander deeply lamented her death, ‘ showing as much emotion as his sovereign, ‘ her royal husband, could have shown.’ These words increased the perturbation of Darius, who misconstrued the motive of Alexander’s attention to his captive queen, suspecting a criminal intimacy. Having, therefore, dismissed every one from his presence, except Tyriotes, able to repress his tears, but not his sighs, he uttered these words : “ Look to thyself, Tyriotes ! You “ must not delude me with lies : the torture is “ at hand to wring the truth from thee. I conjure thee, by the gods, relieve me from suspense ! If thou still veneratest thy king, tell “ what I am impatient to know, and ashamed “ to inquire. Did the youthful conqueror “ dare”——? Tyriotes, offering his body to the rack, called the gods to witness, ‘ That the ‘ uniform virtue of the queen had been inviolably-respected.’ At length, Darius, believing what the eunuch affirmed, veiled his head, and wept. After an interval, while tears were yet gushing, he uncovered his face, and lifting up his hands toward heaven, cries : “ Ye gods of “ my country ! my first petition is, that you

“ will confirm to myself the kingdom : but if
“ my dethronement be decreed, then I pray
“ that no other may be king of Asia, than this
“ just enemy, this humane conqueror.”

CHAP. XI.

*Darius, by a third embassy, sues for peace. The
advice of Parmenio. Alexander's reply.*

43. **ALTHOUGH** Darius, having failed in two applications* for peace, had latterly, in all his measures, contemplated only war,—yet, overcome by the virtue of his enemy, he deputed ten of his principal relatives to convey fresh overtures. Alexander, in council, admitted them to audience. The senior ambassador spoke: “ Darius, now, this third time, solicits
“ peace from Alexander. To this he is not
“ compelled by necessity, but drawn by admiration of your clemency and continence.
“ Under so generous a conqueror, my master
“ regarded his mother, wife, and children, as
“ captives, no farther than as he felt the

“ want of their society. You shield, with paternal attentions, the virtues of his surviving relatives: you honour them as queens, leaving undiminished the splendour which belonged to their former fortunes. I read in your face as much concern as the features of Darius expressed when we left his presence: yet he mourns for a wife—you for an enemy: Were you not detained by funeral charities to her remains, now you would lead the marshalled battle. Is it surprising, if Darius, overcome by such benignity, desires peace? What occasion is there for arms, when enmity has subsided. Up to the river Halys, on the frontier of Lydia, he heretofore offered you empire. Now he tenders you all the provinces between the Hellespont and the Euphrates, as a dowry with his daughter in marriage. His son Ochus he offers to leave in your hands as a hostage for his faithful adherence to peace. Should you be willing to restore to him, with his mother, both his virgin daughters, he entreats you to accept three thousand talents of gold*. Well assured of your moderation, I venture to suggest, that it were your interest, at this conjuncture, not only to entertain, but to anticipate an appli-

* The Latin copies have here *thirty thousand* talents of gold: but in the subsequent speech of Parmenio, recapitulating the offers of Darius, they have *three thousand*.

“ cation for peace. Look backward over the vast
“ countries in your rear, and contemplate the
“ expanse which remains unconquered. An
“ enormous empire is necessarily insecure; the
“ hand with difficulty holds an object too big
“ to grasp; ships of unwieldy bulk refuse to be
“ managed. I am ready to attribute the multi-
“ plied losses of Darius to the number of un-
“ defended points, which, in possessions too
“ extended, invite attack. Some things are
“ easier to acquire than to retain. We snatch
“ by one movement, what we struggle in vain
“ to keep. Even the death of my master’s
“ consort abridges the field which you had for
“ the exercise of magnanimous generosity.”

44. Alexander now desired the legation to withdraw: And he required his council to pronounce what might be expedient. All the members remained silent a considerable time, no one daring to deliver his opinion, lest it should not coincide with the king’s. At length, Parmenio spoke to this effect: “ Sir! I, heretofore*,
“ moved you to accept a ransom for the cap-
“ tives taken at Damascus, by which a consi-
“ derable supply of money would have been
“ obtained; whereas, merely to guard the pri-
“ soners, employs a number of brave men.

* Arrian relates that Parmenio gave this advice, when the second letter of Darius reached Alexander at Tyre.

“ And I now think that it would be judicious
“ to exchange an old woman and two young
“ girls, (incumbrances retarding the army,)
“ for three thousand talents of gold. Further,
“ a noble empire is attainable by a compact
“ which will terminate the risk and fatigue of
“ war: no monarch before you has possessed
“ the range of country, extending from the
“ Ister to the remote Euphrates. In truth,
“ Sir, it were desirable that your views should
“ revert home to Macedon, rather than excursion
“ to Bactriana and India.” This speech was
heard with displeasure by the king; who,
as soon as it was concluded, said: “ Thus
“ should I prefer money to glory, were I Par-
“ menio: but Alexander cannot do a merce-
“ nary act. Be assured, I will not sell my fu-
“ ture fortunes. If it be expedient to restore
“ the captives, let us liberate them without
“ ransom.”

45. The ambassadors readmitted, the king pronounced his answer: “ You will inform
“ Darius, that such of my acts as he ascribes
“ to clemency and liberality, were not intended
“ to court his friendship, but were tributes to
“ humanity. With captives and with women I
“ am not at war. But let my deadly foe remain
“ armed; so it behoves him. Were he at length
“ sincere in suing for peace, perhaps I might

“ deliberate whether to grant it: but since he
“ has attempted, by largesses, to suborne my
“ friends to become my murderers, and my sol-
“ diers, to revolt, it is my part—not to meet
“ him as I would a just enemy, but to hunt him
“ down as an assassin who lives by the bowl and
“ dagger. Should I accept the conditions of
“ peace which you bring, it were to acknow-
“ ledge him conqueror. All that lies behind
“ the Euphrates he liberally offers me. Where
“ do you meet me to receive this audience? I
“ have passed the Euphrates. My camp stands
“ beyond the limits which Darius offers me
“ as a portion with his daughter. Drive me
“ hence, that I may be sensible that you cede
“ what is your own. With equal generosity,
“ your master proposes to give me his daugh-
“ ter, whom he would else marry to one of his
“ slaves. It is flattering to be preferred to
“ Mazæus, as a son-in-law. Depart, therefore,
“ and repeat to your monarch, that all the do-
“ minions that he has lost, and all that he re-
“ tains, are rewards which await success in bat-
“ tle. This must determine the boundaries of
“ both empires: each of us must be content
“ with what the fortune of to morrow shall as-
“ sign.”

The ambassadors replied, ‘ That as war
‘ dwelt immovably in his mind, he acted can-

‘ didly in not deluding them with expectations
‘ of peace. They, therefore, desired permission
‘ to return to their sovereign, since it was ne-
‘ cessary that he should likewise prepare for
‘ battle.’ Having been dismissed, they report-
ed to Darius, ‘ That he was on the eve of an
‘ engagement.’

CHAP. XII.

*Order of battle and amount of the Persian army.
Panic of the Macedonians. Alexander encamps
on the hill evacuated by Mazæus.*

46. **THE** king of Persia immediately detached Mazæus with three thousand cavalry, to secure the passes.

Alexander, having attended to their close the obsequies of the queen, left in his camp the heavy baggage under the protection of a small guard, and advanced against the enemy. He conducted his foot in two divisions, his cavalry covering the wings: the waggon train moved in the rear.

Alexander directed Menidas to go forward, with some squadrons on the gallop, and examine the position of Darius. This partizan, having approached the post which Mazæus oc-

cupied, not daring to advance further, returned, and declared, that he could ascertain nothing, having merely heard the clamour of voices, and the neighing of horses.

Mazæus, on his part, perceiving the Macedonian scouts at a distance, repaired to the Persian camp, to announce the approach of the enemy. Darius, desirous to decide the conflict in the open plains, summoned his forces to arms, and marshalled them in order of battle. In the left wing moved a thousand Bactrian horse; as many Dahæ; four thousand Arachosians and Susians, — attached to this division, fifty chariots armed with sithes: Bessus, next to the chariots, with eight thousand Bactrian horse, and two thousand Massagetæ: After this column, the infantry of several nations, not intermixed, but in distinct corps*: Following these, Ariobarzanes and Orobates led the native Persians, with the Mardians and Sogdians; these two generals had their respective posts, — while Orsines commanded in chief: he was descended from one of the seven Persian princes†; and he traced his pedigree to Cyrus, the founder of the empire: In succession, marched other nations,

The Persians keep the different nations, in their armies, in separate bodies. — SPELMAN'S *Cyrus*, vol. i. p. 89.

† See ante, p. 163. Orsines might claim Cyrus as an ancestor, by the maternal line.

imperfectly known to the people with whom they acted. Phradates led a powerful levy of Caspians, supported by fifty war chariots: Then came the Indian contingent; and bands from several tribes seated on the coast of the Red Sea, mere names, rather than auxiliaries: After this train moved another savage horde, who brought fifty chariots: Then the troops contributed by the Less Armenia: The line was continued by the Babylonians, the *Arbelitæ**, and soldiers from the Cossæan mountains: Next, the *Görtuans*; originally settlers from *Eubœa*, who having formerly emigrated with a returning army of Medes, had degenerated, retaining neither in language nor manners any vestiges of Grecian extraction: There followed the *Phrygians* and *Cataonians*. The rear was closed by the *Parthians*, then inhabiting the tract which [other] *Parthians*, come [later] from *Scythia*, now occupy. Such was the order of the left wing†.

47. The right was formed of levies from the

* The MSS. and edit. have *Belitæ*, of which the best explanation offered by the commentators is: "Probably a select corps deriving their name from *Belus*." But as all the other names of corps enumerated are *provincial*, this will scarcely be deemed satisfactory: the translator ventures to substitute *Arbelitæ*, that is, "inhabitants of the district of *Arbela*."

† The Greek mercenaries, of whom *Curtius* makes here no mention, *Arrian*, on the authority of *Aristobulus*, places in the centre, flanking the household troops. The remnant of the Greeks must have been inconsiderable. See ante, p. 325 n. and Book V. Sect. 31.

Greater Armenia; of the Cadusians; the Capadocians; the Syrians; the Medes. To these likewise were attached fifty armed chariots. The amount of the whole army was one hundred and forty-five thousand horse, and three hundred thousand foot*. In this array, the Persian forces advanced ten stadia: then halting, they await the enemy under arms.

* With regard to the numbers, the copies of Curtius are supposed to have been corrupted. The mss. and editions, generally, have 45,000 horse and 200,000 foot; the Geneva edition has 145,000 horse and 600,000 foot. As it is impossible to ascertain what Curtius wrote, the translator has ventured to put down an intermediate sum, at which he arrives by comparing Curtius with himself. Section 34, *supra*, states that Darius took means to make his cavalry greatly exceed the numbers at Issus. The numbers at Issus were 61,200. The translator, therefore, adopts the account of the Geneva edition, with respect to the cavalry. In estimating the sum of the infantry, he has kept in view a second aid to calculation in sect. 34; "the army was more numerous by nearly half its amount than it had been in Cilicia." He is therefore induced to offer 300,000 as the probable number of the infantry, making the aggregate 445,000; the former army was 311,200. Whoever is dissatisfied with Curtius thus conjecturally rendered uniform with himself, will look in vain to other ancient authors for satisfaction. Plutarch, without distinguishing the horse and foot, makes their total 1,000,000. Arrian musters only 40,000 cavalry, while he raises the infantry to 1,000,000. Justin has 100,000 of the former, and 600,000 of the latter. Diodorus, 200,000 horse; 800,000 foot. Orosius, 100,000 and 404,000, respectively. Disagreeing with each other, these historians yet concur, that the army at Arbela comprised levies from more warlike nations, and was essentially more numerous, than the army at Issus.

The Macedonian forces consisted of 7,000 cavalry and 40,000 infantry.

At this point of time, a panic suddenly seized the army of Alexander; fantastic dangers vibrated before their eyes, and in their breasts lurked terror. Flashing meteors, not unfrequent on nights in summer*, having the appearance of fire, flaming and relapsing around, they took for the lights of Darius' camp, and supposed that they had incautiously proceeded into the midst of the enemy's posts. Mazæus, who commanded the road, might at this hour have struck a great blow. He remained inactive on the eminence which he had seized, satisfied that he was not attacked.

Alexander, informed of the panic of his soldiers, made the signal to halt; and directed them to pile their arms, and take refreshment and rest; declaring that their precipitate fear was unfounded, the enemy at a distance. At length, recovering courage as a body, they resumed their arms. Alexander, however, deemed it proper to remain in the same place, and to fortify his camp.

48. On the following day, Mazæus, who with a select division of cavalry occupied a height overlooking the Macedonian station—it might be because his orders were merely to re-

* Summer is here opposed to winter. Petavius and Scaliger calculate the battle to have been fought about the first of October. See the year, sect. 56, *marg.*

connoitre—repaired to Darius. The Macedonians succeeded to his post, more secure than the plain, and whence they could view the array of the enemy as it proceeded. The mist enveloping the humid hills, however, while it did not preclude a general survey, prevented the Macedonians from distinguishing the separate corps, and minutely tracing their dispositions. The multitude inundated the plains; notwithstanding the distance, of so many thousands the bustling hum filled the ears.

His mind no longer unwavering, the king now balanced his own determination against the counsel of Parmenio; with consideration, admitted too late; for, after advancing so far, to return otherwise than as a victor, would expose him to destruction. Dissembling a moment of anxious hesitation, he sent forward the mercenary Pæonian horse. His infantry he kept divided in two phalanxes, flanking them by his cavalry. At length, progressive day dissipating the mist, the army of Darius was distinctly visible: The Macedonians, either from cheerfulness or impatience, as on the point of engaging, discharged a powerful shout; the Persians replied by acclamations, and the woods and valleys contiguous rung with an appalling sound.

The Macedonians were with difficulty re-

strained from rushing to the charge. Alexander deemed it more judicious, remaining on the hill, to fortify his camp. He directed an entrenchment: this promptly completed, he withdrew to his tent, whence he could survey the marshalled army of the enemy.

CHAP. XIII.

Preludes to the battle in both armies. The Macedonian order of battle. Alexander's address to his troops.

49. **HERE**, a panorama of the approaching conflict presented itself to Alexander's view. Horses, as well as men, habited in superb coats of mail; preparations for battle diligent and unremitting; generals riding with active zeal along the ranks of the Barbarian armies—connected with things of less moment; such as the murmurs of the multitude, the neighing of horses, and the flashing of arms—disturbed his mind, anxiously revolving plans for the expected action.

Indecisive, or desirous to sound his officers, he summoned a council, requiring them to pronounce what seemed best to be done. Parme-

nio, the most accomplished of his generals :
“ Rather than a pitched battle, I advise re-
“ course to stratagem. In the dead silence of
“ the night the enemy may be overwhelmed :
“ for nations so discordant in language and
“ customs, attacked in their sleep, terrified by
“ unexpected danger and by formidable dark-
“ ness, will plunge tumultuously together, un-
“ able to form. But were the Scythians and
“ Bactrians encountered in the day-time, their
“ faces hideously rough, their untrimmed ropes
“ of hair, together with their monstrous sta-
“ ture, may scare your soldiers, more affected
“ by imaginary than by rational causes of fear.
“ Moreover, in a set battle, our small force
“ may be surrounded by so vast a multitude ;
“ for we have not to fight in the narrow de-
“ files of Cilicia, but on an open and extended
“ plain.” Almost all concurred with Parmenio.
And Polysperchon, in a positive tone, declared,
that the victory depended on executing what
Parmenio had suggested. The king, fixing his
eye on Polysperchon, (for Parmenio, on whom
he had been unintentionally severe in the late
council, he wished to spare,) then spoke : “ To
“ robbers and way-layers belongs darkness ; for
“ their aim is concealment. But my glory
“ shall not uniformly be diminished — either by
“ the absence of Darius, or by the streitness

“ of the field, or by stealing a victory in the
“ night. I am determined on an open attack.
“ I would rather have to lament failure, than
“ to be ashamed of success. On the other
“ hand, my intelligence states, that the Per-
“ sians mount reliefs of guards, and remain
“ under arms, so that it were impossible to sur-
“ prize them. For battle, therefore, keep your-
“ selves prepared.” With this charge, he dis-
missed them to take refreshment.

50. Darius, conjecturing that the enemy were on the point of acting as Parmenio had recommended, gave orders, ‘ That the horses
‘ should stand ready bridled, and a great part
‘ of the forces constantly on duty *, and that
‘ the nightly watches should be kept with ex-
‘ traordinary care.’ Fires illuminated his whole camp; and he in person, with his generals and relatives, rode around the divisions which were under arms. ‘ The sun, whom the Persians
‘ denominate *Mithres*, and the *sacred and eter-
‘ nal fire*,’ Darius invoked, ‘ to inspire his army
‘ with heroism worthy the exploits and glory
‘ of their ancestors.’ And he affirmed, ‘ That,

* This unusual measure; the gloomy silence, with the anxious expectation and fatigue of a restless night, discouraged and exhausted the spirits of the whole army, and infused double terror into those who had witnessed the miserable disasters on the banks of the Granicus and the Pinarus. *Gillies*, after *Arrian*.

‘ if human discernment could read tokens of
‘ celestial aid, the gods were their allies. They
‘ had lately struck with a panic the Macedoni-
‘ ans, who, still oppressed with imaginary ter-
‘ rors, were throwing down their arms. The
‘ time had arrived when the guardian deities of
‘ Persia would punish those maniacs; who had
‘ a leader not their superior in intellect,—As
‘ wild beasts are wont, he was so intent on his
‘ prey, that he had fallen into the snare set be-
‘ fore it.’

In equal solicitude, the Macedonians pass a fearful night, as though the battle were every moment to begin. Alexander himself, never more diffident of his fortune, summoned Aristander to consecrate vows and prayers. The hierophant, habited in white, bearing in his hand sacred herbs, with his head veiled, addressed, jointly with the king, propitiating petitions to Jove, Minerva, and the goddess of victory. When Alexander had finished the rite of sacrifice, he retired to his tent, to dedicate the remainder of the night to repose. But he could not sleep; nor could he intermit the anxious workings of thought. Now, from the ridge of the hill, he meditated to charge the right flank of the Persians; now to drive, with a square front, directly on their centre; now to lead his army obliquely against their left wing.

At length sleep closed his eyes, heavy with mental fatigue.

51. At the dawn of day, the officers, repairing to his tent to receive orders, witnessed with astonishment unusual silence:—He had been accustomed to send for them, sometimes reproving their delay—Now, the decisive crisis impending, he was not risen. Some suspected, that he was not oppressed by sleep, but by fear. None of his guards might presume to enter his tent—although the moment for action was at hand; nor durst the troops take arms, or form into ranks, without their leader's order. After waiting long, Parmenio directed the soldiers to refresh. Circumstances now requiring them to march out [of their entrenched position], Parmenio at length went into the tent: Having pronounced the king's name repeatedly, without effect, he awakened him with his hand: “It is broad day, Sir! The enemy approaches us, arrayed for battle; while your soldiers, not under arms, want your orders. Where is that vigour of mind, which was accustomed to anticipate the most early?” Alexander replied: “Do you imagine that I could enjoy repose before I had subdued solicitude?” He immediately directed the signal to be made for battle. And when Parmenio went on to express his amazement that the king

could have slept so securely,—“ It is easily explained,” said Alexander; “ for while Darius was firing the country, razing the villages, and destroying the provisions, I was not master of serenity: but, now, what should I fear, when he offers me battle? He has summated my wish. But let us postpone explanation. Meanwhile, each of you! repair to your posts, where I shall be present to give you orders.”

Rarely—and then more through the entreaties of his friends, than the apprehension of danger—did he fortify himself in mail. Having put on his armour, he joined the soldiers. They had never seen him so cheerful; and, from his intrepid countenance, they augured victory. Having advanced out of the levelled works, the king drew up his forces.

52. On the right flank is stationed an *agema** (or chosen squadron) of horse, commanded by Clitus: to these were joined the troops of Philotas, and cavalry under other officers. The inner wing of horse was terminated by the troops of Meleager. Next in succession,

* The same term was sometimes applied to a select battalion of foot. Varying with occasions, *agemata* sometimes contained 300, sometimes 3000, men.—Plutarch. in *Eumene*, Diod. lib. xix. Liv. lib. iv. 2. and lib. xxxvii. 40. Polyb. lib. v. 65. Ptolem. *passim*; and Arrian, lib. v.

stood the phalanx. Adjoining the phalanx, the *Argyraspides** were posted, commanded by Nicanor, the son of Parmenio. To these, the division under Cœnos acted as a reserve.—Next, were ranged the Orestæ and the Lyncestæ. Then the foreign corps commanded by Polysperchon, as the deputy of Amyntas. Philagus led the Balacri†, who had recently acceded to the alliance. Such was the order of the RIGHT WING. [And of the CENTRE‡.] On the left

* *Argyraspides*, i. e. *bearers of silver shields*; a corps of light infantry, in number about 3000. They carried a small buckler shaped like an ivy-leaf. — *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*. 2de. Edit. p. 454.

† If *Balacri* be a NATIONAL appellative of a small corps, the situation of the country which furnished it has not been ascertained. Raderus, on the authority of Strabo, states, that the inhabitants of Myconé were called φαλαχρεις, *bald-heads*, which in the Macedonian language was changed into βαλαχρεις. [*Balacrois*.] Other commentators suppose *Balacri* to be the name of a regiment derived from the officer who embodied or had commanded it, as we say, in English, *Granby's horse*, or the regiment of *Abercrombie*; and there was an officer in the Macedonian army named *Balacrus*: but these seem to be discountenanced by the words of the context, “acceded to the alliance.” And the same words no less repel a CONJECTURAL EMENDATION of Freinshemius of which the translation is,—“*Balacrus* directed the Phrygians:” because Phrygia as a province had long submitted to Alexander, *ante*, pp. 207, 219, 271; and the army of Phrygians previously embodied remained with Darius, *ante*, p. 425. May not the *Balacri* have come from the *Balæaric Isles*, as a dependency of Sidon? Those Isles were peopled from Phœnicia.

‡ The translator supplies these words, as assisting explanation; Curtius rarely distinguishes the centre, prolonging the wings till they

of the army, Craterus directed the cavalry of the Peloponnesians, the Achaians, and the Locrians; to which were joined a squadron of Maliens*. On these closed the Thessalian horse, commanded by Philip. Such was the arrangement of the LEFT WING. Alexander, that he might not be surrounded by the adverse multitude, placed behind his main lines a strong division of Illyrians, Greek mercenaries, and light-armed Thracians, in a semicircle, facing to the rear: other bodies of reserve—the Agrians, under Attalus; and the Cretan archers—strengthened the wings, facing sideways. These provisions were made by the Macedonian leader, that if the enemy should attempt to turn the army, he might encounter a prepared opposition. The Thracians had so versatile an order, that they were ready to support the last line, or act with the van. The front was not more fortified than the flanks, nor the flanks better protected than the rear.

53. The forces, thus marshalled, received orders, ‘That if the Barbarians shouted on ‘propelling the armed chariots, the ranks, pre-

meet. See ante, p. 314, n. As the left wing, here, consists entirely of horse, all the infantry of the right may be referred to the centre.

* Probably a force contributed by the city Malieus in Thessaly; an independent band, distinguished from the mass of Thessalians.

‘ serving silence, were to open, and to let them
‘ whirl through, assured that they could inflict
‘ no mischief, if unopposed in their career. But
‘ if the Barbarians drove forward these engines
‘ without shouting, the soldiers were to appal
‘ them by acclamations, and launch their
‘ darts into the horses, restive with fright.’
The commanders of the wings were instructed,
‘ So to extend them, as to avoid being turned;
‘ without defrauding the centre of its proper
‘ support.’ The baggage, with the captives,
including the mother and children of Darius,
were left on a rising ground, at a small distance,
under a moderate guard. The left, as at other times,
was committed to Parmenio; Alexander in person
commanded the right. The armies were yet distant
beyond the range of a dart, when Bion, a deserter,
galloping up to the king, announced, ‘ That Darius
had planted iron caltrops over the ground where he
‘ expected the Macedonian horse:’ and he described
the place by an accurate mark, that they might
escape the snare. Having ordered the deserter to
be detained, Alexander summons his generals, and
imparting the information, desires them to apprise
the men of the danger, and advance by another track.

As the stunning complicated din from the two
armies, prevented his troops from hearing

in a body, Alexander rode from station to station, and thus addressed the captains, and such soldiers as stood nearest.

54. “ This is our last conflict. How many
“ regions have we traversed, looking forward
“ to the victory which we are going to achieve !
“ The river Granicus ; the ridges of Cilicia ;
“ Syria and Egypt conquered by passing
“ through them, are irresistible incitements to
“ confidence and glory. The Persian fugi-
“ tives, overtaken, attempt to fight, merely be-
“ cause they cannot fly. This is the third day
“ that they have stood under their loads of ar-
“ mour, fixed in the same position, scarcely
“ surviving their terrors. What stronger symp-
“ tom of despair can they give, than burning
“ their cities and fields, thus acknowledging,
“ that whatever they cannot destroy must fall
“ into our hands ? Their empty names for tribes
“ unknown cannot scare brave men ; nor does
“ it concern the decision of the war, to know
“ who are called Scythians or Cadusians. Ob-
“ scurity is the lot of the ignoble. Heroes do
“ not dwell in oblivion. But unwarlike hordes,
“ dragged from their dens, bring into the field
“ nothing but a savage name. To such emi-
“ nence in manly virtue have you arrived, that
“ there is not a spot in the whole earth igno-
“ rant of the Macedonians. Observe the ill-

“ appointed corps of the Barbarians: Some
“ have no weapon but a dart; others poise
“ stones in a sling; few of them have proper
“ arms. There stands the greater crowd; here,
“ the stronger army. Nor do I call you to ex-
“ ercise intrepidity, unless you see me, an ex-
“ ample to other soldiers, combating in front of
“ the banners. As many scars as I gain, I num-
“ ber so many ornaments of my body. You
“ well know, that, contented with a small share
“ of spoil, I expend the rewards of victory to
“ honour and enrich you. This I have said to
“ the brave. If there are any others here, let
“ them know, that having advanced hither, it
“ is impossible to retreat. Such is the expanse
“ of country to be retraced; so multiplied are
“ the rivers and mountains obstructing return;
“ that to our native land and household gods
“ a passage can be cut no otherwise than by the
“ sword.”

CHAP. XIV.

The speech of Darius to his army.

55. DARIUS, posted in the left wing*, was environed by a strong column of chosen horse and foot. He viewed with disdain the small numbers of his antagonist; considering him to have enfeebled his line by the elongation of the wings. Conspicuously seated in his lofty car, with looks and gesticulations directed to the troops on the right and left, he commanded attention to his words: “ Recently, lords of all
“ the climes from the Hellespont to the ocean,
“ we have now to fight, not for glory, but for
“ safety; and, what we prize above safety, li-
“ berty. This day will establish or terminate
“ the largest empire that any age has known.
“ At the Granicus, an inferior proportion of our
“ forces were engaged: when vanquished in
“ Cilicia, we were covered by Syria; and the
“ Euphrates and the Tigris served as bulwarks
“ to our dominions — — But if we cannot
“ make a stand here, no place of retreat re-

* This may be reconciled with the accounts of Arrian and Plutarch, who place him in the centre. See ante, p. 314, n.

“ mains ; by continued armaments, every thing
“ in our rear is exhausted,—the cities are unin-
“ habited, the earth is deprived of cultivators.
“ Our wives and children, who have followed
“ the levies, are but so many spoils prepared
“ for the enemy, unless we interpose our bodies
“ as a rampart before those dearest objects and
“ pledges of affection. On my part, I have
“ collected an army, such as the largest plains
“ can scarcely contain. I have furnished it
“ with horses and arms, and victualled it abun-
“ dantly. Lastly ; I have selected a field of
“ battle where our whole line may act. The
“ rest depends on yourselves. Dare to con-
“ quer, and you will conquer. The enemy’s
“ reputation, a frail weapon against determined
“ men, despise. You have hitherto feared, as
“ intrepidity, mere temerity, which, when the
“ first furious fit is exhausted, drops inert, like
“ an animal that has lost its sting. These spa-
“ cious plains expose the scantiness of the ene-
“ my, which the Cilician mountains concealed.
“ You perceive thin ranks, wire-drawn wings,
“ a centre quite drained. With regard to their
“ last line,—it faces to the rear, in readiness to
“ fly. Ye gods ! were I barely to send among
“ them my armed chariots, they might be tram-
“ pled to death by the horses. All the victo-
“ ries of the war will be transferred to us, if we
“ gain this battle. They have no place of re-

“ fuge; here the Tigris, there the Euphrates,
“ bars them in. Their acquisitions will con-
“ duce to their ruin; a heavy booty impedes
“ their operations, while our army moves with
“ expeditious freedom. Entangled in spoils
“ won from us, they may be overwhelmed;
“ and the same thing which will cause our
“ triumph, will reward it. If the name of a
“ people startles any among you, recollect that
“ the arms, without the persons, of the Macedo-
“ nians are there; for blood has mutually flow-
“ ed, and the comparative destruction falls
“ more severely on the less numerous army.
“ However Alexander may strike the inactive
“ and the timid, he is but an individual, and,
“ if I can estimate him, rash and absurd, hi-
“ therto successful more through our irresolu-
“ tion than his own courage. Nothing can be
“ permanent which is not built on moderation;
“ and though he appears to prosper, ultimate
“ punishment awaits his presumption. The
“ tenor of all things is subject to sudden vicis-
“ situdes, and there is no unmixed felicity. It
“ may be the will of the gods, that the Persian
“ empire, which a career of success during two
“ hundred and thirty years, elevated to the
“ highest grandeur, should by a mighty shock
“ be chastised rather than overthrown, to re-
“ mind us of human frailty, too seldom advert-
“ ed to in prosperity. It was recently that we

“ carried war into Greece ; now we have to re-
“ sist the invasion of our native land : thus are
“ we tossed by the mutability of fortune ; for
“ universal empire, which both parties affect,
“ eludes the grasp of either. Admitting we
“ cannot hope to recover all, let our extremity ;
“ incapable of aggravation, animate us. My
“ mother, my daughters, my son Ochus, heir
“ to these dominions, with several princes of
“ the blood, and your commanders, equal in
“ dignity to kings, wear the conqueror’s chains.
“ The greater part of me languishes in cap-
“ tivity, but I have reliance on you. Liberate
“ my children ; restore me those pledges for
“ which I am willing to die, my children, my
“ mother, — for I have lost my wife in that pri-
“ son. Perceive how they all lift up their
“ hands, imploring the aid of our national gods,
“ and calling on your commiseration, attach-
“ ment, and courage, to release them from ser-
“ vitude, fetters, and precarious sustenance.
“ Can you believe they contentedly obey
“ whom they would disdain to govern ? But
“ the enemy approaches, and the closer danger
“ comes, the less what I have said satisfies me.
“ By our guardian deities, by the eternal fire
“ carried before us on altars, by the dazzling
“ sun which rises within the limits of my do-
“ minions, by the immortal memory of Cyrus,
“ who transferred the empire from the Medes

“ and Lydians to the Persians ; I conjure you
 “ to vindicate our name and nation from the
 “ last disgrace. Full of cheerfulness and con-
 “ fidence, begin the charge, that you may
 “ transmit the glory received from your ances-
 “ tors undiminished to posterity. In your
 “ right hands, you bear liberty, power, and
 “ every future reliance. Whoever despises
 “ death, escapes it; the trembling only are cut
 “ off. I ride in a chariot, not merely to comply
 “ with a national custom, but to be seen by the
 “ army; and I do not restrain you from imi-
 “ tating me, as I furnish an example, either of
 “ weakness or bravery.”

CHAP. XV.

The battle of Arbela.*

56. MEANWHILE, Alexander, to avoid the
Olymp. cxii. 2., ensnaring artifice, disclosed by the
A. C. 331. deserter, made a circuit. Further,
Ætat. Alex. 26. that he might encounter Darius,
Reg. 6. who directed the left wing, he
 • caused his army to advance obliquely. Da-
 rius, in the same manner, moved to meet him ;

* It is material to recollect that the field where the two armies encounter is distant full 50 miles from Arbela, the place after which the battle is named. Gaugamela stood about half-way between the scene of action and Arbela. Compare with p. 406, ADDITIONAL NOTE (N), pp. 407, 408, 412, 413, 423, 427, 429.

having detached Bessus with the Massagetan horse, to charge in flank Alexander's left wing. The armed chariots, which preceded Bessus, on a signal, were discharged in concert against the enemy; driven under a loose rein, that greater numbers, taken unprepared, might be destroyed by the velocity of the shock,—some were dispatched by the pikes projecting from the poles, others were mutilated by the sithes fixed laterally. The Macedonians did not gradually recede, but broke their ranks to fly. Mazæus, also, to increase their consternation, sent round a thousand horse to plunder their baggage; and he expected that the captives, guarded together with it, would, on the appearance of their friends, terminate their confinement.

Of this transaction, Parmenio, who commanded the left wing, was apprised; he therefore sent Polydamas in haste to the king, to represent the danger, and to receive his orders. “Return,” said Alexander, “and tell Parmenio, that if we gain the victory, we shall not only recover our own, but capture all the enemy's baggage. Therefore, let him not weaken the line, but continue fighting manfully, and, agreeably to the practice of me and my father Philip, despise the loss of the baggage.”

Meanwhile, the Barbarians were pillaging the camp. The prisoners, having broken their

fetters, and killed the greater part of their guards, armed themselves with whatever was at hand, and, in conjunction with the cavalry, fell upon the Macedonians, who were now exposed to complicated mischief. Several liberated, exulting, acquainted Sisygambis, that Darius was victorious; and that the enemy, defeated with stupendous slaughter, at length had lost all their spoils: for they concluded, that their countrymen, having had everywhere equal fortune, were now, as victors, traversing the field for plunder. Notwithstanding the liberated Persians exhorted Sisygambis to moderate her grief, yet the mourner preserved the same attitude as before, nor spoke a word, nor did her lips or countenance change colour; but she sat without motion, (I believe fearing that precipitate joy might provoke fortune,) so that the spectators could not form a judgment of her inclination.

57. During these proceedings, Amyntas, a field-officer in the Macedonian cavalry, either by his own act, or by Alexander's order, brought a few troops to support the party with the baggage. But unable to sustain the shock of the Cadusians and Scythians, after a short skirmish, he repaired to the king, having rather witnessed than obstructed the loss of the baggage. Alexander's dissatisfaction disturbed his decision; he

he became apprehensive that impatience to regain their property might make the soldiers quit the line; he therefore detached against the Scythians Aretes with the pikemen denominated *sarissophori**.

Meanwhile, armed chariots (which had broken several companies near the beginning of the line) were driven against the phalanx. The Macedonians, unintimidated, admitted them; the soldiers which had wheeled, stood as a bulwark in a double line, and with coöperating spears, stabbed in the belly the horses on each side as they rushed on at random: then surrounding the arrested machines, they precipitated to the ground those who defended them. Such was the slaughter of horses and charioteers, that the space was filled up; no longer governable, the affrighted animals, by reiterated plungings, broke the harness, and overturned the vehicles. Wounded horses yoked to horses slain, were too weak to drag forward, and too wild with pain and terror to stand still. A few, however, of the chariots penetrated to the rear; as many men as were struck by them met a miserable death; of the sufferers, notwithstanding the

* The *sarissa*, one of the weapons of the Macedonian phalanx, was a pike about twenty-one feet long. ¹See Leland's *History of Philip*, vol. i. p. 82, *et seq.* edit. 1775. The shorter *sarissa*, carried by some descriptions of cavalry, was a javelin.

ground was strewed with their dissevered limbs, several, feeling little anguish from their wounds, while they continued heated, did not resign their weapons, till, through excessive bleeding, they fell down lifeless.

58. Aretes, having killed the captain of the Scythians that were pillaging the baggage, pressed severely upon them :—But the Bactrians arriving, once more turned the fortune of the fight ; many Macedonians were trodden down at the first charge, the greater part fled back to Alexander. Hereupon the Persians, shouting in the manner of victors, rush furiously upon the enemy, as though their defeat had been universal. Those that had yielded to fear, Alexander reproved and exhorted, renewing himself the languishing fight : Having thus reinvigorated them, he commanded them to return to the attack.

The Persian right wing was most slender in that part whence the Bactrians* had been de-

* According to sect. 46, ante, the post of the Bactrians is in the left wing : but as no centre is described, and as they stood on the right extremity of that wing, one of the slightest evolutions required in battle, or the transfer to another commander without a change of place, would make them part of the right wing. It is merely justice to Curtius to recollect, that the disparity between the two armies was not less than ten to a unit ; so that the right and left of the shorter line could not correspond directly to the left and right of the longer parallel : Either of the Persian wings might cover much more ground

tached to seize the baggage. Alexander therefore attacked their defrauded ranks, with slaughtering execution. Now the left wing of the enemy, expecting to enclose Alexander, fell on his rear. Committed between two hostile bodies, his peril had been great, had not the Agrian cavalry charged the Barbarians that invested him, and forced them to face about to defend themselves. Thus a double front was seen in both armies; both assailing and assailed on the van and rear.

The Bactrians, now returning with a booty of baggage, could not recover their post; the greater part of their squadrons, separating, engaged Macedonian corps wherever chance brought them in collision.

As the main-bodies are closing on each other, the rival kings inflame the battle. At this time, more of the Persians had been slain; the number of the wounded was nearly equal. Darius fought in a car, Alexander on a horse: both sovereigns were guarded by select troops, who would have found their own safety a burden, if deprived of their prince, and would have esteemed it glorious to fall in his presence: Those nearest the king were most involved in

than the Macedonian army; and much of each Persian wing must have been disposable to any new station in or out of the line, having no opponents immediately in front.

danger, as every one of the adverse party sought the honour of killing him.

59. Whether it were an optical illusion, or a real appearance, Alexander's guards believed that they saw an eagle hovering over his head: unscared by the clashing of arms or the groans of dying men, it long appeared to accompany their leader, suspended rather than flying. Aristander, habited in white, and bearing a laurel in his right hand, pointed out to the soldiers, whose attention was absorbed by the fight, this bird, the infallible omen of victory. The drooping were animated to high confidence and intrepidity; these received another impulse when the charioteer of Darius was transfixed with a spear: Neither the Macedonians nor the Persians doubted, that it was the king who fell. Loud acclamations and barbarous howlings disturbed both lines, which had hitherto fought with almost equal advantage. The corps of relatives and domestic guards on the left, in crowds deserted the car, which those on the right received into the middle of their division. Darius, with his sword drawn, deliberated whether he should avoid the disgrace of flight by an honourable death. But recollecting his conspicuous station, he was ashamed to abandon his army, which had not all withdrawn from the field. While hope, half extinct, made him pause, the Persians gra-

dually yielded, and lost their order. Alexander, who had tired several chargers, fresh mounted, pierced the faces* of those that opposed him, and the backs of the flying. Now the conflict ceased — to be succeeded by a massacre : and Darius turned his car, as a fugitive. The victors hung upon the rear of the route. Clouds of dust obstructed the view. The pursuers wandered not unlike men in the dark ; rallying occasionally at a parole signal. The smacking of the reins, with which the charioteer lashed the horses of Darius' car, at intervals struck the ear, which was all the clue to pursuit.

60. But of the Macedonian left wing, directed by Parmenio, a far different fortune controlled the operations. Mazæus, with all his cavalry, in a furious charge, beset the flanks of that wing ; and now, with superior numbers, began to turn its whole line : when Parmenio despatched horsemen after Alexander, to announce his critical situation, and that, unless he received speedy succour, he should be forced to fly. Alexander had chased the enemy a considerable way, when this unwelcome intelligence overtook him. Commanding both horse and foot to halt, he exclaimed : “ The victory is “ snatched out of my hands, and Darius is more “ fortunate flying, than I am pursuing ! ”

* At the battle of Philippi, Cæsar said : “ Soldiers, strike at the face.”

Meanwhile, Mazæus received intimation of his sovereign's defeat : which occasioned him, though his force was greater, to press the daunted enemy less severely. Parmenio was ignorant why his assailants sunk into languor : but he seized the opportunity ; and riding up to the Thessalian horse : “ Do you not perceive,” said he “ that those who just now charged us so fiercely, are halting under the influence of a sudden panic ? Doubtless, our king's fortune, conquering for us, is felt here. The field is strewed with slaughtered Persians. Why are you inert ? Are you not a match for those men preparing to fly ?”

The probability of what he said, struck them, and recalled their firmness. Galloping to the assault, they drove against the enemy ; who no longer receded by degrees, but by a quick step, so that to complete their flight, nothing more was wanting than to turn their backs. As Parmenio was still uninformed what the result of the king's operations were, he held his men in. Mazæus, allowed time to retreat, repassed the Tigris, not taking the direct, but a circuitous and safer road, and reached Babylon with the remains of his routed army.

61. Darius, with a few attendants, proceeded toward the Lycus : having passed that river, he had it in contemplation to break down the bridge — — But he considered, that so many

thousands of his soldiers, not yet come to the river, would fall a prey to the enemy, were the bridge destroyed: he therefore suffered it to stand, declaring, ‘ That he had rather furnish ‘ a passage to his pursuers, than leave other fugitives destitute of one.” Having traversed a vast space, he reached Arbela about midnight.

Who can describe, who can imagine so many sports of fortune as were witnessed—the havock made of officers and soldiers; the wild haste of the vanquished; the slaughter of individuals; the massacre of whole bodies? Into a day were compressed occurrences which might fill an age. Some retreated by the shortest track; others struck into woods and bye-ways. Without leaders, infantry were intermingled with cavalry,—the armed with the unarmed,—the untouched and effective with the maimed and exhausted. But at length sympathy yielded to terror; and those who could not keep up, were abandoned amid mutual groans. Feverish thirst parched the fatigued and wounded, who flung themselves down in the ways, greedily drinking such water as gurgled along; repeated draughts out of slimy streams, soon produced constipation in the bowels, and agonizing spasm. Such of the enemy as could overtake the sufferers, roused them from a prone posture by fresh wounds on their limbs, relaxed and numb. Various fugitives, turning aside from the nearest

brooks, because they were preoccupied, drained secluded spots of water ; nor did shallow puddles escape the thirsty stragglers. Villages bordering on the road resounded with the wailings of the aged boors, and of women, calling in rustic tones, even now, on Darius as their king.

62. Alexander, when he checked his pursuit, had penetrated to the Lycus. The bridge there was choked with an immense crowd of the flying : but the greater number, as the enemy were pressing on them, plunged into the river ; where, encumbered with armour, and weak through fatigue, many sunk engulfed in the whirlpools. Not the bridge only, but the ford was too narrow for them ; whole divisions climbing over each other with headlong impatience to escape. Consternation makes men blind to dangers greater than the danger which they seek to avoid. Alexander's men requested, that they might follow and gall the enemy now retreating unmolested : but the leaders said : " Our weapons are grown blunt, our hands tired, " and our frames exhausted by so long a chase ; " and, besides, night approaches." In truth, he was in pain for his left wing, and determined to move to its support. Soon after he had faced about, messengers from Parmenio announced that his part of the army was also victorious.

Alexander had not, during the day, been exposed to greater peril than he was on his

return to the camp. The few who attended him, elated with victory, had left military order, for they concluded all that were surviving of the enemy to have fled. On a sudden appeared a corps of Persian horse, who at first halted; then, perceiving the inconsiderable force of the Macedonians, they charged them vigorously. The king advanced in front of the banners, dissembling the danger rather than despising it. Nor did his usual happiness in extremities fail; for the Persian commander, rushing on him with more ardour than address, was transfixed by his spear. Alexander killed several others who presented themselves. His *Friends* likewise fell upon the enemy, who were now in disorder. Nor did the Persians die unavenged, for the main armies fought not with more fury than the divisions thus accidentally meeting. At length, as twilight supervened, preferring retreat to combat, they escaped in separate squadrons. The king, having surmounted this extraordinary peril, conducted his men in safety to the camp.

63. On this day there fell of Persians, whom the victors could enumerate, forty thousand; and of Macedonians, less than three hundred*. The victory was gained by the hero, unassisted

* Arrian marvellously numbers the slain at 300,000 Persians, and 100 Macedonians; and of these hundred, makes sixty fall in the last casual rencontre. Diodorus states 90,000 of the Persians to have been killed. and 500 of the victors.

by favouring localities, which had once availed him against disparity. He had disposed his army skilfully; he fought valiantly. It was an act of great wisdom to disregard the loss of the baggage: the paramount object was the battle; and while it was in suspense, he acted the conqueror. He made an impression on the adverse main-body; he routed it; and—almost incredible in so impetuous a spirit—in pursuing it, he consulted prudence, rather than indulged eagerness; for had he continued the chase, while one of his divisions remained engaged, he might have been defeated through his own error, or have been indebted for rescued victory to the achievement of another. Had the returning conqueror been disconcerted, when he met unexpectedly the host of horse, he must have fled disgracefully, or have perished miserably.

Neither ought his officers to be defrauded of their merited praise; whose wounds testified their bravery. Hephæstion's arm was transfixed by a spear; Perdiccas, Cænos, and Menidas, were almost killed with arrows. If we can estimate the Macedonians of that age, we shall pronounce the king to have been worthy of his subjects; and them, of Alexander the Great.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

[A.] *Quotations from Latin Authors, respecting the Macedonians and Parthians.*

PAGE 5.—“ But seeing that this invidious sentiment has stamped upon our literature many traces of its spirit.”]—First, the elegant lines of Horace, lib. II. Ep. i. 232 . . . 244, unjustly arraign the taste of Alexander; for they represent him as indiscriminately rewarding the poetaster Chœrilus: contrary to the well-known anecdote of the compact between him and Alexander, by which he was to have a piece of gold for every verse the king approved, and a box of the ear for each of the others. The result was, that the unfortunate versifier, after reciting a long poem on the *Exploits of Alexander*, received the stipulated reward but for seven lines, and the discouraging discipline for the rest. The Great Macedonian was constantly lamenting that he could find no Homer to patronize.

This national jealousy extended even to the Conqueror's predecessor. In the third book of his *Odes*, XVI. 13. Horace says :

————— Diffidit urbium
Portas vir Macedo, et subruit æmulos
Reges muneribus.

Philip the gates of cities burst,
And rival monarchs undermin'd,
By force of gold.

And Valerius Maximus, in the same spirit, affirms, that “ Philip might be called the purchaser, rather than the conqueror of Greece.”—*Lib. VII. cap. ii. Extern. 8.*

Connected with this feeling there seems to have been a latent apprehension of the states and countries comprehended under Persia ; among whom the name of Alexander was still venerated as if he had been the restorer, and not the subverter of their ancient empire and greatness. Thus, addressing Augustus, Horace says :

Tu civitatem quis deceat status
Curas, et orbis sollicitus, times
Quid Seres, et regnata Cyro
Bactra parent, Tanaisque discors.

What attitude imperial Rome should take,
Your care decides ; and, watchful for the world,
For peace alarm'd, you wait what hostile plans
The distant Seres, or rich Bactra's court
Which Cyrus rul'd, or restless Scythian tribes
On Tanais' banks, may meditate.

Odorum, lib. III. xxix. 25.

Again, the great powers of Oriental Asia are viewed with lively interest.

Jam mari terræque manus potentes
Medus, Albanasque timet seques ;
Jam Scythæ responsa petunt superbi
Nuper, et Indi.

His arms, powerful by land and sea, the Mede
Already fears, to meet the Albanian
Battle-axe unwilling ; now fierce Scythians, too,
And haughty Indians, his resolves await,

Carmen Seculare, 101.

The prince of Roman Orators has recourse to the disingenuous artifice of unduly exalting the character of Philip, by invidious praise, merely to depress, in reviling language, that of his greater son. Speaking of both, he pronounces “ *Alter semper magnus ; alter sæpe turpissimus* ”—*the one always great ; the other often superlatively base*. (Cicero, de Offic.)

The historian Livy has many passages depreciating the lustre of Alexander's military reputation, in comparison with the celebrated, and even of some obscure, commanders of Rome; of which a specimen or two will be adduced.

"I do not deny that Alexander was a commander of consummate merit: but still his fame owes part of its lustre to his having been single in command, and to his dying young, while his affairs were advancing in improvement, and WHILE HE HAD NOT YET EXPERIENCED A REVERSE OF FORTUNE."

Drawing an imaginary picture of the possible reception the Great Macedonian would have found, had he invaded the territory of Rome, Livy thus proceeds:—"I shall enumerate the Roman commanders—and not every one of every age, but those only—with whom, either as consuls or dictators, Alexander might have been engaged:—Marcus Valerius Corvus; Caius Marcius Rutilus; Caius Sulpicius; Titus Manlius Torquatus; Quintus Publius Philo; Lucius Papius Cursor; Quintus Fabius Maximus; the two Decii; Lucius Volumnius; Manius Curius. THEN, follow a number of very extraordinary men—had it so happened, that he had engaged in war with Carthage, before he did with Rome; and had come into Italy at a more advanced period of life. EVERY ONE OF THESE was equal in powers of mind and capacity to Alexander."

"Had he come into Italy, he would have owned, that he was not dealing with Darius, who drew after him a train of women and eunuchs."

"Italy would have appeared to him a country of a quite different nature, from Asia—which he traversed in the guise of a reveller, at the head of a crew of drunkards—if he had seen the forests of Apulia, and the mountains of Lucania, with the recent vestiges of the disasters of his house, where his uncle, Alexander, king of Epirus, had been cut off."—*Baker's Livy*, ix. 17.—See much more to the same effect in *capp.* 18 et 19.

[B.] *Callisthenes' Account of the Battle of Issus.*

P. 6. n. (†).—"Polybius charges him with a total ignorance of tactics in his description of the battle of Issus."—The following fragment is a specimen of the history of Callisthenes; collected from Polybius, lib. XII. Extract 6. by omitting the unprofitable strictures which the latter had interjected. As far as the passage can be thus restored, it may be usefully compared with other narratives of the same battle.

"Alexander had already led his army through the passes which are called in Cilicia the *Gates*; when Darius, having taken his route by the *Pylæ Amanicæ*, had with his army entered Cilicia. The latter, being now informed by the people of the country that his enemy had advanced toward Syria, put himself in motion to follow him. When the Persian king arrived near the streits, [which lead into Syria,] he encamped on the banks of the *Pinarus*. The ground which he occupied contained a space of only fourteen stadia from the sea to the foot of the mountain; and the river, falling down the craggy sides of the mountain, ran obliquely through this ground, and passing over the plain, between some hills that were rough and difficult of approach, discharged itself into the sea. When afterwards Alexander counter-marched, with a design to meet his antagonist, Darius and his officers drew up their *phalanx** in order of battle upon the very ground upon which they had at first encamped; they were covered in front by the *Pinarus*, which ran close to the camp; and they posted the cavalry upon the margin of the sea; next to these the *Mercenaries* along the bank of the river; and lastly the *Peltastæ* at the foot of the mountains.

* This term is perhaps a mistake of Polybius, or the copyist of one of the works.

“ Meanwhile Alexander, being informed, after he had advanced with his army beyond the Pylæ, [into Syria,] that Darius had entered Cilicia, and was at the distance of only a hundred stadia behind him, immediately counter-marched, and re-passed the streits; making the phalanx his advanced guard, covering his main-body with the cavalry, with the baggage in the rear. As soon as he came into the open plain, he separated the army from the baggage, and formed the phalanx into a dense line, by thirty-two in depth. At some distance afterwards he ranged them by sixteen in depth; and at last, when he was come near the enemy, by eight. When the Macedonian commander was at the dis-

* This is one of the expressions at which Polybius cavils. It appears to mean simply, that Alexander NOW ADVANCED HIS ARMY IN LINE, having before marched from his flank.

tance of forty stadia from the enemy, he led his army with the front towards them*.

“ In order to oppose that detachment of the Persian forces that was posted on the sides of the mountain, he formed a part of the line in the figure called the Forceps.

“ Further Alexander took care so to draw up his army, that he might himself be engaged against Darius: and Darius also had at first the same intention with respect to Alexander; but he afterwards altered his design.

“ When the enemy approached, Darius, who was in the centre of the line, called the Mercenaries to him from one of the wings. The cavalry upon the right wing then advanced and vigorously charged the Macedonians. The latter received them with equal courage; and the fight on both sides was maintained with the greatest bravery.”—*Polybius, lib. XII. Extract 6.*

Polybius omits the description of the battle itself, in order to criticise the above sketch of the previous arrangements. He however drops one local circumstance connected with the retreat, which is too valuable to be lost.

“ The torrents which descended from the hills, had formed so many pits in the plain, that the greatest part of the Persians were lost in those pits as they fled.”

It would be tedious to add the strictures of Polybius upon this account merely to repel them*. But the Translator of Curtius will just remark that three great mistakes seem to pervade the critique alluded to; which when pointed out, must deprive it of

* Indeed M. Schweighæuser, in his edition of Polybius, has shewn some of them to be futile.

all weight, notwithstanding the military talents of the writer.

1. Because Callisthenes has stated that the position in which Darius encamped was fourteen stadia broad in front, Polybius has assumed that the area of the field into which the gorges of the streits open was every where precisely of that breadth; whereas it possesses great varieties of form and dimension, occasioned by the sinuosities of the mountains on one side, and the inflections of the coast on the other; but for the most part expanding as the traveller advances from Syria to the North. 2. Polybius alleges, that there was not room to draw up the armies in line within this space. Certainly not: in this lay the advantage of Alexander; for he might post as much of his army as the ground would contain in the order indicated; and when he had formed as extended a front as the Persians could bring to meet him, keep the rest in reserve. 3. In describing the places which the Persian forces occupied, Callisthenes does not say, that they were all in line, as Polybius assumes: on the contrary, from want of room, they appear to have been in confusion before they engaged.

The last objection of Polybius is so much in the style of a parade general, that it may be adduced as a curious specimen of the feeble weapons which a great tactician on paper may introduce at a review—where all the manœuvres are managed by the pen.

“ Now, again: was it possible for the phalanx to ADVANCE, “ IN ORDER OF BATTLE, UP THE BANK OF A RIVER, “ WHICH WAS BROKEN AND UNEVEN, AND COVERED ALSO “ WITH BUSHES IN ALMOST EVERY PART?” [Polybius, *ut supra.*]

Our military critic was a good quiet compromising sort of Greek, who had made Rome his adopted country.—This will be sufficient concerning Polybius.

[C.] *On the Impropriety of making Curtius refer to the same authorities as Arrian. Who were his select and capital authorities? must remain a problem.*

P. 8.—“the authorities extant when he wrote.”]—It would exceed the limits of a note to enumerate all the early historians of Alexander, cited or alluded to by classic writers, and which might have been accessible to Curtius.

Of the five whose names are admitted into the revised Introduction, ARISTOBULUS is supposed to have been rejected, for the following reasons in addition to those given in the text of the Supplement.

Curtius and Arrian do not always relate the same transactions; some incidents being peculiar to each; and even in relating the same affair, they frequently differ in the circumstances. As it is, therefore, evident that Curtius deliberately rejected materials which Arrian chose to follow,—it were absurd to make him, in an imagined Introduction to his history, set out with declaring that the two identical writings which Arrian prefers, are his chief guides and authorities; and his dependence on them the same. It is more reasonable to suppose, that those parts of Arrian's history, with which nothing correspondent can be found in Curtius, and for which some other authority is not cited in Arrian, were derived from Aristobulus.

From what source the Roman historian of Alexander drew his materials, must remain a problem; of which a clue to the solution has been lost with the *first book*. In the ninth, by a casual association, PTOLEMY, CLITARCHUS, and

TIMAGENES are expressly named by Curtius ; but not in such terms as to indicate that he would rely on any one of them to the exclusion of the others, or without consulting all the primary and secondary historians of credit within his reach. It is therefore surprising, that M. de Sainte-Croix—a writer whose judicious combinations of curious and important facts elicited by profound erudition, has, in his historical researches, thrown an unexpected light upon many points that were obscure—should have advanced the opinion, that Curtius has reposed on Clitarchus as his leading authority, so as to be little more than his translator. This opinion is discussed at the close of this note, under the title *EXTRACTS* from *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*.

As CALLISTHENES died before the occurrence took place which gave occasion to the passing remarks of Curtius, in his ninth book,—it is not to be inferred from the silence of Curtius respecting Callisthenes in that place, that he had not consulted his historical fragment as far as it continued to narrate previous transactions.

Still we are at a loss to assign on probable grounds what primary historian was the leading authority of Curtius, when his narrative widely diverges from the tenor of Arrian's. Although we may infer that his first book contained a discriminating catalogue, the Translator will not make any farther assumptions in his name by way of Supplement; but merely introduce here notices of a few more of the ORIGINAL WRITERS whom he might have consulted.

MARSYAS, of Pella, the son of Periander, wrote ten books of *History*, beginning with the first king of Macedonia, and ending with Alexander's march into Egypt, and the foundation of Alexandria. He also wrote a treatise *On the Education of Alexander*; with whom, by the favour of Philip, he had been educated as a fellow pupil. He was brother to Antigonos, who after Alexander's death, succeeded Eumenes in assuming the imperial regency, and attained the sovereignty of Ariana, Assyria, and Asia Minor,

The same Marsyas was admiral of the fleet under Demetrius. **PLUT.** *in vit. Demosth.*—**ATHEN.** *lib. xiv. 7.*—**Diod. Sic.** *lib. xx. § 50.*—**Suidas**, *in v. Μαγνας.*

ANAXIMENES, the Lampsacenean, wrote the *Acts of Philip and his son Alexander.*—**PAUSANIAS**, *lib. vi.* **Suidas** informs us, that he accompanied Alexander in his expedition. He is cited by Plutarch, *de Fortuna Alexandri, cap. iii.*

CHARES, of Mitylene, wrote a *Life of Alexander.* He was a confidential attendant, and intimate friend of Alexander; which gave him opportunities of relating on his own knowledge many curious anecdotes of the prince, which he introduced into his history, or rather medley of historical and biographical notes and recollections. His work is cited by Plutarch, in his compilation bearing the same title; and by Athenæus, *libb. iii. 13; viii. 2; xii. 2; xiii. 4.*—**Aulus Gellius**, *lib. v. cap. 2.* has preserved, from him, a circumstantial account of the death of the horse Bucephalus.

BÆTON, one of Alexander's military surveyors and engineers, contributed some materials useful to the historian, and still more available to the geographer, in a work entitled *The several Stations of Alexander during his Expedition.* This Itinerary has obviously a very limited compass as a narrative. It is cited by Athenæus, *lib. x. 12;* and by Pliny, *lib. vi. 17.* The latter however associates with him **DIOGNETES**, both as a military surveyor and an author. The Translator has given part of Pliny's quotation in **ADDITIONAL NOTES** to the Second Volume [M].

EUMENES, the Cardian, jointly with **DIODOTUS**, the Erythræan, arranged and digested the *Ephemeris* or *Diary* of Alexander. The principal part of it was doubtless conducted by Eumenes, who was Secretary to Alexander, enjoyed his entire confidence, and even shared his highest favour with Hephæstion. This work, from the fragments of it which are extant in the citations of a few authors, appears to have been an exact and circumstantial *Journal of the Actions and Domestic Life of Alexander.*—**PLUT.** *in vit. Alex.*—**EODEM**,

Sympos. lib. i.—*ATHEN.* lib. i. p. 434.—*ÆLIAN.* *Var. Hist.* lib. iii. c. 23.—By the learned M. Dalechamp, commenting on another passage in Athenæus, lib. x. c. 9. a work entitled *Commentaries on Alexander's Actions*, founded on the *Diary*, has been attributed to Eumenes.—He was afterwards generalissimo to the two joint kings set up by the imperial party among the successors of Alexander. It is possible that Curtius derived from the *Diary* and *Commentaries* of Eumenes, and from the *Biography* of Chares—or from some early writer among the secondary historians who had used these valuable materials—that circumstantial report of the trial of Philotas, which induced Rooke, the translator of Arrian, to say: “He has given us the several questions and answers, replies and rejoinders, with so much nicety, that one would almost swear he had been fee’d for counsel on one side or the other.” From the same authentic source was probably drawn the account preserved by Curtius, more detailed and intelligible than is extant elsewhere, of the proceedings of Alexander’s successors immediately after the imperial victor died at Babylon; and, in short, all the scattered pieces of information which belong to the departments of secret history and private anecdote.

This concludes our brief, but select list of primary authorities. None of these are quoted by Arrian—unless the *Royal Diary*, cited once, lib. VII. c. 25, be identified with the *Diary* of Eumenes and Diodotus. M. de Sainte-Croix has by his learned researches extended the catalogue of the historians of Alexander, and illuminated the subject with rays of information, collected by the lens of enquiry into powerful *foci*, far beyond what Vossius, and his predecessors in the same department of historical erudition, had achieved. From the citations in a fragment of Praxagoras, who lived in the reign of the emperor Constantine,—it is evident that up to his time, a great proportion of the histories of Alexander, written respectively by companions and contemporaries of the Great Macedonian, or by compilers living in the next two

centuries, and others later, of which the names are only known, were still extant. With Praxagoras, who was born in Athens, and himself wrote a *History of Alexander*, the chain of ancient tradition on this branch of classical bibliography ends. If any later writer of the Greek or Roman schools quoted the primary historians of Alexander, the works citing as well as the works cited have equally perished. Many MSS., precious and venerable depositaries of the knowledge of antiquity, were doubtless destroyed at the taking of Constantinople by the Turks; as well as by the burning of the famous Alexandrian library.

As to the SECONDARY HISTORIANS or compilers: they may, like Timagenes, deserve and attain a high character: for as by lucid arrangement and elegance of style, they may become more attractive; so when the best sources of intelligence contribute to the derived stream, the aggregate volume of information may be even more correct, as well as more comprehensive, than any individual series of the original materials. Still we shall introduce but two additional names of that class; because it is necessary to confine the selection both to individuals who demonstrably lived anterior to Curtius, and to names of merited distinction.

ANDRONICUS, the Rhodian, a peripatetic philosopher, who published *Commentaries* upon Aristotle, is cited by Aulus Gellius, in his *Attic Nights*, lib. XX. cap. 5. for some specimens of correspondence between Aristotle and Alexander.

ERATOSTHENES, the Cyrenian, wrote a *History of Alexander*, in which he especially applied himself to correct the errors in geography committed by his predecessors; but in executing this difficult task, he fell into some new mistakes, which Strabo and Petavius have in part noticed. This failure is to be attributed to the imperfection of the best means for determining the longitude which the engineers of astronomy in that age could invent; and not to any want of diligence and enquiry on the part of Eratosthenes to collect from authenticated Itineraries the best topographical information within his

reach. He himself has well explained, in a passage preserved by Strabo, *lib. ii. p. 47*, the cause of inaccurate description on various incidental subjects—and of palpable misconception as to the relative positions on the map of distant places actually visited by, and well known to the writers—of which the first historians of Alexander exhibit occasional specimens. He observes, that “after perusing the Memorials which the library of Alexandria furnished, he was convinced that the companions of the Macedonian Prince had only seen in *marching from place to place* those things of which they speak; and that Alexander himself, having examined every thing with care, had commissioned some individuals, celebrated in their professions, to make exact descriptions of those countries which had been the theatre of his exploits.” This great work of Eratosthenes, now lost in the same gulph which has swallowed up so many others, is quoted with respect by Strabo, *passim*; and by Plutarch in his *Life of Alexander*. Arrian, *lib. V. cap. 3*, tells us, that he does not entirely agree with him, in representing, that whatever honours were paid to Bacchus by the Macedonians at Mount Meros, in conformity with the tradition, among the Nysæans, of their having some monuments of that deified hero’s expedition thither,—and whatever ascriptions were made to Hercules, founded on local vestiges commemorating that this demigod, too, had penetrated to a neighbouring part of India,—were all performed by the Macedonians for the sake of their king, to put him on a level with those gods themselves. It is difficult to know what Arrian means to say. If he does not agree with Eratosthenes,—who is inclined to ascribe the monuments of Bacchus and of Hercules in India, to the creative invention of the Macedonians,—one might expect to find him attaching credit to the original accounts which describe those monuments; yet he goes on to mingle the reports of the Macedonians and the commentary of Eratosthenes, so as to make the representation indistinct, and leave his own opinion ambiguous. In his *Indian History*,

cap. I. and cap. V. Arrian speaks as if he accredited the antiquarian monuments of Bacchus' expedition into India, and rejected only the mythological fictions added by the poets. This jumble of conflicting sentiments appears to have arisen from adopting the reflections, as well as the statements, of two or three authors who viewed the subject under different aspects. The Translator of Curtius takes this opportunity to observe, that as the critics of one school array themselves behind a triple rampart of arguments against the expedition of Bacchus to India, which would agree better with the opinion, that he was in reality a god, which is the parent of the difficulty, than with the plain solution of it that he was a deified man; so they draw many lines of perspicuous demonstration to prove how absurd must be the tradition which chains Prometheus to the Indian Caucasus, with an earnestness which almost makes the reader, as well as themselves forget, that the question is not about the site of a real occurrence, but the imaginary scene of a poetic fable.

After being a disciple of Callimachus, Eratosthenes rose to be principal of the school of Alexandria, on which his talents and his works, displaying at once genius and erudition, reflected superior lustre. He was at the same time a grammarian, a professor of philosophy, a poet, an historian, an astronomer, and a geographer, or rather the founder of geography as a science. He died towards the year 194 before the Christian era.—STRABO et PLUT. *ut supra*.—*Compare with Exam. Crit. des Hist. d'Alexandre*, 2d edit. pp. 51, 52, 388, 389.

Dismissing the secondary historians which Curtius might have consulted, the Translator proposes to conclude this note with some extracts from M. de Sainte-Croix respecting the five individuals whose names are admitted into the text of the revised *Supplement*; partly for the additional information which thus will be conveyed, and partly to discuss some points on which different opinions may be advocated.

TRANSLATED EXTRACTS

From *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, with
ORIGINAL REMARKS.

1. *Aristobulus*.—"Aristobulus, of Cassandria, in Macedonia," p. 42. Does this mean that Aristobulus was a native of Potidæa, or that he resided in the evening of life at Cassandria? Perhaps the latter is intended; for Cassander rebuilt Potidæa, and the new city was named after him Cassandria. It may be inferred, therefore, 1, that Aristobulus retired thither from Asia; and, 2, that during the sharp competition between the successors of Alexander, he attached himself to the party of Antipater and Cassander. "He was one of the generals of Alexander." p. 43. How does this appear? Arrian's *Preface* says merely, that he was one of the companions of Alexander in the expedition to Asia; and in the whole of Arrian's work, though often cited as an author, he is never named as a commander, nor is he named anywhere in the history of Curtius. The authority of *Pseudo-Lucian. de Macrobis, c. 2*, cited by M. de Sainte-Croix, seems scarcely adequate to establish this point; which the silence of all the historians and biographers of Alexander respecting it tends to negative. He was ordered by his royal master to oversee the repairs of Cyrus's tomb. *Arrian. lib. VI. cap. 30*. "He lived to the age of ninety, and did not write his history of this prince, as he assures us in the Introduction, until he had reached his eighty-fourth year." *Ex. Cr. p. 43*. This rests on the same passage in the *Pseudo-Lucian*. M. de Sainte-Croix then adverts to the anecdote so adverse to the reputation of Aristobulus as an historian, which Lucian has preserved, and which has been cited in the revised *Supplement* to the present translation of Curtius, pp. 2, 3. To elude the force of this anecdote, M. de Sainte-Croix says: "It is sufficiently

“probable that in this place Lucian intended to speak
 “of *Onesicritus*, since he introduces soon
 “after it*, a conversation of Alexander
 “with this philosopher, [naval captain and
 “author,] in which he observes to him :
 “‘ I should be glad, *Onesicritus*, after my
 “death to come to life again for a little
 “time, only to know what the people then living will say of
 “me : for I am not surprised that they praise and caress me
 “now, as every one hopes by baiting well to catch my
 “favour.’”—M. de Sainte-Croix proceeds to say posi-
 tively—“The name of *Aristobulus* has taken the place of
 “that of *Onesicritus* by an inadvertence of Lucian, or by
 “some mistakeⁿ of his copyists.” p. 43. The Translator is
 surprised that a critic generally superior to the weakness of
 favouring a particular author, should propose this arbitrary
 substitution of one name for another. By a thorough change
 in this easy manner, without any one MS. to support, or
 printed reading to countenance it, the tenor of any narrative
 may be modelled to suit any commentator’s preconceived
 opinion ; so the force of curious facts may be evaded, and
 the tendency of unimpeachable evidence reversed. M. de
 Sainte-Croix still acknowledges thus much : “For the rest,
 “although *Aristobulus* has enjoyed the reputation of a
 “credible author, he appears nevertheless to have been
 “tinctured with a love of the marvellous.”—*ibid.* The struc-
 ture in the last clause is avowedly adopted from Strabo,
lib. XV. p. 476.

* This anecdote of
Onesicritus occurs a
 considerable way after
 that of *Aristobulus*;
 multifarious subjects
 intervene, and there is
 evidently no connec-
 tion between them.

The point of Alexander’s reproof to *Aristobulus*—“who
 “art *killing elephants with a dart*”—may be illustrated by the
 little effect which musket-balls are found to have upon these
 gigantic animals in modern warfare. An elephant has been
 known to carry about with him from twenty to forty ounce-
 bullets, lodged just under the skin, without inconvenience.

In collecting outlines for a summary of Alexander’s
 character, M. de Sainte-Croix has elicited one passage of

Aristobulus, which Arrian himself had deliberately suppressed. This gleanings is preserved in Athenæus, lib. VI. p. 251. "Aristobulus relates, that the athleta Dioxippus "seeing this prince (Alexander) wounded, and covered with "blood, repeated the verse where Homer, *lib. V. ver. 340*, "speaking of the wound of Venus, says :

' Blood followed, but immortal—ichor pure,
Such as the blest inhabitants of heaven
May bleed—nectareous.' "

M. de Sainte-Croix adds: "It is probable Arrian has "caused us to lose many traits of this kind."—*pp. 369, 370.*

This perspicuous framer of inductive history apprehends that Curtius in one instance has adopted the account of Aristobulus, in opposition to that of Ptolemy: but the Translator considers the two passages, when compared, to afford no evidence that Curtius took his representation of the occurrence in question from Aristobulus. Let us, first, attend to M. de Sainte-Croix; his words are: "In consideration of "its founder, Alexander was desirous to spare this city " (Cyropolis); but it having been defended with much "obstinacy and taken by assault, they (the storming party) "massacred all the inhabitants by order of this prince, who "had been wounded during the siege. Such is the account "of Aristobulus, adopted by Strabo, *lib. XI. p. 356*, and by "Quintus Curtius, *lib. VII. c. 6*. But Arrian, who has preserved it, *lib. IV. c. 3*, reports at the same time the opinion "of Ptolemy. This last assures us, that these same inhabitants of Cyropolis were made prisoners and at length "banished, being dispersed through the country."—*p. 331.* To the Translator here appear to be several mistakes, attributable to a too hasty reference. For on the one hand, Curtius, in the chapter cited, says: "The king directed "Craterus to invest Cyropolis." After several intermediate operations, Alexander "proceeded with a division to join "Craterus."..... To come at once to the point—

“ when he had taken, he ordered a chosen party to **PILLAGE** “ **Cyropolis.**” There is not one word about slaying the citizens. The reader may see the connecting circumstances more at length, *Transl. vol. ii. pp. 180, 181.* Nor, on the other hand, is the citation from Arrian in the main point more correct. The repugnance in the accounts of Aristobulus and Ptolemy specified by Arrian relates to the “ **SEVENTH**” of the cities taken from the revolted inhabitants, Cyropolis having been the **SIXTH.** But if we transfer the comparisons to any of the cities which Curtius represents to have been taken by storm, neither there is there any exact coincidence with Aristobulus, or even approach to it. In glancing down the page of Arrian, the eye of M. de Sainte-Croix seems to have missed a line.

2. *Ptolemy.*—This distinguished captain was a native of Eordæa, a small town in Macedonia. After establishing himself on the throne of Egypt, he founded the school of Alexandria. His *Memoirs of the Life of Alexander* have been cited by few of the Ancient authors now extant; indeed, besides Arrian and Quintus Curtius, only by Pliny, in *Elench*, lib. XII. & XIII., and by Plutarch, *vit. Alex.* p. 63. M. de Sainte-Croix, by his observations, p. 44, has contributed to place his high character as an historian on a firmer basis than Arrian’s grounds for preferring him afford. As “ to compiling his history after Alexander’s death,” the same might be said of many of the original writers whom Arrian slights as of little value, or totally rejects. Again, when Arrian says: “ Some things touched upon by others I deliver “ only as reports:” did he know nothing of Eumenes, who belongs to the same class as Ptolemy, in all the points of eminence as a commander, access to the best sources of information, and elevation to princely dignity: while on the question of maintaining the integrity of the imperial dominions by a paramount regency, he was directly opposed to him?

3. *Callisthenes.*—Strabo has preserved some lines from his *History of Alexander*, on the subject of the journey to

Ammon, of which a translation follows: the extract is garbled, and interrupted by comments:—"Alexander, incited by ambition to penetrate to the oracle, which Perseus and Hercules, according to tradition, had visited before him,—set out on his march from Parætonium, notwithstanding a violent south-wind. When he was wandering amid clouds of sand, he owed his safety to a shower of rain, and to a pair of ravens which showed him the way." "These things," says Strabo, "are written in the style of adulation: and what follows is similar. The priest permitted the king alone to enter the temple in his ordinary habit. The other Macedonians, being required to change theirs, remained without to witness the oracle about to be delivered to Alexander. The response is not given here, as at Delphi and that of the Branchidæ, by words, but chiefly by a nod, and by signs; as Homer says: *Jupiter speaks by a nod, and the motion of his heavenly eyebrows*. The priest officiating as interpreter to the god, announced to Alexander, in audible language, that he was the son of Jupiter. Assuming the buskin, says Strabo, Callisthenes adds in an emphatic style, that Apollo, having deserted his oracle of the Branchidæ, ever since the era when the temple had been pillaged by the Persians under Xerxes, and the fountain which had flowed there being vitiated, he had repaired to Ammon; and that priestly legates from Miletus had brought" [on a scroll]. "to Memphis a series of oracular responses, touching the several points of Alexander being the son of Jupiter—the victory which he should gain at Arbela—the death of Darius—and the changes with which Sparta was menaced. Callisthenes says moreover, that the divine origin of Alexander had been equally declared by Athenais of Erythræa, who was similar to the ancient Erythræan Sybil."—STRABO, lib. xvii. p. 814.

The tenor of this passage is so contrary to the sentiments which the living Callisthenes had the boldness to utter, at the time the proposition was moved to offer divine honours to

Alexander, and on other occasions,—that the Translator of Curtius can account for this, and other veins of extravagant writing, being found in his unfinished history, only on the following hypothesis. He concludes, that the original MS. fell, on the philosopher's death, into the hands of some individual in the train of Alexander, who either had been the rival and enemy of Callisthenes, or was at least a devoted flatterer of the prince; and that thus a clandestine pen made various interpolations in his history, substituting praise for censure,—and attestations in favour of Alexander's divine origin, instead of arguments against the parasites who proposed to exalt the hero into a god. The ridiculous flights of bombast scattered here and there, so unlike the style of his earlier writings, and even of the passage preserved by Polybius, might be malicious strokes by the hand of posthumous fraud, to lessen the reputation of the inflexible philosopher as an historian. Whether or not these inconsistencies and blemishes are the genuine offspring of Callisthenes' mind, or the spurious grafts of detracting artifice, their occurrence in his *History of Alexander* must have made more than ordinary circumspection necessary in the compiler from such incongruous materials.

4. *Clitarchus*.—This historian was a native of Æolia, and a professor of philosophy in the school of Cyrene. “It is “uncertain,” says M. de Sainte-Croix, “whether he accompanied Alexander in his expedition, or whether he wrote “his history from the *Persic Memoirs* of Dinon his father.” p. 41. The passage of Diodorus, cited in the revised Supplement to the Translation of Curtius, p. 7, thus mentions him: “CLITARCHUS, and THOSE who with Alexander “AFTERWARDS passed over into Asia.” Now, although the word “OTHERS” is not expressed after “THOSE,” it seems to be implied. The adverb “AFTERWARDS”—which, at the first view, might be construed to exclude Clitarchus—has no relation to him as distinguished from the companions of Alexander; but applies to the era of the Macedonian

expedition," as distinguished from the earlier period of the Persian history at which Diodorus is, in that place, describing Babylon.

But the principal point to be discussed, is, the justness of M. de Sainte-Croix's opinion already alluded to in this note.

When this ardent explorer into the sources of ancient history states, that "Diodorus, in his seventeenth book, has "drawn largely from Clitarchus," p. 71;—he appears to have a sufficient support for this conclusion in the remains of Clitarchus preserved by other authors, compared with particular passages of the narrative which Diodorus has dedicated to the expedition of Alexander. But, on the other hand, when the erudite framer of the same *Examen Critique* confidently assumes, that "Q. Curtius has drawn his materials "from the work of Clitarchus; or perhaps has translated it, "at least in great part," pp. 102, 103;—that "Clitarchus is "the real source of the history of Q. Curtius," p. 121;—that "Clitarchus is represented by Q. Curtius," p. 425, n. (3);—and repeats the same position in varied terms in other places too numerous to collect;—the Translator of Curtius cannot but regard the opinion thus advanced by M. de Sainte-Croix as hasty, gratuitous, and untenable. It will be convenient to divide the passages appealed to as evidence, into four classes.

Class 1.—What Curtius himself has indicated on the subject deserves the principal consideration; for, as far as it goes, it ought to be decisive. Now, the terms in which he speaks of Clitarchus, *Translation*, vol. ii. p. 335, is as INCONSISTENT with M. de Sainte-Croix's opinion, that he made Clitarchus his leading authority, or even took any thing from HIM ALONE *tacitly*; as it is CONSISTENT with the occasional insertion by Curtius of passages coinciding in words or tenor, with portions of narrative to be found in the history of Clitarchus, nor there only but supported by a combination of authorities,

The only other place in which Clitarchus is cited in the extant books of Curtius, *Translation*, vol. ii. p. 353, is ad-

duced by M. de Sainte-Croix, *p.* 409, as one of the instances in which Curtius has followed the account of Clitarchus. But, in the view of the Translator, this very passage is decisive against the opinion that Curtius has generally followed that author, or ever *tacitly* adopts from him the representation of any fact, or circumstance, in recording which that author stands alone. The words are: "Clitarchus writes, "that in this region eighty thousand Indians were slain, and "a great number of captives sold to slavery." To cite an original author thus, is to distinguish him in a marked manner from the authority or authorities on which the secondary historian *tacitly* relies; it is in effect to tell the reader, there is some appearance of exaggeration in the circumstances stated, and they rest on the sole authority of the writer whose name is given. The inference is, that all the other parts of the secondary history, whether they agree or not with the author vouched so guardedly and so sparingly, were DERIVED IN CHIEF from some other source or sources, specified in the lost introduction, and afterwards *tacitly* followed. It is probable that one of these leading authorities was Eumenes.

Class 2.—Let us now consider the fragments preserved of Clitarchus, in which M. de Sainte-Croix alleges a coincidence with the *tacit* narrative of Curtius; and appears to prove the point of agreement either in words, or in tenor.

Q. CURTIUS.

No. 1.—"This kind of
"sacrifice, rather this unholy
"sacrilege, the Carthaginians,
"who derived it from
"their founders, are represented
"to have used till their
"city was destroyed."—*lib.*
IV. *cap.* iii. § 15.

CLITARCHUS.

"Quintus Curtius has
"drawn this from Clitarchus,
"as appears from a passage
"of the latter cited by Suidas,
"in *v. Σαρδανιος γελως*. We
"find there described the
"manner in which this abominable
"sacrifice is practised in Carthage."—*Exam.*
Cr. p. 278, *n.* (3).

CURTIUS.

No. 2.—Thalestris, Queen of the Amazons, “undertook an excursion from her kingdom, inflamed with a desire to see Alexander:” &c. *lib. VI. cap. v. § 13.*

No. 3.—“This obscure tribe conquered, he moved thence to the city Nysa.” “The Nysæans asserted their city to have been founded by Bacchus.”—*lib. VIII. cap. x. §§ 32, 33.*

No. 4. “The king then advanced to Persagada.” “The tomb of Cyrus Alexander incidentally caused to be opened, to burn sacrifices before the embalmed corse.”—*lib. X. c. 1. §§ 3, 4.*

Class 3.—Let us now examine those passages which M. de Sainte-Croix has cited, like the preceding, as examples of coincidence; but which, in the view of the Translator of Curtius, present rather proofs of divergence.

CLITARCHUS.

“The names of the writers who have adopted the adventure of the Queen of the Amazons, have been preserved by Plutarch. The principal of these were Clitarchus, Onesicritus, Polycritus, Antigenes, and Ister.”—*Exam. Cr. p. 333.*

“Clitarchus speaks of Nysa and the fables relative to Bacchus.”—*Exam. Cr. p. 733, n. (3), citing apud Schol. Apollon, lib. II, ver. 906.*

The allusion in the poem of the *Argonautics*, on which this scholium is grafted, is a mere scrap.

—Nysæus, son of Jove—tradition tells—

Leaving his Indian colonies to grow,
Returned, and founded Thebes.

“Pliny speaks of the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargada, after having cited Clitarchus.”—*Exam. Cr. p. 425; n. (3).*

CURTIUS.

No. 2, above, is admitted into the second class, in order to give the utmost force to the example of agreement in tenor, coupled with it, wide and indefinite as it is. But if we descend to particulars, we find some circumstances of positive divergence which may be reviewed under the third class. Curtius says: "The Amazons inhabited the plains of Theriscyta; near the banks of the Thermodon. Their queen, Thalestris, extended her sway over all the region between Mount Caucasus and the river Phasis." — *lib. VI. cap. v. § 13.*

CLITARCHUS.

"Clitarchus says, that Thalestris, journeying from the *Caspian Gates*, and from the Thermodon, came to Alexander." — *Apud STRABO, lib. XI. p. 348.* Strabo remarks upon this, "that the Thermodon is more than 6000 stadia distant from the *Caspian Gates*." Thus unjustly are authors sometimes condemned, even by honest and—on other points—well informed judges. Three distinct passes were called the *Caspian Gates*, by the ancient Persians, and by some of the Greeks. The first, near Rages, through which Darius was pursued by Alexander; the second, near the river Mardis, two and a half degrees west, by one north, and entering another part of Hyrcania; the third, six degrees farther north, on the west margin of the Caspian. Strabo is thinking of the first; while Clitarchus is speaking of the third. A modern traveller says: "The *Portæ Caspiæ* of the ancients were undoubtedly where Derbend now stands." — *Reinegg's Caucasus*, vol. i. p. 128.

CURTIUS.

No. 5. "Thaïs, flushed with
 " undiluted cups, suggested
 " to the king, 'That if he
 " burnt the palace of the
 " Persic princes, it would,
 " above all things, gratify the
 " Greeks, who expected this
 " reprisal for the destruction
 " of their cities by the Barba-
 " rians.'"....." This was
 " the end of the court of all
 " the East."—*lib. V. cap. vii.*
 §§ 22, 23. M. de Sainte-
 Croix, construing these words
 in the most extended sense,
 which indeed has been the
 course of every commentator,
 then adverts to the historian's
 concluding remark: " Were
 " it not for the river Arosis,
 " the traces of it could hardly
 " be found; that river flowed
 " near its walls; by the neigh-
 " bouring inhabitants the dis-
 " tance is rather conjectured,
 " than ascertained to have
 " been twenty stadia."—*Q.*
Curt. ut supra.

M. de Sainte-Croix adds:
 " Pliny adopts this error: . . .
 " 'To Persepolis, the capital
 " of the empire, destroyed by
 " Alexander.'—*lib. VI. c. 26.*"
 —*Exam. Cr. p. 311, et n. (3).*

CLITARCHUS.

" Respecting this act of in-
 " cendiary vengeance, Arrian
 " has adopted the account of
 " Clitarchus, amplified by
 " Quintus Curtius."—*Exam.*
Cr. p. 312, citing Athen. lib.
xiii. p. 576. " Strabo appears
 " also to have followed Cli-
 " tarchus, *lib. XV. p. 502.*"—
ibid. n. (1).

The words of Arrian are:
 " The royal palace of the Per-
 " sian monarchs he burnt."—
lib. III. c. xviii.

The passage in Athenæus
 is, " But had not Alexander
 " the Great with him Thaïs,
 " an Athenian courtesan?
 " whom Clitarchus represents
 " to have been the person
 " who incited the king to burn
 " the royal Persepolitan pa-
 " lace."

Strabo briefly says: " Alex-
 " ander burnt the regal palace
 " of this city."

The Translator of Curtius has two or three observations to offer upon this strange mixture of assumptions, referring five accounts, which exhibit many shades of variation, to the same source.

First, as to Arrian: After what he says in his *Preface*, every thing which he relates TACITLY, that is, without citing some particular authority by name, must be attributed either to Ptolemy or Aristobulus; and to assume the contrary is to violate a canon of criticism. This association of Clitarchus with Arrian, is indeed a remarkable proof, that every slight coincidence between two authors is not sufficient ground for affirming that the second, in point of time, has followed the first as a leading authority.

Athenæus alone distinctly quotes Clitarchus; who seems to confine the conflagration to the palace. The author of the *Examen Critique* is obliged to assume, both that Curtius has FOLLOWED, and that he has AMPLIFIED this representation, to account for the different tenor of the two; but this is to frame inferences—not on the support of evidence, but in opposition to it.

If Arrian, Strabo, and Athenæus be right; and Curtius and Pliny be wrong; is it probable that they all drew the divergent circumstances from the same original?

CURTIVS.

No. 6.—“Some call it the
“Caspian, and some the Hyr-
“canian sea.” . . . “In a
“north wind, a heavy swell
“breaks over the low beach,
“and converts a great extent
“of deluged country into a fen:
“When the wind blows from
“the contrary quarter, the
“sea, with equal impetuosity,
“driven back to its bed, leaves

CLITARCHUS.

M. de Sainte-Croix intro-
duces a fragment extant in
Strabo—which may prove
both curious and valuable—
by saying: “This historian”
[Curtius] “has been misled
“both in geography and his-
“tory by Clitarchus; at least
“one must think so, when
“the latter has advanced,
“that the *Isthmus between*

CURTIUS.

"the land to recover itself."
—*lib. VI. cap. iv. c. 9.*

The reader may see in a note on the *Translation*, vol. ii. p. 88, how exactly the first part of this representation is confirmed by Jonas Hanway.

But M. de Sainte-Croix seems to found his comments on some translation of the passage so essentially at variance with the above, that it will be necessary to compare the original with his adverse remarks. The historian says: *Quidam Caspium, quidam Hyrcanum adpellant. A SEPTENTRIONE ingens in litus mare incumbit, longeque agit fluctus, et magna parte exæstuans stagnat: idem ALIO CÆLO STATU recepit in se fretum, eodemque impetu, quo effusum est, relabens, terram naturæ suæ reddit.* CURT. ut supra.

The reviewer of Alexander's historians, intending to give the substance of this, observes: "Quintus Curtius" "says further, 'that this' "sea makes, TOWARDS THE

CLITARCHUS.

"the Euxine and the Caspian" "was covered with the inundations* of those two seas." "Apud STRABO, lib. XI. p. 339. See, without doubt, "the source of the swarm of "errors committed by Quintus Curtius."—*Examen Critique*, p. 863.

The Translator trusts that what he has said in the opposite column evinces that this inference has no support from a comparison of the two passages.

But in contending that these two passages have nothing in common, either in expression or idea; that they relate to different places and times; and that their excellencies or defects are separate and independent;—the Translator of Curtius is not ready to abandon Clitarchus to indiscriminate, and, perhaps, unmerited censure, merely because his own author has steered clear of the supposed errors indicated by Strabo and M. de Sainte-Croix.

It is as important to detect

* *Flots*, the rendering in *Exam. Cr.* is an ambiguous word, signifying either waves or tides. The Translator believes, that the first idea is Strabo's; and the second, M. de Sainte-Croix's.

CURTIUS.

“ NORTH, *great encroach-*
 “ *ments with its waves; that*
 “ *in the HIGH TIDES, it inun-*
 “ *dates a great extent of flat*
 “ *shore, and that at length,*
 “ *reentering its bounds with*
 “ *the same impetuosity, it re-*
 “ *stores the land to its natural*
 “ *state.’* But the Caspian
 “ sea has neither flux nor re-
 “ flux, and the winds alone
 “ cause it to mount over the
 “ shore, or to sink below
 “ it, according to the impul-
 “ sion which they give to
 “ its waters.” — *Exam. Cr.*
p. 711.

The portion of error and absurdity here combated and exposed, is eminently great both in kind and degree: but these mistakes exist not in the text of Curtius, and have been created in the French version which M. de Sainte-Croix happened to consult.

“ *Quinte-Curce dit encore*
 “ *que cette mer pousse, VERS*
 “ *LE NORD, ses vagues au loin;*
 “ *que DANS LES MAREES*
 “ *elle inonde une grande*
 “ *plage, et qu’ensuite, ren-*
 “ *trant dans ses limites avec la*
 “ *même impetuosité, elle rend*
 “ *à la terre son état naturel.’*

CLITARCHUS.

the misconceptions of commentators, as to point out the errors of original authors; for they both equally diminish the mass of general knowledge. Critics sometimes intercept intelligence, when their laudable design is merely to exclude error.

To return to the fragment of Clitarchus preserved by Strabo:—under one construction, which we have seen, it is indeed replete with fallacy; but perhaps another interpretation may be put upon it without violence. This interpretation is: “ Of no account
 “ is their hypothesis, who,
 “ WITH CLITARCHUS, com-
 “ press the isthmus into so
 “ narrow a span, that all its
 “ territory, as they repre-
 “ sent, is overspread with
 “ { INUNDATIONS }
 “ { ALLUVIONS } from the
 “ two seas.” — STRABO *ut supra.*

Now we have to recollect, that in these kind of constructive citations, which do not pretend to give the exact words of the original author, a portion of the absurdity is inferred, and depends on the

CURTIUS.

It is scarcely worth while to notice the inaccuracy couched under *vers le nord*, which merely reverses the direction of the driving swell caused by a north wind. The grand error consists in *dans les marées*: there is not one word about the TIDES in the passage of Curtius which this extract professes to represent. The train of misconception appears to have begun in limiting the meaning of *Septentrio* to a mere point of the compass: It is the NORTH WIND when the construction requires it; Livy has the phrase *Acer Septentrio ortus*; and by a similar compression we say in English, "a north-wester." Then, the words of the original *alio cæli statu* have no counterpart in the French outline. This expression—literally "in a different state of the atmosphere"—as decidedly marks both the cause and the time of reaction, as if Curtius had said in plain terms, "When the wind blows from the contrary quarter." What has *alio cæli statu* to do with the TIDE? The same

CLITARCHUS.

fundamental error which the commentator apprehends, either rightly or otherwise, to have found in the passage criticised. Thus, the member in the above sentence, "compress the isthmus into so narrow a span," seems to be a mere inference drawn by Strabo, under the impression that Clitarchus had meant to say, that the isthmus was covered with INUNDATIONS. But if we reject this inference as no part of what the historian said, and translate one word of what remains differently, the construction will stand thus: "All the territory of the isthmus is covered with ALLUVIONS from the two seas."

This will agree with the observations of a modern traveller who resided long at Teflis, and repeatedly visited various parts of the Caucasian isthmus, not accessible without the protection of the respective governments, and the friendly assistance of the natives. He tells us: "The Gordiæan mountains lead one to conjecture a very powerful agitation of the

CURTIVS.

which *A Septentrio* has ; nothing ; the FLOOD and EBB display their vicissitudes only in the French version of Curtius ; and therefore the poignant censure of M. de Sainte-Croix cannot apply to the original.

Neither has this description of Curtius any point of agreement with the fragment of Clitarchus, exhibited in the opposite column.

CLITARCHUS.

“ sea, and the limestone indicates a sudden and violent ALLUVION. For most of the ranges, particularly those of coarse limestone, are quite of a rocky nature, not stratified, and never contain petrifications. The bald surface of the calcareous mountains bear marks still of the waves having acted upon them, and it is very evident, that the Black Sea has been much higher.”
“ The loose *strata* dip, without exception, to the west-

ward ; and they prove, that the greatest impetuosity of the waters was from west to east. Some low calcareous hills are stratified, and frequently contain testaceous petrifications, with impressions of fish and grass.” p. 39.

“ Many of the lower mountains, particularly in the bay, and at the eastern extremity of the Black Sea, consist of loose *strata*, which are become visible in some places, owing to their having been furrowed by the rain and the streams. I counted one-and-twenty different kinds, dipping regularly to the W. between 14 and 15°. The greater part consist of sand and pebbles, or loose sand ; others contain indurated carbonate of argill, or argill with sand, and RECENT COCKLES.”—p. 41.

“ The Thuletic mountains consist of fragments of granite with whitish-grey, or brown felstein, not containing metal. ALLUVIONS of coarse gravel lie on them.”—p. 54.

“ Throughout the whole Caucasian mountains I had met with testaceous petrifications only in argillaceous or calcareous earth : but near Zsgetta, on the road to Teflis, there is a

“ cleft three feet broad, in a high mountain of compact brown
 “ felstein, FULL OF ALL KINDS OF MUSCLES AND COCKLES,
 “ so blended together as to form a solid mass, and mixed
 “ with white calcareous spath.”—*p.* 55.

“ The marshes contain carbonate of soda. In fact the
 “ province of Georgia appears to be so full of all kinds of
 “ salts, that they may occasion the decay of the mountains,
 “ which decrease in height very evidently.”—*p.* 61.

Description of Mount Caucasus. Translated from the Works of DR. REINEGGS and MARSHAL BIEBERSTEIN, By CHARLES WILKINSON. London, 1807, vol. ii. pp. ut supra.

Class 4.—The idea of M. de Sainte-Croix, thrown out as an alternative, that Curtius was little more than the translator of Clitarchus, remains to be separately treated. It is true, if the internal and comparative evidence, already adduced, be thought to negative the opinion that he took him as his leading authority, *à fortiori* it excludes the idea that he merely translated him. Still a collection of fragments from Clitarchus, with which nothing correspondent, either in words or tenor, can be found in Curtius, will contribute to make the evidence on this point more weighty and decisive.

SENTIMENTS AND MORAL REFLECTIONS.

No. 7.—“ Simply to have virtue is not to be accounted
 “ honourable, but rather to exercise it becomingly, and in
 “ proper relations. If you possess virtue, all things are
 “ yours; if on the contrary vice, you are not master of
 “ yourself.”

No. 8.—“ If you love those things which are not becoming,
 “ ing, you will soon cease to prize the decencies of life;
 “ for desire is insatiable, and so, always in want, and
 “ wretched.”

No. 9.—“ Such things as it would offend you to hear, forbear to say ; for if the ears are avenues to great mischief, there is a correspondent peril from the tongue.”

No. 10.—“ As iron by rust ; so the envious are consumed by their own habits.” — *This sentiment is adopted by Plutarch.*

No. 11.—“ If you bear the honours of magistracy, exercise them with mildness ; if you live under the dominion of another, preserve an erect mind.”

No. 12.—“ It were better to obey fools, than to be obliged to govern them.” — *This sentiment is also attributed to Diogenes.*

No. 13.—“ Continnence is the foundation of piety. The desire of having is the beginning of avarice ; avarice and the love of money beget injustice.”

No. 14.—“ A great portion does not make better children.”

No. 15.—“ It is better to die, than to darken the mind by incontinence.”

No. 16.—“ Make provision for thy mind as for a leader ; and for thy body, as for a soldier.”

No. 17.—“ In deliberative assemblies, strive not to be the first to deliver your opinion ; for after hearing many others, you will the better see what the public utility requires.”

Loci Communes ab Auctoribus Græcis per
ANTONIUM et MAXIMUM. *Apud* STOBÆUM, *Sermm.* I.—LXIV.—XCV.—
XCIX.—CV.—CXL.—CXLII.—
CXLVII.—CLXX.

No. 18.—Alluding to the degeneracy of Alexander, when his manners were corrupted by prosperity, Clitarchus says : “ His excesses were carried so far, that his soul was obscured by them ; a humiliating state, to which death is preferable.” — *Apud* STOB. *Serm.* CCLXXI. p. 878.

PIECE OF NARRATIVE.

No. 19.—“ Harpalus was afterwards enamoured of another courtesan, named Glycera: her he lodged in apartments at Tarsus, in the palace of the former kings [of Cilicia]; and after surrounding her with all the honours of a queen, erected to her a statue of bronze.”—*Apud* ATHEN. *lib.* XIII. p. 586.

SCRAP OF PHILOSOPHICAL HISTORY.

No. 20.—“ Clitarchus also, in his twelfth book, asserts the *Gymnosophists* to have been great contemners of death:—That the *Chaldeans* wholly occupied themselves in astronomy and divination:—That the *Magi* were attentive to direct and perform the ceremonies of divine worship, including sacrifices and prayers to the Gods: they also discoursed of the substance and generation of the Gods; which they affirmed to be Fire, Earth, and Water, condemning all attempts to represent them by painting or sculpture, and more especially rebuking the error of those who affirm the Gods to be Male and Female.”—*Apud* DIOGEN. LAERT. *Proem.*

CHRONOLOGICAL NOTICE.

The Translator of Curtius is not willing to omit in silence the following passage. “ From the capture of Troy to Evænetus, archon of Athens—in whose time Alexander is said to have passed over into Asia— . . . was an interval, according to Timæus and Clitarchus, of eight hundred and twenty years.”—*Apud* CLEM. ALEX. *Opera, tom.* I. p. 403.—M. de Sainte-Croix, p. 621, emphatically mentions this, to show that Clitarchus was not entirely negligent of chronology: but as the era of Alexander’s passage into Asia

falls within the period which the two lost books of Curtius would have embraced, there can be no comparison instituted between the two historians on this point.

5.—*Timagenes*.—Timagenes of Alexandria, whom Quintilian regards as the restorer of history, having been made a slave on the conquest of his country by Gabinius, was carried to Rome, in the year 55 before the Christian era, and sold to Faustus, the son of Sylla; who some time after gave him his liberty. The lectures on rhetoric which Timagenes delivered, attracted a great number of auditors. His reputation increased still more through his frivolous and unhappy talent for raillery.¹ He happened at first to please Augustus; who commissioned him to write his history. But having abused that prince's confidence; and being on the point of attacking him, his wife, and all his family, by the most biting strokes of satire; he was forbidden to enter the palace of the emperor. In revenge he had the folly to burn his work, in which his genius had described the achievements of Augustus. Timagenes at length quitted Rome, where he had rendered himself odious by his intemperate speeches*; and took refuge at Tusculum, with Asinius Pollio, his faithful friend. In this retreat, Timagenes devoted himself anew to the culture of history, which the Greeks appear to have neglected for a long interval. Perhaps he then discovered, too late for a reconciliation, the danger of writing the history of a living prince. Timagenes, after discarding Augustus as a subject for his pen, still chose nevertheless to employ his capacity for research, his knowledge of languages, and his command of style, in composing for the information of posterity a memorial *Of Kings*. This was the title which he gave to the history of Alexander and his successors. His recorded talents for the art of writing, and his great erudition, offer to us nothing but motives for regretting the loss of his

* "An enemy to the felicity of the city, he was often saying, *That if Rome were burnt, there would be this one cause for grief: that he knew better things would rise from the ruins, than would have been destroyed.*" SENECA, *Epist.* 91.—Surely it was calumny that attributed this to him; or how could he have preserved a character for integrity?

work.—SENECA; SUIDAS; HORAT.; HADR. VALES; AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, *et AL.* cited more particularly in *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, pp. 55. .57.

[D.] *On the Similar Qualities of the expirable and the perspirable Gas.*

P. 18.—“Not only his breath was fragrant, but the effluvia “from his pores had a congenial purity.”]—This trait in the description by Freinshemius, in support of which he cites a stronger passage in Plutarch, has excited the suspicion and ridicule of those who do not know how consonant it is with the discoveries and conclusions of eminent physiologists in the modern school of medicine. The question raised upon the passage comes to this: Whether there is such a thing as a sweet breath from any human pair of lungs? for in the chymical constituents and characters of the effluvia from the lungs, and of the dry gaseous odor from the skin, an identity is established, by the concurring results of many experiments. In Blumenbach’s *Institutes*, under sect. XI. “Of the Cutaneous Perspiration,” these passages occur.

“193. What is most worthy our attention, is, the transpiration [from the skin] of an aëriform fluid, denominated, “after the very acute philosopher who first applied himself “professedly to investigate its importance, the *perspirable* “*matter of Sanctorius*, and SIMILAR TO WHAT IS EXPIRED “FROM THE LUNGS. Like the latter, it is composed of “various proportions of carbon, nitrogen, and hydrogen; “precipitates lime from its solution; and is unfit to support “either flame or respiration.”

“195. Upon the same hydrogen, variously modified by the “accession of other elements and constituents, would seem “to depend the natural and peculiar odor perceived in the “perspiration and sweat of certain nations and individuals.”—

Institutions of Physiology, by J. F. BLUMENBACH, Professor of Medicine in the University of Gottingen, Translated from the Latin of the third and last Edition, by JOHN ELLIOTSON, M. D. Second Edit. 8vo. London, 1817, pp. 112, 113.

This explains why, after eating onions, or taking sulphur or musk, or any strong-scented substance, the peculiar odor attached to it may be perceived at the ends of the fingers, or at other parts of the surface of the cuticle remote from the alimentary organ.

The fragment of description which Plutarch has preserved, and which Freinshemius vouches as his authority, is as follows: "And it is said that his frame yielded effluvia sweetly constituted; so that his clothes were filled with a fragrance rivalling the odor of aromatics. This quality seems to have been owing to his warmth of temperament; in like manner as very arid and hot tracts of land produce frankincense and cassia; and Theophrastus delivers an opinion, that this fragrance was generated by a certain concoction of humours, whereby whatever was noxious might be separated by heat, and dispelled before reaching the cutaneous vessels."—PLUTARCHI *Symposiakon*, *Problem. lib. i. Questio 6*.

[E.] *On the Plant which produces Frankincense.*

P. 21. — "Incense-bearing Arabia."] — It is generally agreed, that the Gum-resin, called *Olibanum*, is the Frankincense which was used by the Ancients in their religious ceremonies. The assertion of Linnæus that the tree bearing it is a species of Juniper,—as well as the ascription, by the botanists of his school, of this character to the Lycian Juniper,—appears to be a mistake; at least the affirmative has never been proved. We learn from Theophrastus and from Pliny, that the Greek writers differed in their description of the tree.

Pliny adds, that the information contained in the volume addressed by King Juba to C. Cæsar, grandson and adopted son of Augustus, was inconsistent with other accounts; and further remarks, that the Ambassadors who came to Rome from Arabia in his own time, had rendered the whole matter more uncertain than ever. The information obtained in modern times from Arabia is not more satisfactory.

Olibanum is named *Luban* and *Cundur* by the Arabs. But Benzoin, having been introduced into general use, as incense, in place of Olibanum, the name of *Luban* has been appropriated to that fragrant Balsam; and the Muhammedan writers of India, on the *Materia Medica*, apply only the term *Cundur* to Olibanum. The author of the "*Mekhzenuladviyeh*" describes the drug as the gum of a thorny plant a yard high, with leaves and seed resembling the myrtle. It grows, he says, on the mountains of Shahar and Yemen. He, however, adds, that the plant is said to be found in some parts of India. The *Tohfut ul muminin* gives a similar description, without attributing the plant to any part of India; and so does the Arabian author Abulfadli.

From the Hebrew *Lebonah*, or Arabic *Luban*, the Greeks obtained their names for the tree and the gum *Libanos** and *Libanotos*. They seem likewise to have been acquainted with the term *Cundur*; from which *χονδρος* is probably derived.

* This serves to explode the notion which connected the *Thus* plant with Mount Lebanon.

The Hindu writers notice a fragrant resinous gum, under the name of *Cundururu*, for which their grammarians assign an etymon as a Sanscrit word. They declare it to be the produce of the *Sallaci*, a tree vulgarly called the *Salaï*. A plant known by that name was examined by Dr. Hunter on his journey to Oojain; and by Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, on a journey to Nagpoor; and it has been figured and described by Dr. Roxburgh, who has named it *Boswellia Serrata*. The gum which exudes from it was noticed by Mr. D. Turnbull, then surgeon to the Residency at Nagpoor; he

judged it to be Olibanum. The same gentleman afterwards returned to his station at Mirzapoor; where he procured considerable quantities of the gum of the *Salai*, which he sent to Europe at different times; first, without assigning the name of Olibanum; and more lately under that designation. In England it was recognised for Olibanum, though offered for sale as a different gum; and annual consignments of it have been since regularly sold at the East-India Company's sales. This amounts to proof that the plant anciently called *Libanus thurifera*, and which bears a gum of which the Modern Latin name is *Olibanum*, is a native of some districts in India, as well as of Arabia Felix.—See ASIATIC RESEARCHES, vol. IX. art. 7, *On Olibanum or Frankincense*, by H. T. Colebrooke, Esq.

[F.] *Notices of a Revolution in Alexander's
Dramatic Taste.*

P. 34.—“ In his early youth, Alexander despised Comedians: but afterwards conforming to the taste of Greece, he patronized them at public entertainments.”]—The original passage of Freinshemius omits to bring into review this revolution in the Prince's dramatic taste; as though his aversion from Comedians had continued through life. His words are: “ Alexander despised Comedians as a class whose profession did not harmonize with his designs; for he conceived that their exhibitions tended to vitiate public morals.” In support of this too unqualified statement, he cites *Athen. pr. lib. xiii. Dio. Chrysost. orat. 2; Plut. orat. 1. de Fortun. Alexand. cap. 6.* Dr. Gillies, in his History of Greece, chap. xl. cites *Plut. orat. 2. de Fortun. Alexand.* in support of the following different representation. “ ALEXANDER, DURING HIS EARLY YOUTH, TOOK DELIGHT IN “ DRAMATIC ENTERTAINMENTS.” It may be permitted the

Translator to observe, that so much of this conflicting position as represents Alexander in his *early youth* to have taken delight in dramatic entertainments, is not borne out by the passage referred to in Plutarch. That authority merely tells us, in relating a detached incident:—" *In the age of Alexander*, lived the tragedians Thessalus and Athenodorus; " these being rival candidates for the prize of merit, the kings " who reigned in Cyprus undertook the cost of having trial " plays repeated, in order that the magistrates who presided " among the audience as theatrical judges, might decide " which actor was most applauded by the public. When " Athenodorus was proclaimed the victor, Alexander said, " ' *I would rather have lost part of my kingdom, than have seen " Thessalus vanquished.*' Nevertheless he neither interfered " with the judges, nor censured their decision; feeling that " he whom fortune had made the superior of all others, ought " himself to be subject to justice."

A parallel passage in another work of the same author fixes the period of Alexander's life to which both apply. In the second a fuller detail of circumstances proves that the king was then twenty-five years of age. Plutarch says: " *At his return from Egypt to Phœnicia*, he honoured the " gods with sacrifices and solemn processions; on which " occasion the people were entertained with music and " dancing, and tragedies were presented in the highest perfection." After relating several anecdotes connected with the public contest for the prize of merit between the celebrated tragedians, Athenodorus and Thessalus,—the biographer tells us: " Another actor named Lycon, a native of Scarpbia, " performing with great applause before Alexander, de- " trously inserted in one of the speeches of the COMEDY, a " line applying to the king, in which he asked for ten talents. " Alexander laughed, and gave him them."—*Plut in vit. Alexandri.*

The text of Freinshemius and this account are not repugnant, if we apply them to different periods of the Prince's

life. It appears that when victory had showered on Alexander inexhaustible means of splendour and luxury, he resigned some severities which both Greeks and Asiatics must have regarded as singular. The comedy of the day might, in Alexander's youth, have shocked him by its coarse personality and indecent buffoonery; and such a governor as Leonidas, would either engage or confirm him in the revolt.

The spirit of this note may be applied to other passages as well in the *Supplement* of Freinshemius, as in more voluminous *Histories of Greece*, being modern compilations from ancient works. Formed of gleanings from promiscuous authors, or from scattered passages in the same author, it easily happens that statements which involve an apparent contradiction when brought together, are admitted in detached places from a casual association, without that explanation which is wanted to reconcile them. For example, Alexander is said in one place, *Supplem.* p. 37, to *have avoided intoxication*; and in another, p. 18, to *have had a propensity to wine*. Both these statements are from Plutarch. If they are thought to predicate what is incompatible, they may be referred to different periods of the same individual's life. Curtius himself however never leaves to a commentator the office of making a similar explanation for him; but in drawing the character of Alexander, distinctly refers to two stages of his life.—Translation, vol. i. p. 332; and vol. ii. pp. 96, 412. The one commenced when the Prince entered on public affairs fresh from the hands of his tutors; continued with even tenor until some time after the battle of Issus; declined as his prosperity augmented; and perhaps soon after the fall of Darius left him master of Asia, his ambition and his love of pleasure had openly free'd his elated spirit from the curb of moderation. Still the period of excess may not have commenced in all the lineaments of his manners at the same point of time.

[G]. *Doubtful whether any Equestrian Statues of Alexander taming Bucephalus, executed in that age, have been preserved.*

P. 40.—“ Alexander taming his horse, was a subject which “ the chief artists of that age were emulous to celebrate.”] Freinshemius adds the following notice: “ Two equestrian “ statues in marble of *A Man taming a Horse*, are still “ pointed out to us by some antiquarians, as having been “ executed by Phidias and Praxiteles in a trial of skill “ between them. Although it may be doubted that these “ are statues of Alexander, writers not unknown to the lovers “ of the fine arts believe them to be so.” Thus to connect the names of Phidias and Praxiteles, with the supposition that the subject might be the Taming of Bucephalus, involves a double anachronism. Phidias flourished a century before Alexander ; and Praxiteles about a generation or thirty years before. Some Italian antiquarians, cited by Freinshemius, led him into this error. One of the works which they had in view, was the celebrated statue on the Monte Cavallo at Rome, inscribed *Opus Phidiæ*. Mr. Day’s faithful cast of this stupendous work has lately brought it under the eye of the British public. The style countenances the ascription of the work to Phidias ; which so far excludes the supposition that the figure of the man can represent the young Macedonian hero ; but were it even by a contemporary of Alexander, the subject, as the man and horse are grouped, seems not to have been designed for the Taming of Bucephalus.

[H.] *The Authorities for Alexander’s March to Jerusalem.*

P. 258.—“ He marched into Judea with a design to punish their contumacy.”]—Some persons may be disposed to infer, that had Curtius credited the account which occupies the

remainder of the chapter, it would have been introduced into that part of his history which has been preserved. The historical episode supplied by Freinshemius, is founded upon the authority of Josephus, [l. xi. c. viii.] corroborated or qualified by incidental passages in Tacitus, Zonaras, and other writers. Dr. Gillies supposes the account of Josephus to be "a story invented by the patriotic vanity of the Jews," on the following grounds: 1. All the historians of Alexander are silent concerning his journey to Jerusalem, and his extraordinary transactions there;—2. It is inconsistent with the narrative of Arrian: "The conquest of Phœnicia was *followed* by the "submission of all Palestine, except Gaza:" Alexander had thus no occasion to march against Jerusalem;—3. The conversation between Alexander, Parmenio, and the high-priest Jadduah, as related by Josephus, is contradictory to the best-authenticated events in the life of Alexander; for Parmenio, in asking Alexander, "*Why he whom all the world adored,*" should himself adore the high-priest of the Jews?" is made to allude to an expression of homage which Alexander did not require till long after the period referred to by Josephus;—4. The Chaldæans could not have accompanied him, as that writer alleges;—5. The high-priest could not, with propriety, have requested Alexander to permit the Jews settled in Babylon and Media, the free exercise of their religion, before that Prince had conquered those countries, or even passed the Euphrates.

The reflecting reader will perhaps be of opinion, that some of these difficulties, and those which at first view present the firmest countenance, may be repelled. To the SECOND objection, for example, any one of the following replies seems independently efficient.

The account of Josephus is not irreconcilable with the narrative of Arrian.

Arrian's "*Expedition of Alexander,*" though a COMPILATION deservedly valued, is chargeable with material omissions and positive errors.

The invader of Persia, in the eager pursuit of encouraging omens and sanctions from the temples and priests of all religions, often went where he had no *military* occasion to go.—Witness his march to the *ousis* of Ammon.

It is sufficient to insist, that the narrative of Arrian is chargeable with material omissions.

And, it may obviate the FIRST objection, to consider,—That had we the annals of every people whom Alexander subdued, we should probably find transactions recorded of the highest interest in the view of every individual historian of his own nation, which all the other writers on the conquests of Alexander have omitted:—Not to suggest, on a different ground, that if Parmenio conceived that the son of Philip descended in prostrating himself before the Jewish high-priest, the Greek writers who accompanied the conqueror in his expedition, viewing, like Parmenio, the interview as degrading, might *deliberately suppress it*.

It is *incredible*, that Alexander, whose spirit was as inquisitive as ambitious, should move from Tyre to Gaza, without visiting so renowned a place as Jerusalem.

The FOURTH objection asserts, that the *Chaldæans* could not have accompanied Alexander. Must we understand, by the word, natives of Chaldæa, a province in the bosom of the Persian empire, whither Alexander had not penetrated? Even then it seems an extraordinary position. Could not the camp which held Sisines, [see, *infra*, book iii. chap. vii. § 17.] contain any native Chaldæans?—But the Chaldæans who accompanied Alexander, were, probably, sages of the sect of Zoroaster, who founded the Chaldæan system of philosophy, of which the chief branches were magic and astronomy, with a mystical ontology, from which was afterwards borrowed the Manichean error: his disciples spread over a wide tract of country from the Tigris to the Nile; numbers settled in Syria: using a language common to the sect, they were called *Chaldæans*, without any regard to their birth-place.

The conqueror of Syria might have in his service as many of these sages as he chose to retain ; and as the Chaldaic language has great affinity with the Hebrew, of which it is a dialect, he might take to Jerusalem such attendants, as interpreters, to prevent the Jewish priests from imposing on him any factitious reading, or gratuitous construction, of their prophecies. It may not be irrelevant to add, that, besides other parts of the Scripture, the book of Daniel, from ii. 4. to vii. ult. is written in Chaldaic.

The substance of the above was written in 1809, and printed in a note to the first edition of the Translation of Curtius. Since then, the author of Examen Critique Historiens d'Alexandre, who had at first expressed an opinion coinciding with that of Dr. Gillies, has in the second edition of his work, dated Paris, 1810, given reasons for retracting his sceptical comments on this passage of Josephus. He thus candidly states what moved him to reconsider them. "The English Translator of my work, Sir Richard Clayton, adopts the sentiment of Bayle, and rejects, with reason, that which I had at first hazarded."—p. 562, n. (4).

As M. de Sainte-Croix's translation of the passage in Josephus is founded on a collation of MSS., it may not be superfluous to give it, that it may be compared with the narrative of Freinshemius.

"When engaged in the siege of Tyre, Alexander wrote to the high-priest Jaddus, who had succeeded Jonathan, his father, demanding a supply of provisions, and of auxiliary troops. Jaddus answered by a refusal, founded upon the promise which the Jews had given Darius not to bear arms against him. Alexander, on this slight, threatened to march against Jerusalem as soon as he should have taken Tyre. The result was, that master of that city, and of Gaza, he began to lead a force against the capital of Judea, with the intention of making the inhabitants experience the terrible effects of his anger, as the Phœnicians and the

“ Chaldæans, who were with him, believed. On intelligence
“ of this, the high-priest offered sacrifices in the temple, and
“ instituted public prayers. God, appearing to him in a
“ dream, commanded him to open the gates of the city, and
“ to go without fear, in his pontifical investiture, attended by
“ all the sacerdotal order, to meet Alexander. In conse-
“ quence Jaddus, accompanied by the priests and by the
“ people, went out of Jerusalem, and advanced to a station
“ called Sapha, whence there was a view both of the temple
“ and the city. The spectacle of all the people clothed in
“ white, of the column of priests robed in linen, and of the
“ high-priest with his ephod and mitre, in front of which was
“ a plate of gold with the NAME OF GOD inscribed upon
“ it; this sight, I say, made such an impression on the
“ Macedonian Prince, that, advancing alone, he worshipped
“ the NAME, and saluted the high-priest. All the Jews
“ returned him this salute by a simultaneous shout, and sur-
“ rounded him. The princes of Syria, and their retinues,
“ believed that Alexander had lost his understanding. It
“ was no other than Parmenio, who, approaching the king,
“ had the boldness to ask him, ‘ how he could do such an
“ act, being adored by the whole world, as to prostrate
“ himself before the high-priest of the Jews? Alexander
“ answered: ‘ It was not him that I adored, but that God,
“ under whom he exercises the high-priesthood. When I
“ was at Dium in Macedonia, I saw him in a dream with
“ these ensigns. I was meditating then upon the means of
“ making myself master of Asia. He exhorted me not to
“ defer my enterprize, and to pass with confidence [the
“ Hellespont], because he would himself conduct my army,
“ and deliver into my hands the empire of the Persians.
“ Having never seen any other person in the same habiliment,
“ I called to mind my vision, and the exhortation which the
“ same form gave me. I believe, therefore, that, under the
“ guidance of God, I shall vanquish the army of Darius, and
“ destroy the power of the Persians; in fine, that the result of

“all will be according to my desires.’ Alexander, having
 “given his hand to the pontiff and to the priests who accom-
 “panied him, marched to Jerusalem. On his arrival in
 “the city, he ascended to the temple, and offered there
 “such sacrifices as the high-priest prescribed. At length
 “Jaddus showed to him the book of Daniel, where it was
 “specified that a Greek should overthrow the empire of
 “the Persians. Alexander, persuaded that this prophecy
 “related to himself, was rejoiced at it, and dismissed the
 “assembly. On the morrow, he caused the people to be
 “convened, and enquired what favours they desired. The
 “high-priest supplicated him to give permission to the Jews
 “to govern themselves according to the laws of their fathers,
 “and to exempt them from tribute every seventh year. All
 “which he granted. The Jews, being assured that such as
 “would serve him, should have the privilege of living accord-
 “ing to their own laws and ceremonies, many enrolled them-
 “selves voluntarily in his army. Alexander however soon
 “afterwards distributed them in the neighbouring towns
 “which submitted to him.

“The Samaritans of Sichem next presented themselves so
 “as to meet the king not far from Jerusalem, and intreated
 “him to come to their city, and enter their temple. He
 “gave them to hope that he would, on his return. They then
 “demanded an exemption from tribute every seventh year;
 “in which they were forbidden to sow their lands. As they
 “affirmed they were Hebrews, the king enquired of the
 “Sidonians respecting this; who denied that they were so.
 “Whereupon he replied to the Samaritans: ‘I have granted
 “that favour only to the Jews; when I return, better in-
 “formed respecting the affair, I will exercise my pleasure
 “therein.’” Such is the account of JOSEPHUS, *Ant. Jud.*
 lib. XI. c. viii. § 4 . . . 6.

M. de Sainte-Croix then gives an extract from the *Sama-
 ritan Chronicle*; a curious fragment, which conducts Alex-
 ander to Mount Garizim. The beginning in some points runs

parallel with the account of Josephus; the conclusion contains many fictitious circumstances, peculiar to the Samaritan Chronicle, and repugnant to historical facts. The learned critic pronounces the design of the author to have been, to transfer to the Samaritans what Josephus had recorded of the Jews on the occasion of Alexander's visit to Palestine.

M. de Sainte-Croix proceeds to give many extant proofs, that the tradition of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem had spread through all the east.

Abulfeda, the Arabian historian, assures us, that this Prince, after having fought Darius, and entered the Persian frontier, passed to Jerusalem, and honoured the Children of Israel.

The Greeks and the Romans cherished so much hatred and contempt for the Jewish people, that they affected not to speak of them in their writings. Josephus records his astonishment at the absolute silence which Jerome of Cardia has maintained respecting this people, notwithstanding Hieronymus Cardianus was Procurator of Syria, lived, so to speak, along with him, and wrote a history *Of the first Successors of Alexander*. Hecataeus of Abdera, a contemporary of Hieronymus, was less warped by passion. He records, [*apud* JOSEPH. *contra* APION, I. 22.] that at the time of the battle of Gaza, eleven years after Alexander's death, the Jewish nation possessed many fortresses and towns in the country of Palestine; and that Jerusalem, fortified by art and nature, contained alone 105,000 inhabitants, notwithstanding a considerable emigration which the troubled state of Syria under the successors of Alexander had occasioned.

M. de Sainte-Croix proceeds to say, that such a city would naturally attract the attention of a Prince whose object was the dominion of Asia; nor would he leave its strength in an adverse relation behind him. Arrian's hasty narrative has therefore adhered to general congruity, in placing the submission of Palestine before the siege of Gaza; and the detailed account of Josephus, in dating Alexander's visit to Jerusalem

afterwards, has reversed the order of the two events. But this mistake cannot invalidate the whole of his evidence, which agrees with that of Hecatæus as to the Jews enrolling themselves in the service of Alexander. The Abbreviator of Trogus has preserved a circumstance, which though indistinctly sketched, is another collateral confirmation. "Then he marched into Syria; where many princely rulers met him, with *mufflers*."—[i. e. veils, either upon their heads, their banners, or their spears, as emblems of devoted submission.]—JUSTIN. *lib.* XI. c. 10. Lastly, not to neglect the least vestige of fact: Quintus Curtius informs us, 'that Alexander, after the siege of Tyre, marched through those towns, which had shown a disposition not to submit.'—*lib.* IV. c. v. In this notice, he is as brief as Arrian, but more discriminating.

In his recapitulation of all the principal points, M. de Sainte-Croix observes:—We must not dissemble that the account of Josephus offers many difficulties. The first is, the question of Parmenio to Alexander, *Why he whom all the world adored?* Doubtless, it was not until some time after Darius had fallen, and the usurper Bessus had been reduced, that some of the Macedonians, base flatterers of their king, bent themselves in the Persian form of prostration before him. But as to his Asiatic subjects, no other consequences can be thought of, after the battle of Issus, than that the natives of the places falling under his dominion, should render to the conqueror, in his progress, the same honours as to their own monarch.

Secondly, how could Alexander know that it was the name of God, that was inscribed upon the golden plate in front of the high-priest's mitre? This objection does not seem worth answering. But much of the information which the Author of the *Examen Critique* elicits—in the course of a reply, which ought to put such drivelling out of countenance—is highly interesting. Cyrus, Darius son of Hystaspes, and Artaxerxes Longimanus, had all expressed their homage to

the God of Israel, by causing offerings on their part to be solemnized in his temple: but Alexander was the first who entered it. Ptolemy Evergetes afterwards sacrificed in the same temple; and Augustus maintained, at his own expense, a yearly immolation of victims on its altar. But to revert to the privileges and benefits which Alexander conferred upon the Jews, Hecatæus records, that ultimately he transferred to them the territory of the Samaritans, without exacting any impost. He even visited Jericho; where, Pliny tells us, *lib. XII. c. 64*, a shell was filled in his presence with a specimen of the balm of Gilead, flowing from the tree, in the course of a summer's day.

Thirdly, the name of the high-priest, Jaddus, offers some difficulties, inasmuch as two writers of the middle age state Jaddus to have lived under Artaxerxes Mnemon. M. de Sainte-Croix adduces a preponderance of evidence of prior origin, shewing, in agreement with Josephus, that Jaddus presided over the temple at Jerusalem under Alexander.

Fourthly, it is objected against the account of Josephus, that he represents some *Chaldæans* to have accompanied Alexander. M. de Sainte-Croix notices that certain scholars have proposed to surmount this difficulty, by understanding the Jewish historian to speak of the Northern *Chaldæans*, or Chalybes of Asia Minor: but he justly dismisses this poor subterfuge of a feeble advocate, to have recourse to something more plausible. "Those Chaldæans," says the Author of *Examen Critique*, "whom we find in the Macedonian Prince's train, were indubitably the satraps and commanding-officers of that part of the Persian empire who had come in and transferred their services to him." The Translator of Curtius cannot, however, subscribe even to this reply as complete and satisfactory; for if the body of renegades from Darius were not designated in the Macedonian camp by the general name of "Persians," why should they not be called after some grand division of the empire that had submitted, rather than by the name of a province not yet conquered?

They were no more Chaldæans than they were Medes. Although he can adopt, without reserve, the able vindication which M. de Sainte-Croix has framed for Josephus on other points; yet he cannot but think that the reviewer of Alexander's historians has on this one, overlooked the true grounds on which a tenable defence is to be built; and therefore begs leave to refer the reader to that extensive signification of the word *Chaldæans*, which—detaching, it from every national relation—applies it to a sect of Eastern philosophers, using the Chaldæan as their learned tongue.

M. de Sainte-Croix concludes by saying, that all the objections which have been made to the narrative of Josephus respecting Alexander's journey to Jerusalem, must vanish from before the eyes of a discerning and impartial critic.

The literary Journalist cited in the note, p. 258, *Translation of Curtius*—when he notices that “the narrative of Josephus has the high authority of M. de Sainte-Croix”—adding, “that he has done all that ingenuity can effect to render at least the main facts of the common account credible”—dexterously avoids to do three things: either to retract an opinion formerly given adverse to this very narrative of the Jewish historian; to invalidate the evidence adduced by the Author of *Examen Critique*; or to admit the force of his arguments.

[I.] *On the meaning of Spicula.*

P. 286.—. . . “carrying lances adorned with silver, and “javelins headed with gold.”]—*Currum decem millia hastatorum sequebantur: HASTAS argento exornatas, SPICULA auro præfixa gestabant.* CURT. Looking at each word as standing alone, grammarians and verbal critics are more likely to insist upon such an interpretation of *hastas* and *spicula* as has been already given, than to object to it.—See *Classical Journal*, No. XX. p. 309. But weighing the entire sentence

in the scale of reason, the Translator is inclined to consider the *hastus argento exornatus*, and the *spicula auro præfixa*, as relative parts forming but one instrument, consisting of—the spear-staff, inlaid or embossed with silver; and the spear-head, mounted with gold. Under the opposite construction, the short javelin, a missile thrown away in battle, has its blade formed of that costly metal, gold; while the lance or halbert, which is retained in the charge, and is more conspicuous on the parade, is ornamented with silver only. *Hasta pura* occurs in other authors, for the handle of a spear; and if we may collect the sense in which Curtius introduces *spiculum* from other more decisive passages, he never employs it for the entire weapon, but as the barb or head attached to a shaft. The following examples have no ambiguity:

Quos dum obsidet rex, inter promptissimos dimicans sagittâ ictus est, quæ in medio crure fixa reliquerat SPICULUM. *lib. VII. c. vi. 23.*

Barbari quoque ingentem vim sagittarum infudere ratibus: vixque ullum fuit scutum quod non pluribus simul SPICULIS perforaretur. *VII. ix. 34.*

Quidam e muro sagittâ percussit. Tum fortè in suram incidit telum; cujus SPICULO evulso admoveri equum jussit. *VIII. x. 35.*

... Rege in tabernaculo relato, medici lignum hastæ corpori infixum—ita ne SPICULUM moveretur—abscindunt. Corpore deinde nudato animadvertunt hamos inesse telo, nec aliter id sine pernicie corporis extrahi posse, quàm ut secando vulnus augerent. Ceterùm, ne secantes profluvium sanguinis occuparet, verebantur; quippe ingens telum adactum erat, et penetrasse in viscera videbatur.....At Critobûlus...hortari eum cœpit, Ut se continendum præberet, dum SPICULUM evelleret. *IX. v. 18.*

The *spiculum*, or metal part, might be annexed either to the *hasta*, the *telum*, or the *sagitta*; that is, to the spear, the javelin, or the arrow. In a subsequent age, the same thing was no longer indicated by the same word. Vegetius explicitly states, that the word *spiculum* came to be substituted for *pilum*, as the ENTIRE NAME of the Roman javelin—comprising a wooden shaft of five-feet-and-a-half in length, with a triangular iron head of nine inches: But looking only at the places in which Curtius has introduced *spiculum*, to find the sense in which we should read it, the more just

interpretation of the passage in book iii. appears to be :
 “ carrying lances adorned with silver, the spike-heads mounted in gold.”

The *exornatas* of the original will comprise any style of ornament of which the works of oriental armourers afford specimens. “ Many of the figures on the blades of their swords are wrought in gold or silver, or in marquetry with small gems.”—*Asiatic Miscellany*, vol i.

Flavius Renatus Vegetius lived in the fourth century under the reign of Valentinian, to whom he dedicates a work entitled *Epitome Institutorum Rei Militaris*. The passage from his second book, c. 15, cited in part above, literally is : “ The greater missile weapon consists of an iron head nine inches long, on a wooden shaft of five-feet-and-a-half ; which was originally named *PILUM*, now it is called *SPICULUM*.” The different sense in which Curtius employs it, may be added to the arguments for assigning a comparatively early date to his history.

The alternative version in the text of the work, was given in deference to the commentaries of a paper in the *Classical Journal*, signed “ E. H. Barker ;” and supported by such a display of quotations, that the Translator thought it safer to adopt it provisionally, and then give reasons for a varied translation, than directly oppose himself to so much learning.

However the other authors summoned by the learned essayist may uphold his argument, the more this very passage, of Curtius is examined, it appears to disavow the service into which it was pressed ; for is it probable that the same men carried both lances and javelins ? It may be collected from Tacitus, *Ann.* II. c. 14 ; XII. c. 35, that in the Roman army, some corps carried lances ; and others, javelins ; the entire set of arms in each company being different on system : but where is the precedent for arming the same soldier with a lance and a javelin ? As species of the same genus, they were so nearly allied, that to the military tactician their degrees of utility would present points rather of competition than union.

[J]. *On the Positions of the Cilician Passes, and particularly on the Site of the PYLE AMANICÆ.*

P. 309.—... “the Persian forces came to the streits of Amanus, on the same night that Alexander reached the “pass which leads into Syria.”]—The exact situation of the *Pyle Amanicæ*, or streits of Amanus, is still a problem, owing to the notices of it, which the ancient writers have left, being few, vague, and indistinct; and the sites of one or two of the other Cilician passes are involved in more or less of uncertainty and complication, rather from the commentators having misapprehended some points in the original accounts, than from any similar deficiency in the materials. This note will therefore be devoted to an inquiry into the true location of the Amanic streit—as far as this can be deduced from the relative positions of the other passes, the lines of march of both armies, and the site of the battle. To begin from some fixed point, and proceed by ascertained stages,—let us first examine the series of passes through which the line of Alexander’s march lay, following the direction of his movements.

I. The first is by eminence the Cilician pass, leading over Mount Taurus, from the province of Tyana in Cappadocia. As a specific name, the *Pass from Cappadocia to Cilicia* will distinguish it from all the others. Respecting the site of this, there is a general agreement; modern travellers clearly identify the line of passage described by ancient writers; the line is long, and some travellers have marked the key of it on the northern face of the mountain, and others the principal defile in descending to the south,—but this causes no perplexity when the reason for this apparent discrepance is understood. Curtius, *Translation*, vol. i. p. 293, describes the last.

The intricate series of narrow defiles appears from Macdonald Kinneir’s journal, in his *Asia Minor*, pp. 115...119, to be closely concatenated for about forty miles; and perhaps

if the wider gorges are included, the ascent and descent will be prolonged to sixty British miles. A French MS. entitled *Des Mouceaux, Voy. fait en Asie vers l'an 1660*—of which an extract is printed in *Voyage de Le Bruyn*, edit. de Bannier, vol. V. p. 435—says: “Twenty paces from this defile, or “Gate as the Ancients called it, we find another, five hundred paces in length, but less narrow than the first:” (meaning than the pass described by Xenophon, and by Curtius.) This, however, is nothing more than a dependent gorge in the same chain; and such connected avenues, however long and intricate the series, are mapped and named but as one *streit*.

II. The second pass in the line of Alexander's march, is described by no other ancient writer than Curtius, if we except a passage of Strabo, which appears to indicate its site, but which—unless Pococke, vol. ii. p. 174, may be thought to connect them—is not so applied by the commentators of either.—See *Translation*, vol. i. p. 304. In his travels through *Asia Minor*, Macdonald Kinneir however attests the existence of this pass, and apparently without being conscious of the striking agreement between his own description and that of the historian, since he does not apprise the reader of the marks of identity discoverable even at this day,—as the same eminent traveller has done in respect to the field of the celebrated battle of Arbela.

This pass is in the heart of Cilicia; and seems to divide its territory into two unequal districts, or perhaps the confined tract to the east and south of the iron gate, is *debatable ground*, which in different ages might be attributed now to Cilicia, and now to Syria; particularly when the two provinces were not under the same dominion, as the master of one was the stronger power. Kinneir, in the passage partly extracted in the note on Curtius, *Transl. p. 293*, thus proceeds: “The pass expanded immediately when we had quitted the “gate; and after a gentle descent of about a mile, we entered “a narrow belt, having the Gulf of Scanderoon close on our

“right-hand, and at the foot of the hills, near the shore, the “ruined town of AYASS.” Curtius, in two places, calls this, the *pass of the Forest*: but a notice in Strabo, before alluded to, will go nigh to identify it with the *pass of Amanus*. After mentioning ÆGÆÆ, the modern Ayass, this ancient geographer says: “then,” [proceeding north-westward, *i.e.* reversing the route of Kinneir] “come the *Amanides Pylæ*, or Gates “of Amanus, having a place fit for a harbour. At these “gates M. Amanus terminates; a mountain branching from “Taurus, and overhanging the eastern frontier of Cilicia.”—p. 676. The Translator feels himself here compelled to mention—to prevent it from being supposed, that he has overlooked what Major Rennell has written upon the subject in his *Illustrations of the Retreat of the Ten Thousand*—that though he has derived from that great magazine of constructive geography much valuable information, assisting him to make some progress towards solving this problem; yet in reading the above passage from Strabo, as cited there, p. 39, in connection with another, it struck him that it was misapplied. The fallacy appears to have originated—in not perceiving that Strabo here describes the north-western extremity of M. Amanus: whereas in another place, p. 751, copying the note of some ancient traveller in an opposite direction, he sketches the south-western termination of that ridge.

Thus, if a semicircle represent Mount Amanus, Ægææ will be seated at the upper end of it, and Pagræ at the lower. From not attending to this, the two places are confounded in Major Rennell's treatise. This semicircle is broken into small sinuities; and between that and the indented coast of the bay of Issus, are narrow plains and deep dells, forming the *debatable ground* mentioned above.

The *pass of the FOREST*, then, in Curtius, is possibly the same with the *Amanides Pylæ*, or *Pass of SOUTH-WESTERN AMANUS*, in Strabo. It is true that Curtius, in the place to

which this note refers, mentions the "pass of Amanus," in such a manner as would consist with their being distinct defiles, according to his distribution of the points. But it is common for the same pass to have several defiles, and hence several names. This collateral point, which, in the view of the Translator, is the only one of the dependent positions that retains a problematic character, will be discussed more particularly, when we come to the question, Whether there is a fourth pass?

III. 1. The third pass is that which leads from Cilicia into Syria, travelling south. This is the third pass in Major Rennell's hypothesis—but the third of a different series; for he entirely omits the second in Alexander's route, just described. Through the want of a due degree of reliance on Curtius, the constructive geographers from D'Anville to Rennell have missed a great deal; such omissions are positive deficiencies, which cause some excess or dislocation in other parts of the map.

Curtius simply mentions this pass, LEADING INTO SYRIA, without adding any description; possibly he found none in the original authors, but scattered notices of dependent parts too confused for a secondary historian to frame a description from them. The cause of this perplexity is two-fold. First, there was the grand pass, in its entire course a mountain pass, which led partly along a ridge at the southern extremity of Amanus, and partly through spurs from the same ridge, and defiles formed by the close approach of Pieria; a lofty mountain rising from the Syrian coast, and forming an angle with Amanus. Secondly, there now is—and some think, that, one-and-twenty centuries ago, there was—a way into Syria, nearly parallel with the grand pass, through the swampy plains and low hills between the ridge of Amanus and the sea. This will be more particularly described under III. 2. Now as Alexander did not go over the ground merely as a traveller, his movements have a complicated relation to both ways; for he occupied the mountain pass as a military

position, and the maritime slip of land as an encamping place; further he necessarily went and mastered some station on the coast, to have a secure point of communication with his fleet.

To return to the mountain pass. Strabo, p. 751, indicates its site—by a castle which commanded the first gorge coming from the south. He says:—"Contiguous to Gindarus there is in the territory of Antioch, a place called *Pagræ*, strongly fortified, and situated upon the ascent of Mount Amanus, leading from the Gates of Amanus into Syria." Pococke describes the entire chain of defiles, travelling in the same direction.—vol. ii. p. 174. With Bailan he identifies the "Pictanus" of the Jerusalem Itinerary, placed nine miles from Alexandria, and eight from Pangrios (*Pagræ*); distances which tally with the notices in Parsons and Kinneir. The name by which the pass is known to modern travellers, is taken from the village of Bailan; which stands between two of its four concatenated defiles—the first and second, counting from the south; the third and fourth, entering from Cilicia.—*Preface to the first Edition of this Translation*, pp. xl. . . . xlii. Abraham Parsons, who resided six years at Scanderoon, as British Consul and Factor Marine, has given apparently the most exact, certainly the most full description of this mountain pass, of any traveller. Macdonald Kinneir has sketched the same line of ascent and descent, about seventeen miles in all, ending where Strabo begins:—"Here at the entrance into the gorges of the mountains, I observed an ancient castle called Pagros, in excellent preservation; it was a large and magnificent chateau." *Asia Minor*, p. 147. Thus the STREETS WHICH LEAD INTO SYRIA are clearly identified with Strabo's *Amanides Pylæ*, or GATES OF SOUTH-WESTERN AMANUS. This pass appears from the itinerary in Kinneir to be forty-eight or fifty miles from the PASS OF THE FOREST of Curtius, the interval being composed of the narrow slip of *debatable ground* above mentioned.

III. 2. We have now to consider the more circuitous road by the sea-coast into Syria. This is the SECOND PASS of

Major Rennell, *Illust. Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, p. 39, who treats it as a distinct and independent key of the territory, and names it the *maritime pass*. But the Translator of Curtius, though he has separated the notices relating to it, cannot but consider this and the mountain-pass into Syria, just described, as one in a military point of view; for the occupier of the heights at each extremity of the line must command the road at their base. However, we learn from Xenophon, *Exped. Cyri*, lib. II. cap. iv. that *in his time*, there were ramparts running down from the mountain to the sea, obstructing the maritime road. This would prevent an enemy from evading a garrison strong enough to keep the mountain-pass, but not competent to take the field. He informs us, that "the Gates of Syria were five parasangs (about seventeen miles) from Issus. These were guarded by two fortresses; the one, which stood the highest, faced Cilicia; the other, seated lower down, was next to Syria. Between these two fortresses ran a river, called Kersus, one hundred feet in breadth. The interval between the walls was three stadia; [a little less than the length of the most difficult defile, which they would thus intersect*:] through which it was not possible to force a way; the pass being narrow, the fortified walls reaching down to the sea, and above were inaccessible rocks. Within these walls stood the pass." Major Rennel, pp. 52, 53, would identify the Kersus of Xenophon, with the Mahersy of Pococke: but that they cannot possibly be the same is evident from Pococke's description of the ground, vol. II. p. 176. Capt. Kinneir thinks the Kersus may be the river of Bylan; to support which many indications combine.

* "After leaving Bylan commences the fourth and last pass, for distinction termed the grand pass into Syria. The road continues ten or fifteen feet wide for half a mile." —Parsons. [Coming from Pagræ in the opposite direction] "We went by a terrace on the side of the hill, and saw great ruins of thick walls on each side of the road, which might be a tower, or gateway; and approaching near Baylan, we went through a pass cut in the rock." —Pococke.

Between the eras of Cyrus and Alexander, the fortresses mentioned by Xenophon appear to have fallen into decay; for

neither Curtius nor Arrian mention that any wall, or artificial gate, impeded Alexander at the Syrian defile. And perhaps it was to supply this deficiency, though on a different site, that Alexander, after the battle of Issus, built a fortress near the entrance of the pass into Syria; as tradition relates.

To apply these points to the movements of Alexander. Arrian informs us, lib. II. cap. vi. that this Prince, having passed the *Persian* [*Syrian*] streits, the day after encamped before the city Myriandros. The narrative of Curtius, at the corresponding point of time, (*Translation*, vol. i. p. 310,) is brief to a defect; for it only implies that Alexander, after entering Syria by the streit, had descended to the coast: "He therefore despatched a small reconnoitring party coast-wise." The position of Myriandros in Kinneir's Map, seems more capable of being reconciled with all the ancient notices than that assigned by Major Rennell, and in a still superior degree than that assigned by M. Barbié du Bocage. Xenophon says that Myriandros was five parasangs from the Syrian streits; which is about the distance from Bylan to the coast in a westward direction. To understand Cyrus as approaching it by the mountain-pass, and not by the swampy plain which was blocked up, confirms the position in Kinneir's Map, and removes the insuperable difficulty of measuring the distance in a strait line southward, *after entering Syria*, instead of going off at an angle to the coast.

To apply this to the return of Alexander from the coast. Arrian says, lib. II. cap. viii. that "Alexander, having despatched some of his horse and archers forward, to clear the road to the streits, through which he was obliged to pass, on the following night he moved, to occupy them again with his whole army*. When this had been also accomplished, about mid-night he ordered his men to repose till morning, having appointed a strict guard wherever it seemed necessary. As soon as the dawn appeared, he began to descend from the hills, [i. e. from

* This does not imply that he had not kept possession of the streits, all the time, by a detachment.

“ the northern declivity of the pass, which is less steep than
 “ the southern,] having streitened his front by reason of the
 “ narrowness of the pass.” [i. e. of the last defile.] Suffi-
 “ ciently in agreement with the above, Curtius says: “ At the
 “ rising dawn, they had gained the streits which their leader
 “ destined them to occupy.” “ The army marched
 “ thirty-two in a file, while the confined gorge of the streits
 “ would not admit a wider column.” — *Transl. vol. i. pp.*
 312, 316.

This explains, too, why Alexander sent a trireme to recon-
 noitre the Persian army at Issus; for if there had been an
 easy communication by the low ledges of plain, a party could
 have gone quicker by land. From this it may be inferred,
 that Alexander's previous movements had led him to the
 coast intermediately by the mountain-pass, and not at once
 by the low maritime road. Major Rennell notices, p. 40,
 that Strabo appears to have known nothing of a maritime
 pass. Indeed not one of the Ancients has described, or even
 recognised the existence of a *thoroughfare* by the sea-coast
 from Alexandretta into Syria, in its entire length detached from,
 and unconnected with, the grand mountain-pass of SOUTH-
 WESTERN AMANUS. The following notice in Pliny, some
 may think, presents the appearance in part of such a road:
 but it does not carry the traveller *through*, by the low shelf
 of plain, to Alexandretta: far from it. “ Seated on the
 “ promontory is the free city Seleucia, named also Pieria.
 “ Above Seleucia,” [i. e. farther from the coast,] “ is seen
 “ another mountain named Casius. Through the
 “ neighbouring territory flows the river Orontes. . . . Then
 “ [after Seleucia] the town *Rhossus* occurs; and *at the back of*
 “ *it lie the narrow gorges, BETWEEN the ridges of the Rhossians*
 “ *and [a branch from] Taurus, which are called PORTÆ*
 “ *SYRIÆ.* On the bordering coast and territory stands the
 “ town Myriandros: and, nigh it, the ridge of Amanus, on
 “ which is the town Bomilæ; which point separates Cilicia
 “ from the Syrians.” — PLIN. *lib. V. cap. xviii.*

In the first place: the Translator doubts, whether the local pass of Mount Rhossus, over which in 1638 Pococke climbed, with the help of two guides, is intended here at all; for, 1. The site "BETWEEN the ridges of "the Rhossians and a branch from Taurus," would correspond better with the position of the grand mountain-pass above described under III. 1. as the Gate of Cilicia and Syria. 2. As Myriandros was always included in Syria, a pass SOUTH of it could hardly be called *Portæ Syriae*. 3. As Pliny nowhere describes the *Pylæ Syriae*, it is likely that his *Portæ Syriae* were the same as the *Pylæ* of other writers.

In the second place: the occurrence of *Amanis*, and the town *Bomilæ*, immediately in connection with *Myriandros*, looks as if there were then no communication with Cilicia by a road close to the sea-shore; but rather as if the triangular plain, on the base of which stood Myriandros, terminated in an impervious angle to the north. The town Bomilæ appears to be the same with the "Pictanus" and "Bailan" of different ages. The communication between Myriandros and Bomilæ might have been through an opening in the west side of Amanus, leaving an access to the grand Cilician and Syrian road north and south. Both Cyrus and Alexander seem to have gone through the mountain-pass to reach the then port of Syria Proper.—At the same time, the inhabitants of Myriandros might have used for local purposes the road over Rhossus in communicating with the coast of Phœnicia to the south. On the north, however, the silence of ancient authors respecting any way to Cilicia between Amanus and the sea, seems to lead to one of these inferences: either that twenty centuries ago, the shelf of lowland near Alexandria—which all modern travellers agree in attributing to alluvial deposits by the rivers and sea, of which great portions are demonstrably of recent formation—was not then everywhere wide enough, and thrown sufficiently level, to afford a continuous road at the base of the mountain; or that if its breadth at all approached that of the swampy plain of modern times, it was then, as now, too sel-

dom passable to be regarded as a commercial or military road.

From modern travels, the road from Alexandretta directly by the coast, appears to be scarcely practicable even as a local thoroughfare, but for a month or two at the end of a dry summer : and then the traveller has at last to make his egress into Syria over hills, and through chasms in ridges of increasing elevation ; as the following extract from Pococke will show :

“ We set out from Scanderoon to the southwards, 27th
“ Sept. 1738 ; passed by Scanderbeg’s Castle, and went
“ near the sea-shore to the river of Baylan, which is about
“ three miles from Scanderoon. I saw some walls near it,
“ and a ruin of ancient brick, in which the mortar was laid
“ very thick ; it had something of the appearance of a bagnio.
“ We went on by the sea-shore, and in about three hours
“ from Scanderoon came to a stream called Shengani, and
“ soon after to some high ground near the sea, and to another
“ stream called Agalicpour. We went over the hills into a
“ plain, and in half an hour came to a rivulet called Farstalic,
“ where the Aga was, whom we overtook in our return from
“ Baias to Scanderoon ; and afterwards we met some of his
“ men driving off the people’s cattle.” Dr. Pococke met
two or three other parties of these men, one of which plundered him of all his provisions, and another robbed him of some trifling article. “ In order to avoid meeting any more
“ of them, we went along the sea-shore in a very bad road.
“ Having travelled about an hour, we turned to the east, and
“ then crossed a rivulet to the south called Dulgehan, and
“ reposed in a fine lawn, encompassed with plane trees and
“ large alders.

“ Ptolemy makes the latitude of Myriandros to be twenty
“ minutes south of Alexandria ; and I conjecture that this
“ place might have been on the river Dulgehan. Strabo
“ mentions it as one of the places on the bay of Issus ; and
“ Ptolemy puts it ten minutes north of Rhossus, with which
“ this site agrees very well ; but it is not above twenty miles

“from Scanderoon.” “To the south of this place indeed
“there are two or three rivulets, on one of which Myriandros
“might be situated. The large plain of Arsous begins a
“league further to the south; it is about three miles wide,
“and ten long, extending to Jebel Totosè, the ancient mount
“Rhossus; of which Arsous, the name of the plain, may be
“a corruption.”

“North of that plain, and to the west of the supposed
“Myriandros, there are some low hills, which run north and
“south, on which Alexander’s army might be encamped near
“Myriandros.”

“In three quarters of an hour [from the plain of
“Arsous] we crossed a stream, and in half an hour
“more a second; and about half a league from it came to
“a village of Turcomen, in the middle of a fine planta-
“tion of mulberry and fig trees; the vines being planted
“so as to twine about the latter. The people led us to
“their village.”

“I saw here several broken pillars, especially about the
“Turkish burial place. On the twenty-eighth we went on,
“passed a rivulet called Boilu, and in an hour came to
“Alhope, an Arab village; there are many winter torrents
“about this place, that spread over the plain. In an hour
“we came to some HILLS that stretch westward from the
“mountains, and arrived at a village on the foot of them,
“where the people were afraid of us, but sent a man to show
“us the way. Having passed these hills, we ASCENDED
“OTHERS to some huts that belonged to a village called
“Eimerakesy.” “Here I hired two men to go with me over
“MOUNT RHOSSUS, now called Totosè. We went to a
“village very pleasantly situated, the hills encompassing a
“vale below, which forms a sort of amphitheatre, and pro-
“duces plenty of fruit, as oranges, lemons, peaches, and
“pomegranates. We had also from this place a fine pros-
“pect—of the sea; of Aias-kala on the point of Mallo, of
“the bay of Tarsus, and Mount Taurus.”

“ On the twenty-ninth we ASCENDED an hour through
 “ woods of pine trees to a spring of water; and afterwards
 “ as much further, by a very steep ascent, to the HIGHEST
 “ PART OF THE HILL which we were to pass, the mountains
 “ being much higher to the west. We saw a deep valley
 “ below, and travelling on upon the mountains, we came to a
 “ fine green spot, where I saw laurel and yew;” “ there
 “ were also box trees and horn-bean on this mountain, in
 “ great abundance. We at length descended into another
 “ valley to the south, which seemed to divide the mountain;
 “ we went in it about two hours, and came to a large rivulet
 “ called th^e Otterjoye. We went an hour further in this
 “ valley; and ASCENDING, in three quarters of an hour we
 “ passed by two or three houses, where the people would not
 “ receive strangers; so we went an hour further, crossing to
 “ the other side of the vale, and came to a few houses, where
 “ we lay on the top of one of them; the houses are low, and
 “ usually built against the side of a hill, to save the expense
 “ of a wall. On the thirtieth, I saw to the west ruins of a
 “ thick wall, and of some houses. We travelled three hours
 “ in a very bad road, and coming to the south side of the
 “ mountain, passed by a ruined church called Motias, and
 “ soon after saw to the left the first of the three Armenian
 “ villages in this country, which is called Alchaphah.” “ In
 “ another hour we arrived at the second Armenian village
 “ called Ionelac; these villages have each of them a church,
 “ and are governed by Christians, called Caias or Deputies,
 “ appointed by the Turkish Governors.”

“ Travelling still on the side of the hills, we went westward,
 “ crossing several deep beds of mountain torrents, with steep
 “ hills on each side; and ascending a hill a little to the north-
 “ west, came to the third Armenian village called Kepsè,”
 the site of the ancient Seleucia.—*Description of the East*, by
R. Pococke, LL. D. & F. R. S. London, 1745, pp. 179 . . 182.

Although it is thus distinctly made out, that there is a circuitous way into Phœnician Syria, going clear west of the

pass through Southern Amanus,—it is apparently not practicable for a caravan, nor in every stage a carriage road.

Alexander Drummond, King's Consul at Aleppo, in a letter dated 1745, March 4, says: "At a little distance," [about a mile SW. from Alexandretta,] "is a square castle, "said to be built by Scanderbeg: neither man nor horse can "approach it, until the summer hath dried up the bogs."—*DRUMMOND'S Travels in Syria*, p. 124.

The same traveller gives at the end of his work the following:

Route from ALEXANDRETTA to ARSOUS.

1749.	hrs. min.
To a river that comes from Jacob's Well and other springs, called Hoggi Soo	0 25
To another from the mountains, called Bylan Chaai.	2 15
To another which falls into a large bay	1 55
To the great river Gourgiana	0 15
To RUINS far in the sea [This may possibly be the site of Myriandros.— <i>Translator of Curtius</i> .]	0 10
To Coughihan point	0 15
To a RUIN of a square building	0 5
To a rivulet.	0 15
To another rivulet	0 45
To another.	0 5
To the great river at Arsous	0 25
	<hr/> 6 50

[Performed by a] light horse, at about four miles an hour, is about twenty-seven miles.—*DRUMMOND'S Travels* p. 292.

The same author nowhere tells us that he at any time personally passed directly from Arsous to Seleucia, or the reverse: but in a letter dated Alexandretta, 1748, Dec. 27, he gives us the piece of detached information. "I have "nothing else to say about the once famous Seleucia, but, "that there is from the city a SUBTERRANEAN PASSAGE "quite through the mountain, by which the inhabitants, "doubtless, gave or received intelligence when they were in, "vested by an enemy."—*DRUMMOND'S Travels*, p. 226.

“ The marshes extend on all sides of Scanderoon ; more
 “ however to the west than to the eastward. And though
 “ the marshes are said to increase as the sea retires from the
 “ shore, there are sufficient proofs extant of the lowlands
 “ between the sea and the mountains, having been always
 “ crossed by sheets of nearly impassable marsh.”—WAL-
 POLE'S *Travels to various Countries of the East*, p. 351.

When Parsons lived at Scanderoon, the maritime road had grown into absolute desuetude; hence he says: “ These
 “ passes” (meaning the streit of Bylan) “ afford the only way
 “ by land through Syria into Asia Minor.”—p. 23.

IV. The only point relating to the Cilician passes that remains a problem, may be thus stated. Is there a collateral pass from Commagena to Cilicia, answering to our author's STREITS OF AMANUS, and to Strabo's *Pylæ Amanicæ*; and is this distinct from our author's PASS OF THE FOREST? *i. e.* is there a counter opening in Amanus, leading eastward from the *pass of the forest*, and connected with a line of defiles communicating with the plain of Sochos?

Almost all the classical commentators, enquiring travellers, and constructive geographers agree to look for the pass by which Darius entered Cilicia somewhere in mount Amanus to the north of the pass of Bailan. The two exceptions which occur to the recollection of the Translator are rather extraordinary. Parsons thought that Darius came and retreated by the pass of Bailan: this is the more inconsistent, as he was not aware of there being a maritime pass for the separate use of Alexander. Posting Alexander in the latter, while Darius advanced by the former, is indeed the hypothesis of Macdonald Kinneir; in talents and advantages incomparably superior to Parsons; and inferior to none of the writers who have speculated on the subject, in acquaintance with the historians of Alexander; and, above all, master of much local information, acquired by traversing some of the principal stages in Alexander's line of march. His opinion,

nevertheless, seems not on this point to rest on a tenable foundation; and the Translator of Curtius has all along exercised the privilege, in quoting from the best informed travellers, of gratefully accepting their additions to the stock of topographical knowledge, and of adopting or rejecting the branches of mere hypothesis erected upon the points surveyed, as they appear satisfactory or otherwise.

1. Alexander would have committed a great military blunder, if, when he encamped on the slip of shelving territory below, he had left the mountain-pass open to Darius.

2. It is not easily conceivable that the two armies could have passed each other unperceived, moving transversely on parallel lines so close together, even by night, when the number of fires blazing in a Persian army are considered.

3. To judge of the direction in which Darius moved from the plain of Sochos, we must advert not to the place where the invader actually was, but to that where Darius expected to find him. Alexander had given out, that he would wait at the *pass of the forest* for Darius. Now, from Sochos to *Ægææ* the line from east to west is one side of a triangle; but from Sochos to *Pagræ*, and then through the Syrian streit to *Ægææ*; is two sides of a triangle; and for part of the distance a winding rugged road, difficult for carriages.

Differing reluctantly from Kinnéir, the Translator is happy to adopt most of what Major Rennell advances upon the subject. "The FOURTH and last pass to be considered is "the upper or northern pass of Amanus. This leads partly "over and partly through the chain of Amanus, a little to the "southward of Issus;" [whether to the southward of Issus? or northward of it, nearly in the same latitude with *Ægææ*? remains to be determined,] "and apparently opens into the "valley by which the river Pinarus descends. This and "the foregoing pass should be the two passes through "Amanus mentioned by Cicero; and the UPPER ONE IS

“ THAT BY WHICH DARIUS CAME TO ISSUS, while Alex-
 “ ander lay behind” [rather in advance of] “ him at Myrian-
 “ drus. It appears to have been unknown to Strabo;” [This
 is a mistake occasioned by the misappropriation of the pas-
 sage from Strabo, mentioned under II. above,] “ although
 “ no clear conception of the movements of Alexander and
 “ Darius could take place without supposing the existence of
 “ such a pass.” Major Rennell subjoins this note on his
 own text. “ The author possesses no means of fixing the
 “ precise situation of this pass: but in point of parallel, it
 “ must lie between the *maritime streit**
 “ and Issus;” [possibly it may lie more
 northward;] “ because Darius, who pass-
 “ ed through it on his way from Syria
 “ [Euphratensis] to Issus, avoided the
 “ maritime pass [Syrian Gates]; and also appears to have
 “ fled through it by way of the valley that opened into the field
 “ of battle.” [This last is quite gratuitous.] “ And more-
 “ over because Cicero, when he took a position for covering
 “ Cilicia from the threatened attack of the Parthians, FROM
 “ SYRIA, THROUGH BOTH OF THE PASSES OF AMANUS,
 “ formed his camp a little to the northward of Issus.” [And
 therefore supposing his position to be equidistant from
 both passes, we should look still farther northward for the
 upper.]

* The Translator can-
 not adopt this term,
 unless applied to the
 mountain pass, from its
 being near a harbour;
 as Strabo indeed ap-
 plies it.

“ Dr. Patrick Russell had occasion to know personally,
 “ that there was a direct communication between Killis and
 “ Ayasse, by a narrow and difficult passage through Amanus:
 “ and Doctor Pococke says: ‘ on the south side of Bayas,
 “ there is a mountain torrent, which comes from the opening,
 “ by which there is an ascent to the Gates of Amanus.’
 “ Here it is proper to remark, that Dr. Pococke took Bayas
 “ for Issus.”—*Illustrations of the Expedition of Cyrus and the
 Retreat of the Ten Thousand.* By JAMES RENNELL. F. R. S.
 London. 4to. 1816, p. 42.

The Translator will now subjoin some reasons, deduced from the narratives of Curtius and Arrian, for thinking that the eastern pass of Upper Amanus lay north of Issus.

“ Parmenio detached a body of horse to pursue the fugitives ; for it happened, that they had all urged their course “ by his wing.”—CURTIUS, *Transl.* vol. i. p. 324.

Now, Parmenio commanded the left wing, which extended to the sea ; and the flying enemy inclined toward his wing—not to force a passage through it, or between that and the sea ; but because the narrow belt of land between Issus and Ægææ curved to the left, in the direction of the coast, forming a quarter of a circle ; consequently the fugitives had to pass along the front of Parmenio’s wing, going north-west.

“ As soon as Darius perceived his left wing broken by “ Alexander, and that part of his army dispersed and put to “ flight, he immediately drove out of the battle, and escaped “ in a chariot with some of his nobles : and so far as the “ country was plain and open, his chariot conveyed him away “ with ease and safety : but when the roads began to be “ mountainous, he quitted it, and—having left therein his “ shield, his mantle, and his bow—continued his flight on “ horseback,” &c.—ARRIAN, *lib.* II. *cap.* xi.

In the narrow tract between Issus and Ægææ, there is a sufficient length of open country, and there only in the neighbourhood of the field of battle, to answer this description : and the flight of Darius must be extended in this direction, to find a line of retreat, to fill up the time till dark, before he met with a defile or mountain, and to correspond with the long pursuit which both Curtius and Arrian relate Alexander to have maintained. This way he might have from twelve to six-and-twenty miles of good road for a chariot, according to the situation of the pass by which he ultimately escaped to the eastward.

Many causes contribute to render it difficult to illustrate the road by which Darius retreated from Cilicia to Comma-

gena, or Euphratensis, by any modern route. The once fertile Mesopotamia* has become a desert; and the lawless Curds have extended themselves to the mountains between Commagena and Cilicia; and either circumstance is enough to bring into desuetude a communication by a chain of defiles in that direction.

* The fertile part of Mesopotamia, which is now the Great Desert, was anciently called "Syria of the Rivers;" the part below the Chaboras was always barren, and was included in Arabia.

In the year 1797, the celebrated W. G. Browne travelled by an unusual route on his journey from Aleppo to Constantinople, passing through AINTAB, Kaisaria, and Angora,—in place of going by the more direct road, which lies by BAILAN and Adene, Kenia, Kutachia, and Bursa. But as this deviation was caused by Kutchuk Ali, the Pasha of Bailan, being in a state of rebellion; so the same circumstance would prevent the traveller from touching that pasha's territory, or from adventuring into Cilicia at all. Added to which, it appears from the Itinerary of Mr. M. Bruce, who in 1812, travelled the same route as Mr. Browne had done in 1797,—that when caravans going from Aleppo to Constantinople get so much to the north and east of Bailan as the position of Aintab, from any cause, it becomes their nearest or most commodious way to cross Taurus at a point between two and three degrees east of the pass by which Alexander entered Cilicia from Cappadocia.

However, an extract from the Itinerary of Mr. M. Bruce will throw some light upon the place where Darius had his camp; and upon the nature of the country by which he advanced and retreated. At the same time, as Mr. Bruce's route is NNW. while that of Darius would lie nearly west and east, we must soon break off the doubtful line of comparison; nor can we assume that the two routes for any distance coincided, though they probably intersected the same point at AINTAB, which the Translator identifies with the UNCHAS of Curtius, at a later period called Deba. The notes are by the Author of the Itinerary.

" 1812, May 21st.—Ten hours over an immense plain*.

" * The plain of So-
" chos, where Darius
" encamped before the
" battle of Issus."

" The caravan halted near a fountain where
" there was abundance of grass for the
" horses."

" 22d.—Eight hours. The road sometimes good, and at
" others stony. The tents were pitched near a fountain of

" † The ancient Deba,
" a town in Euphra-
" tensis."

" excellent water two hours from Aentab †.

" The direction still towards the north.

" Quitted the caravan, and visited Aentab,
" which is situated in a small plain surrounded with hills.
" In the middle of the town is a castle resembling that of
" Aleppo, but not so large. The frequent earthquakes and
" civil wars to which this place has been subject have nearly
" ruined the town and shaken the walls of all the houses.
" The population is supposed to amount to twenty thousand
" souls, of which a great part are Armenians, who have a
" large church. The town is governed by a Mutesellim
" subject to the pasha of Maden."

" 24th.—We marched eight hours to-day. The road for the
" first two hours was uneven; on both sides were small culti-

" † Mount Amanus."

" vated plains under ranges of mountains ‡.

" We afterwards past other plains, and the
" mountains became more elevated. This district is, de-

" § The ancient Ger-
" manica, a city in Ci-
" licia Campestris."

" pendent on the pashalic of Marash §. It

" contains seven villages of Koords, cele-

" brated for their depredations. Our cara-
" van put itself under the safeguard of these people in order

" to pass their territories, but they exacted a larger sum than

" we had agreed to give them by frequently stopping and

" spreading a carpet on the road to collect contributions.

" The roads were bad, and lay through the middle of a

" || Mount Amanus."

" FOREST; passed a defile in the moun-

" tains || covered with large trees, and after

" having quitted it, stopped in a valley at the foot of a

" high mountain belonging to the ridge of Kanler Dag."—

KINNEIR'S *Asia Minor*, p. 559. .

From this description we may collect some ideas which—associated with the names given by Curtius and Strabo to the second pass of our series—will explain and reconcile those names; for the defile in the middle of Cilicia, which Curtius calls the PASS OF THE FOREST, and Strabo the PASS OF AMANUS, appears to have a collateral relation with a series of defiles in two competing ridges of Amanus, branching like the head of a Y, connected with Taurus on the north-west and north-east, and leading through the glades of an extensive forest.

And then several passages in Arrian, relating to streits not clearly appropriated, will fall into an intelligible position, in this line of defiles; particularly the “streits which divide Cilicia from Assyria.” While the latter term was supposed to relate to the *Syrian streits* at the other end of Amanus, the name was justly deemed absurd: but the dependencies of Cilicia which Mr. M. Bruce crossed, reaching almost to the Euphrates, appear to vindicate it.

“Parmenio was despatched to seize the streits which divide Cilicia from Assyria, and to keep possession thereof.”—ARRIAN, lib. II. cap. v.

“Afterwards, with three companies of Macedonian foot, and all his archers and Agrians, Alexander in person encountering the Cilicians, who had seized the passes through the mountains, in the space of seven days, partly by force, and partly by composition, he reduced them all to his obedience, and then returned to Soli.”—*Ibid.*

“While Alexander continued at Mallos, news was brought him that Darius, with his whole army, lay encamped at Sochos, a place in Assyria, about two days’ journey (*stathmes*) from the streits before-mentioned.—ARRIAN, lib. II. cap. vi.

Dr. Russell’s notice of a direct communication between Killis and Ayass, by a narrow and difficult passage through Amanus, already cited after Major Rennell, deserves to be again mentioned in the absence of more precise information;

as leading to the parallel and vicinity in which the fourth, as a collateral pass to the second, is to be looked for. In Niebuhr's Map, Killis is about thirty miles west of Aentab, nearly on the same parallel.

The Bayas of Pococke is but sixteen miles north of Scanderoon. The mountain torrent on the south side of it, comes from the opening by which there is an ascent to the Gates of Amanus. The torrent is not to be confounded with the opening; but probably runs transverse to it, like the river of Bailan, in respect to that pass.

The following passage is from Drummond. Though that traveller has adopted from Rollin a capital mistake in regard to the position of Myriandros, placing it north, instead of south of Alexandria; yet what he says on this independent point is not at all affected by that error. On the contrary, as he personally visited Aentab twice, he may be considered to speak from some local information acquired from the natives.

"Darius in the meantime went from Sochos . . . through the pass of Amanus; which, according to Rollin, lies far above the passes of Syria; so that there must be more than one; and this of Amanus was where the mountain almost joins Taurus, not far from Aintab; by which he would naturally come as he crossed the Euphrates from Mesopotamia: and thence he bent his way towards Issus."—*DRUMMOND'S Travels*, p. 245.

V. The last thing to be assigned is the site of the battle. M. Barbié du Bocage has remarked, that D'Anville has committed an error in placing the town of Issus at the modern Ayass; because Ayass represents the ancient *Ægææ* in Cilicia.—*Examen Critique des Hist. d'Alexand.* p. 805. Capt. Kinneir, one of the most eminent of recent travellers—having compared, on the spot, a section of plain between the mountains and the sea, about four miles north of Scanderoon, with the descriptions left by Arrian, by Plutarch, and by Callisthenes, of the field of battle—assigns satisfactory reasons for thinking that this narrow, curving, and uneven field

was the scene of the celebrated conflict. The breadth, somewhat less than two miles, strikingly coincides with the "fourteen stadia," assigned by Callisthenes as the breadth of the position occupied by Darius. Capt. Kinneir identifies Issus the modern stage-town Pias, about sixteen miles north of Scanderoon.—*Journey through Asia Minor*, pp. 135 . . . 144.

There is one difficulty in making the modern Pias the site of Issus. Xenophon says, that from Issus to the streits of Syria was five parasangs. The modern farsang is $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles; that the ancient measure was shorter has never been proved; I shall therefore take them with Kinneir as equivalent, and the five parasangs as seventeen miles and a half. Now, Scanderoon is sixteen miles from Pias, and Bylan nine miles from Scanderoon; leaving an excess above Xenophon's reported distance between Issus and the Syrian pass, of seven miles and a half.

To remove this difficulty, two or three alternatives may be proposed. The first is, to take another spot for the site of Issus nearer to Scanderoon. Kinneir says: "At the ninth mile [from Pias, seven from Scanderoon] are the ruins of a castle, romantically situated at the foot of the mountains which here approximate the sea, and near it on a projecting point of land, the remains of a sort of obelisk, apparently ancient."—*Journey*, p. 138. This would leave sixteen or seventeen miles to Bylan, in agreement with Xenophon's distance; but perhaps it would disturb the nice reconciliation with all the ancient Itineraries, in regard to other stages on the line, north and east of Issus, which subsists by placing it at Pias.

The second alternative is, to trace the river of Bylan from that town to the place where it falls into the sea; and to consider the long range of fortified walls, which Xenophon says enclosed the river Kersus, as presenting a latitude for giving the measured distance differently, according to the point at which they were passed. Now, the river of Bylan inclines so far to the north of west, that its mouth is but three miles from

Scanderoon, while that part of its stream which intersects Bylan is nine or ten. Possibly the Cilician castle attached to the pass was on the height of Bylan, commanding the north-west wall; while the Syrian castle was either on an intermediate hill, or down on the plain commanding both the south-west wall, and the approach from the sea: this arrangement would admit of two artificial gates; which, when Cilicia and Syria belonged to the same power, or to separate governments at peace, might be opened under a guard, for the mutual accommodation of both provinces; and the lower gate might have only a local relation with Myriandros.

RECAPITULATION.

Of the several Cilician passes in our series, the positions of three are fixed. 1. The pass from Cappadocia into Cilicia. 2. The pass in the heart of Cilicia, which Curtius calls the *pass of the forest*. 3. The mountain-pass from Cilicia into Syria on the south. The precise situation of the fourth pass still remains a problem: but probable grounds have been assigned for concluding, that Darius came and retreated by a **FOURTH** pass, having a collateral relation with the second of our series, and presenting a nearer road from the ancient *Ægææ* to the northern division of Mesopotamia, in that age a fertile territory, than the third pass in our series; which, at the present day, is the great *thoroughfare* from Cilicia to Syria.

The most probable site for the field of battle appears to the Translator to have been assigned by Kinneir—about four miles north of Scanderoon.

[K]. *On the Construction of the ancient Gallies.*

P. 365.—“Alexander manœuvred in the royal quinque-
“reme.”]—The *triremes*, *quadrيرهmes*, and *quinqueremes*, of the ancients, were so denominated, according to one hypo-

thesis, from the *number* of the *tiers of oars* on each side the vessel. It is a desideratum in antiquarian science to determine the mode of arranging these ranks of oars, as well as to ascertain the position of the rowers. Many inquirers into the history of naval architecture accept as highly probable the following ingenious conjecture of Lieutenant-general Melvill : The waist part of the ancient galleys, at the distance of a few feet above the water's edge, rose obliquely, in an angle of 45 deg. or near it ; upon the inner sides of this waist part, the seats of the rowers, each about two feet in length, were fixed, horizontally, in rows, with no more space between each seat in the same range, and between the seats below or above, than should be necessary for the free movements of the rowers working together,—they would therefore sit in the quincunx or chequer order. In 1773, General Melvill caused the fifth part of the waist of a quinquereme to be erected in the back-yard of his house in Great Pultney-street. This model contained, with sufficient ease, in a small space, thirty rowers, in five abridged tiers, of six men in each, making one-fifth part of the complement of rowers on each side of a quinquereme, according to Polybius, who assigns to such a galley three hundred rowers, besides one hundred and twenty fighting men. The General's explanation is countenanced in its leading feature, by ancient monuments. On several pieces of sculpture, particularly at Rome, he found the figures of war-galleys, with oars represented as coming down from ruddock-holes, disposed chequerwise. In the Capo di Monte palace, is a Medaglione of Gordianus, of which the reverse has a trireme with oars so disposed. The collection at Portici contains ancient paintings of galleys, which, by being represented foreshortened, with the stern towards the spectator, show the obliquity of the sides, and the rows of oars reaching to the water.

The galleys had grappling-irons on the prows, which, when contending galleys ran on board, kept them from separating.

Mr. Charnock has not, in the *History of Marine Architecture*, noticed this model, constructed by General Melvill, with seats and ports in the chequer order; it is evident, from incidental remarks, that he was not satisfied with theories founded on that principle. A CONJECTURAL explanation, in all its parts intelligible, and applicable to galleys of different rates, is, however, the utmost now to be expected; because Zozimus, who flourished under the younger Theodosius, testifies, that, in his time, triremes, although commemorated by Polybius, had been so long disused, that the mode of constructing them was unknown. The following theories are derived from the *History of Marine Architecture*: not one, perhaps, furnishes a solution, yet all may contribute materials for one. The passages within crotchets are thoughts which occurred to the Translator of Curtius, while endeavouring to understand the subject.

Mr. Charnock gives the first place to the opinion of M. L'Escalier.

All agree to explode the notion, that a vessel with eight tiers, each extending the entire length of the side, or with more than three tiers so extending, could be worked: because, in modern galleys, which have only one tier, and equal in length a ship of sixty-four guns, the oars, though the rowlock is as near the water as possible, are forty-four feet long.

First Objection to a disposition of the seats chequerwise:— If oars in two parallel tiers be placed as near as might consist with space to work them, it is impossible to gain room for an intermediate space by the chequer order; consequently nothing is gained by this pretended discovery.

[*Answer.* If the number of oars could not be increased, the total impelling power might, because those of the interposed ports would be larger; and by a scientific distribution, throughout the side of the ship, of oars gradually rising in magnitude and station, the motion of the floating body might be rendered altogether equable.]

Second Objection ;—A chequered distribution of the stages is incompatible with the strength of the vessel, and with the necessary communication through the departments of the hull.

[*Answer.* The middle of the hold would be free ; at the end of the higher seats for the rowers might be short perpendicular ladders.]

M. L'Escalier then notices the opinion, that Biremes were galleys in which two men were employed at each oar, and that in the same manner up to Octoremes, the ordinal number of the vessel's name indicated the number of rowers to each port. In opposition to this, he states that the galleasses formerly used by the Venetians, though in size much inferior to first-rate galleys of the ancients, required nine men to work each oar. He adds, a stronger refutation, that the words *Remorum ordines et remigum gradus* can bear no allusion to the number of rowers.

He then unfolds his own attempt to remove the perplexity.

The Uniremes had only one row of oars, extending between their masts, or extending perhaps the entire length of the vessel, like the modern feluccas of Barbary.

The Biremes had a tier between the masts, and a tier abaft the mainmast. [*Stricture.* This can be counted only as one tier, unless the second, without ranging over the first, were more elevated in the side of the ship, and had oars of a larger size. *Remorum ORDINES, et remigum GRADUS*,—the objects marked, as ancient writers attest, by the numerical distinction in galleys,—may fitly be interpreted the *RATES of the oars*, and the *STATIONS of the rowers*. As expressions applied technically have a more extensive meaning, than in common acceptation, I use the latter term for “*DEGREES of Elevation in the stations of the rowers, as they would ascend to the different decks by step-ladders.*”]

The Triremes had a tier before the front mast, a second between the masts, and a third abaft the mainmast. [*Stricture*

The difference between a Trireme and an Unireme is thus nominal, unless a difference is created by pursuing the principle suggested already.]

The Quadriremes had a tier a-head of the foremast, a tier between the masts, and two tiers abaft the main-mast. [*Stricture.* To place the greater portion of impelling power at the stern, is not countenanced by practice, experience, or rational theory: the double tier of rowers, if removed to the head, would not interfere with the soldiers on the platform above.]

The Quinqueremes had a tier between the masts, two tiers a-head, and two a-stern. [*Stricture.* Nominally, five tiers; merely a shorter, and a longer tier, unless the ports have five different elevations.]

The Octoremes had two tiers in the midship, three at the stem, and three at the stern. [*Stricture.* Nominally, eight tiers, if they range in three coincident lines.]

Mr. Charnock pronounces M. L'Escalier's account to be ingenious, although far from satisfactory. He affirms, however, that were we to frame, from the best remnants of antiquity, a description of the Trireme, the table of dimensions would be ridiculous:—Thus, the perpendicular height—measured at the midship—from the upper edge of the side to the bottom of the keel, was only six feet three inches; the length from the cutwater to the stern, confined to the keel, fifty-seven feet;—including the rakes, sixty-five feet: the extreme breadth nine feet. [*Stricture.* This table is inconsistent with almost every modern theory of the Grecian Trireme:—but which is ridiculous?]

The account by Athenæus of Ptolemy Philopater's vessel, Mr. Charnock styles incredible. It had forty ranks [rates or classes] of oars: was four hundred and twenty feet long; fifty-seven feet in its greatest breadth; seventy feet in height from the tafferel to the keel. Its four rudders, or steering oars, were forty-four feet long; the largest of the impelling oars fifty-seven feet long. The crew consisted of four

thousand rowers, and three hundred—other accounts state three thousand—sailors.

Assume, Mr. Charnock proceeds to this effect, that the part of the vessel above the upper row-ports, and the part immersed in water, to amount together to thirty-six feet,—the upper row-ports will then be that distance from the water. Assume that forty tiers of oars, within this space, are disposed above each other; this gives about eleven inches for each tier,—a final refutation of the notion that multiple tiers were extended along the sides, answering in number to the class of the vessel. But the upper row-ports must have been much nearer the water than thirty-six feet, or an oar fifty-seven feet long could work with no effect. To render the upper oars availing, some have conjectured, that they moved with a rotatory motion perpendicular to the vessel's side:—Mr. Charnock objects, that an invention is thus gratuitously ascribed to the ancients, of which we do not know the principle. [*Stricture.* He has not stated the absurdity, that it is inconsistent with the motion of more than one line of oars.]

Vossius, quoted at great length in the *History of Marine Architecture*, commences a dissertation on the position and management of the rowers, by observing, that the coins of the ancients afford little illustration of the figures of either the Trireme or the Liburna; because they seldom represent more than one tier of oars; and this is ascribed rather to the smallness of the coin, than the truth of the picture. On a coin, however, of the emperor Gordian, two tiers are very conspicuous. The Trajan column, and other relics of antiquity, present proofs of three tiers of oars placed obliquely above each other. Vossius adopts the opinion of Pollux, a Greek writer in the reign of Commodus, that no vessel had more than seven tiers of oars.

To discover how many benches of oars were in a ship of the largest rate, and how many rowers could conveniently sit on each, let us take, proposes Vossius, fifty-seven feet, the greatest recorded length of an oar. The best informed

respecting ancient naval tactics appear to consider, that one-third of the oar's length was required within board, giving nineteen feet from the fulcrum to the end of the handle. In modern galleys, the following is the arrangement. If seventeen spans of oar be within board, ten spans nearest the end are allotted to the rowers, and seven spans thence to the row-port are left vacant, as labour is of small effect near the fulcrum. Hesychius, explaining the term *ἑπταπόδες*, used by Homer for a seat seven feet in length, containing five rowers, adds, that such a seat required the handle of the oar to be twelve feet from the row-port. In modern galleys, the space allotted to each rower is about eighteen inches. In the lower tiers, as the oar decreased in size, so decreased the distance of the handle from the fulcrum, and the number of men required to work it. In the first tier an oar occupied one man; in the second, two men; the third, four; the fourth, six; the fifth, eight; the sixth and seventh, each ten men.

Vossius supposes the seats of the rowers in the same tier to have been seven feet distant from those at the next oar; the second tier, about two feet above the first, and the benches two feet four inches more advanced; the third tier about four feet above the first, and four feet eight inches more advanced; thus, benches between which two tiers intervened ranged in a perpendicular right line. [*Stricture.* The vibration of the handles of the long upper oars would sweep above seven feet: the additional space would be afforded, as the men stood to work these, if every gang dipped and pulled back in concert: yet to prevent an accident to one deranging the others, perhaps the distance between the ports ought to be fourteen feet.]

The oars of the seventh tier, Vossius supposes, were worked above the *transtra*, or transoms; beams running across the vessel, and projecting a considerable way from the sides. In the deck laid over the transoms was an aperture larger than the modern hatchway. The deck stretched beyond the side, as far as the transoms, which were supported

by brackets. The row-ports of the seventh tier were at the edge of the external deck ; and, by a declination given to this deck, Vossius supposes, that they were not higher from the water than those of the sixth tier, or than about thirteen feet six inches.—The men in the upper tiers stood to work the oars.

The sides of modern galleys rake upward in an angle of nearly 45 degrees : this fact countenances the supposition, that the sides of ancient galleys had the same construction ; a construction which would facilitate the working of multiple tiers of oars [and by increasing the space within board upward, would permit the internal ends of the benches to range in a perpendicular line.]

Meibonius describes the Roman Triremes, before an alteration made in them by Julius Cæsar, to have been one hundred and five feet long, and eleven broad ; the Quadriremes, one hundred and twenty-five feet long ; and thirteen broad : The Hexereme, from the deck to the lower edge of the keel, to have measured nine feet ; the Octoreme eleven.

[The reader has now before him an epitome of General Melvill's chequered disposition of the row-ports ; the oblique order of Vossius ; the hypothesis of L'Escalier ; and a sufficient notice of the theory which explains the class of an ancient vessel by the number of men stationed at each oar ;—with some authentic measurements of ancient galleys. Perhaps the termination *remes* merely imported that the vessel was navigated by rowing ; and the prefixes, *Uni—Bi—Tri*, &c., indicated the rate, beginning, contrary to the series in classing modern ships, at the lowest. Thus the Trireme might have but one tier of ports, two degrees higher in the side than the Unireme. The admission of two entire, or three entire, rows of ports, with varieties of elevation, and a gradual augmentation in the size of the oars, might competently explain all the intermediate and largest rates ; and perhaps such a distribution of the seats as General Melvill has suggested, is a resource unnecessary below the Septireme, and that of Vossius below the Decereme.]

[L.] *On the Frontier Rivers of the Persian Empire.*

P. 379.—“ Alexander had still to force the Euphrates, the Tigris, the ARAXES, and the HYDASPES, those great breast-works of the Persian empire.”]—M. Sainte-Croix, author of the *Examen Critique des Historiens d’Alexandre*, 2d edit. pp. 675, 676, adduces this passage of Curtius, as an example of the fallacious ideas which the Ancient Historians and Geographers entertained and disseminated as to the relative situation of some of the great rivers of Asia with which they ought to have been better acquainted. At first view, the Translator of Curtius was inclined to subscribe to the justness of the censure pronounced on this particular passage; and admitting that the historian intended to enumerate the principal rivers which Alexander would have to pass *in succession* in his progress from Syria to the capital cities and provinces of Persia, the Translator was ready to propose, as a necessary correction of the text, to read the *Choaspes* and the *Arosis*, in place of the *Araxes* and the *Hydaspes*, because, since those two rivers intervene, as natural defences in the way to SUSA and PERSEPOLIS, the substitution of their names seemed an easy and sufficient emendation. But on reconsideration, taking the letter as one of Darius, preserved by history, the Translator sees nothing of absurdity, but rather a substantial degree of propriety and force in leading Alexander’s mind to the probable obstacles which he would have to encounter at two of the most remote frontiers, as well as at the nearest barrier of the dominions then remaining to the Persian king. It is true, that Alexander eventually was not obliged to penetrate in person to that Araxes which runs into the Caspian sea, but received the submission of the tribes and provinces in that quarter by his lieutenants. But had not Darius been prematurely paralysed in his plans of resistance, and suddenly crushed by domestic treason, he might have retired with the remains of his army beyond that Araxes at one extreme

point, or the Hydaspes at another, and have found either in the valleys of the Western Caucasus, or the plains of India, faithful adherents and willing allies; and while the progress of the enemy was arrested, have prepared for reâction with fresh levies. Seeing that the historian, in tracing the subsequent operations of Alexander, mentions the Hydaspes in its proper order, as the next river in the Punjâb after the Indus,—it is absurd to suppose him to have been ignorant that the Hydaspes was in India.

The whole tenor of the letter, the reader will perceive, is to present the difficulty of a circuit round the empire's boundaries. Papers of this kind, when they are the records of a real correspondence, the more they are compared with facts derived from other sources, the more they are confirmed. Darius avows, that some of his subjects were known to himself only by their names. The British envoy to the Court of Peshawer, speaking of the *Caufirs*—who occupy a great part of the range of Hindoo Cos, and a portion of Beloot Taugh—says: "The people have no general name for their nation. Each tribe has its peculiar name. The appellation by which they are known to us, is merely an epithet given by the Mussulmauns, signifying Infidel."—ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, p. 619.

[M]. *On the Oases of Ammon.*

P. 394.—"We hesitate to believe," &c. P. 396.—"*In the bosom of a second grove of Hammon.*"—Notices of four of the villages attributed to the Oasis of Hammon, or which might have been dependencies of it when it was the seat of a petty monarchy, are annexed. It appears from *Herodotus*, *Melpom.* 181, that the territories of ancient Hammon extended to spots lying on the radii of a considerable circle round the temple; for the territories of the Ammonians are

there said to be but ten days' journey from the Egyptian Thebes: whereas the chief *Oasis* was more than twice that distance from that point. Among the moderns, the celebrated traveller, W. G. Browne, led the way in endeavouring to discover the site of Libyan Ammon. Mr. Browne set out from ALEXANDRIA, with the design of reaching the Oasis of Ammon, by travelling as near as might be in the same line of direction described by ancient historians to have been taken by Alexander. Accordingly he went along the coast, WESTWARD, to a station about twenty miles short of Al Bareton, (the ancient Parætonium). His going no farther west was a slight deviation from Alexander's route. He then struck inland to the SSW.; and afterwards inclined to the SW.: the entire bearing from the coast was SOUTH 19 W. On the first line, along the coast, he travelled $75\frac{1}{2}$ hours, and on the latter $62\frac{1}{2}$; these sums are estimated by the pace of the camels; which may be turned into road distance at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ British miles per hour. At the end of the boldly-deflected line, approaching a right-angle, thus traced, this intelligent traveller came to an Oasis, to which the modern town situated in it gives the name of Siwah; the lat. of Siwah by Mr. Browne's observation is $29^{\circ}. 12'$; and the long. as calculated by Major Rennell, on the comparison of several routes, is $26^{\circ}. 21'. 30''$ which may be reduced to the long. of ancient maps, by adding the difference between Greenwich and Ferro Isle = together $44^{\circ}. 15'$. This position Major Rennell finds to agree with all that the Ancients, and the Arabian writers of the middle ages, have handed down respecting the position of the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon: nevertheless Mr. Browne disclaims, in his book, any intention of identifying the architectural remains which he found there with the ancient temple which was the object of his research. When the many existing points of local resemblance in the *oases* themselves are considered, there will appear an excess of candour in this disavowal, if it be extended beyond the mere point, that the present ruins do not seem at first view to

correspond in magnitude with the classical descriptions of that edifice. But, after the revolutions of power, and migrations of people, which have occurred in the interval of two-and-twenty centuries,—who can expect that a temple, falling into the hands of professors of other religions, of whom the latest masters have been celebrated for their fierce hostility to idol-worship, should not have had its most characteristic relics destroyed by systematic dilapidations?—not to mention that, without this powerful incentive to destruction, under a scarcity of building materials, the ruins of ancient structures are not regarded by simple tribes with the feelings of antiquaries.

Major Pennell, comparing several extracts from the ancient writers with Mr. Browne's narrative, unfolds many striking points in which the descriptions coincide.

Diodorus (lib. XVII. c. 5.) says, "that the Oasis of Ammon is 50 stadia in length, and the same in breadth."—Arrian (lib. iii.) says, "little more than 40. It lies in the midst of an extensive and arid desert."

"It is full of pleasant fountains watered with running streams, and planted with all kinds of trees; most of them bearing fruit." (Diodorus.)

"It is planted with *olive* and *palm* trees, and watered with dews." (Arrian.)

"It is watered with *many* streams, and encompassed

Mr. Browne (p. 23,) says: "The Oasis which contains the town of Siwa is about 6 miles long, and 4½ or 5 wide." And (p. 17) "Siwa answers the description given of the Oases, being a small fertile spot surrounded on all sides by desert land."

"Water, both salt and fresh, abounds: but the springs which furnish the latter are most of them tepid." (P. 24.)

"A large proportion of the space is filled with date trees (*palms*); but there are also pomegranates, figs, and *olives*, apricots and plantains; and the gardens

“ with trees, that grew so
 “ thick as to screen it on all
 “ sides from the rays of the
 “ sun.” (Curtius, lib. IV. c. 7.)

And, “ The temple and
 “ palace stand in the middle
 “ of a wood: and in a second
 “ wood, is the Fountain of
 “ the Sun.” (Ib.)

Strabo only speaks generally of its abounding with *water* and palms. Page 838.

“ In the middle of the sacred grove inhabited by the
 “ Ammonians, is a castle fortified with a triple wall, &c.
 “ containing the temple, palace, and a place of arms:
 “ and not far from the castle
 “ stands ANOTHER temple of
 “ Ammon,” [*the correctness of this Major Rennell questions, remarking that Diodorus alone speaks of a second temple*] “ shaded round with
 “ many fruit trees; next to
 “ which is a fountain called
 “ *Solis*,” &c. (Diodorus.)

Herodotus speaks of the temple, the oracle, and the kingdom of Ammon, in different places: as in Euterpe, 32, 42, 55: Melpom. 181:

“ are remarkably flourishing.
 “ —They cultivate a considerable quantity of rice:—the
 “ remainder of the cultivable land furnishes wheat
 “ enough for the inhabitants.”
 (P. 23, 24.)

—“ It was about half an
 “ hour from the time of our
 “ entering on this territory,
 “ by a path *surrounded* with
 “ *date trees*, that we came to
 “ the *town*, which gives name
 “ to the district. (P. 17.)

“ We passed along some
 “ shady paths between gardens, till at the distance
 “ of about two miles, we arrived at what they called
 “ the *ruins* or *Birbe*.” (P. 19.)

“ It resembles too exactly
 “ those of the Upper Egypt,
 “ to leave a doubt that it was
 “ erected and adorned by the
 “ same intelligent race of
 “ men. The figures of Isis
 “ and Anubis are conspicuous amongst the sculptures:
 “ and the proportions are
 “ those of the Egyptian temples, though in miniature.”
 (P. 27.) “ It is built of
 “ massy stones, of the same
 “ kind as those of which
 “ the Pyramids consist.”—

"The Egyptians call Jupiter,
"AMMON: and the oracle
"of the temple dedicated to
"the Libyan Jove, was es-
"tablished at the same time
"with that of Dodona:" Eu-
terpe, 54, 55.

Diodorus says, (XVII. 5.)
"It was reported that this
"temple was built by Danaus
"the Egyptian."

Herodotus and Strabo speak
generally of the saltiness of
the soil of the surrounding
desart region.

Arrian says, that the coun-
try about Ammon produces a
kind of fossil salt. (lib. iii.)

"The Ammonians are com-
posed partly of EGYPTIANS,

(P. 19.)—"The length is 32
"feet in the clear, the height
"about 18, the width 15.
"The rocks which I saw in
"the neighbourhood, being of
"a sandy stone, bear so little
"resemblance to that which
"is employed in this fabric,
"that I am inclined to believe
"the materials cannot have
"been prepared on the spot."
(P. 28.)

"The soil around seems to
"indicate that *other buildings*
"have once existed near the
"place; the materials of which
"either time has levelled with
"the soil, or the natives have
"applied to other purposes.
"I observed, indeed, some
"hewn stones wrought in the
"walls of the modern build-
"ings." (P. 20.)

"Approaching Siwa, I ob-
"served through a large por-
"tion of the road, that the
"surface of the earth is per-
"fectly covered with salt."—
(P. 17.)—"After the rains
"the ground in the neigh-
"bourhood of Siwa, is cover-
"ed with salt for many
"weeks." (P. 26.)

"The complexion of the
"people is generally darker

“ and partly of ETHIOPIANS; “ than that of the Egyptians.
 “ and their dialect is formed “ Their *dialect* is different.
 “ promiscuously of both these “ Among those whose *cos-*
 “ languages.” (Herodotus, “ *tume* was discernible, it ap-
 Euterp, 42.) “ proaches nearer to that of the
 “ Arabs of the Desert, than
 “ of the Egyptians or Moors.”

Mr. Browne also visited
 some existing *catacombs*,
 about 30 in number, in a
 rocky hill close to the Oasis
 of Siwa. (P. 21.)

The Geography of Herodotus explained by
 JAMES RENNELL, F.R.S. late Major of
Engineers and Surveyor-general in Bengal.
 London, 4to. 1800. pp. 571 589.

Mr. Browne distinctly states, that he did not consider the small edifice described in the preceding extracts to be the far-famed temple of Jupiter Ammon; nor with the utmost information that he could obtain from the natives, or the Arabs, in answer to his inquiries; nor after examining a place called Araschie, two days' journey to the west, which proved not to be an *Oasis*, could he find any more considerable ruins that might help to fix the position of the temple.—
Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798. By W. G. BROWNE, 4to. London, 1799, pp. 22 . . 29.

In the year 1798 another traveller of considerable repute, who went out under the patronage of the Society for exploring the interior of Africa, Frederick Hornéman, visited Siwah. He reached it by an entirely different route from Mr. Browne, going thither from Cairo. His Journal supplies some interesting additions to the information communicated by Mr. Browne. He says: “ Siwah is a small independent
 “ state; it acknowledges indeed the Grand Sultan paramount,

“ but it pays him no tribute. Round its chief town, called
 “ Siwah, are situate at one or two miles distance, the villages
 “ of *Sharkie* (in the Siwahan dialect termed *Agermie*) *Msel-*
 “ *lem*, *Monachie*, *Shocka*, and *Barisha*. Siwah is built upon,
 “ and round, a mass of rock ; in which, according to tradi-
 “ tion, the ancient people had only caves for their habitation.
 “ Indeed the style of building is such, that the actual houses
 “ might be taken for caves ; they are raised so close to each
 “ other, that many of the streets, even at noon, are dark, and
 “ so intricate, that a stranger cannot find his way into or out
 “ of the town, small as it is, without a guide. Many of the
 “ houses built on the declivity of the rock, and especially
 “ those terminating the descent toward the plain, are of more
 “ than ordinary height, and their walls particularly thick and
 “ strong, so as to form a circumvallation of defence to the
 “ town within.

“ The people of our caravan compared Siwah to a bee-
 “ hive ; and the comparison is suitable, whether regarding
 “ the general appearance of the eminence thus covered with
 “ buildings,—the swarm of its people crowded together,—or
 “ the confused noise, or hum and buz, from its narrow pas-
 “ sages and streets.”—*The Journal of* FREDERICK HORNE-
 “ MAN’S *Travels from Cairo to Mourzouk, in the years 1797-8.*
London, 4to. 1802, p. 14.

“ The territory of Siwah is of considerable extent : its
 “ principal and most fertile district is a well-watered valley
 “ of about fifty miles in circuit, hemmed in by steep and
 “ barren rocks. Its soil is a sandy loam, in some places
 “ rather poached, or fenny ; but, assisted by no great industry
 “ of the natives, produces corn, oil, and vegetables for the
 “ use of man or beast. Its chief produce, however, consists
 “ in dates, proverbial for their excellent flavour.” p. 15.

“ I first visited the ruins of the extensive edifice before
 “ observed. I accosted some men working in the gardens
 “ near, and questioned them as to what they knew of this
 “ building : they answered, ‘ that in former times Siwah was

“inhabited by infidels, most of whom lived in caves, but
 “some inhabited these buildings.” p. 21. “When I en-
 “tered the place, I was followed by all the people near, and
 “thus prevented examining the place with any accuracy.
 “On a second visit I was not more successful; and when,
 “after a few days, I returned thither again, some Siwahans
 “directly said to me, ‘Thou undoubtedly art yet a Christian
 “in thine heart, else why come so often to visit these works
 “of Infidels?’” p. 21.

“*Ummebeda* (the name given to the site of these ruins
 “by the natives) lies near a village called SCHARKIE, or
 “AGERMIE, between that place and an isolated mountain,
 “on which a copious spring of fresh water is said to rise.”
 “I ascertained the general bearings of the building
 “by my compass, and found the outward walls constructed
 “with aspects facing the four cardinal points, the aberration
 “being only twelve degrees. The total circumference may
 “be several hundred yards, and is to be traced out and
 “followed by the foundations of a wall, in most parts visible,
 “and which from the masses remaining, appears to have
 “been *very strong*. The outward wall, in most places, has
 “been thrown down, and the materials carried away, and the
 “interior ground has been everywhere turned up, and dug, in
 “search of treasure.” p. 22.

M. Hornéman then describes the remains of an edifice in
 the centre of this area, the dimensions of which differ in all
 the separate sums from those assigned to the building by
 Mr. Browne, as the following comparison will shew:

	length in feet.	width.	height.
By Mr. Browne	32	15	18
By Mr. Hornéman	30 to 36	24	27

M. Hornéman informs us that he was successively inter-
 rupted on entering the area of these ruins; and was prevented
 by the jealousy of the natives from accurately examining or
 measuring what is extant of the principal edifice. His dimen-

sions are therefore to be taken as the result of computation on a hasty view; and, it is to be presumed, from without, which includes the thickness of the walls. Mr. Browne expressly tells us, that he took his measurements in the *clear*, inside the building. With this explanation, as both travellers assign a massy solidity to the walls, the difference between the admeasured and the computed dimensions may be reconciled.

It would be surprising if Hornéman's details in figures were uniformly accurate; since, on a subsequent occasion, when danger was apprehended from the natives discovering him to be a Christian, he unfortunately lost his notes, through his interpreter ordering a slave to hide them in a bog. Hornéman says: "I am conscious that the above description of the remains of antiquity near Siwah, is by far too cursory and incomplete, for any purpose of just and accurate inference; and that it must yet remain a mere conjecture, whether these ruins are those of the famous *Temple of Jupiter Ammon*. Supposing, on reference to ancient writers, the comparison of the buildings not to bear me out in the idea which I entertain; yet on many other grounds I should contend, that Siwah had been a residence of the ancient Ammonians. I draw my conclusion from the relative situation of the country; from the quality of the soil, from its fertility; from the information of the inhabitants, that no other such fruitful tract is to be found anywhere near*; and in addition to the certainty—at least—that some great and magnificent building once here stood, I draw a further conclusion from the numerous catacombs to be found in the vicinity." In fine, M. Hornéman states his opinion to be, that these ruins *may be* the remains of the Temple of Jupiter Ammon. p. 25.

* This does not prove to be correct, unless the line of fertile valleys can be so extended as to preserve a continuity with the oases visited by Belzoni, the contrary of which the narratives of both travellers seem to indicate.

In the APPENDIX No. I. to *Hornéman's Travels*, is a Paper entitled "*Observations on F. Hornéman's Description*

"of the Country and Antiquities of Siwah, with Reference to Ancient Accounts of the Oasis and Temple of Ammon. By Sir William Young, Bart. Secretary." [That is, Secretary to the Society for exploring the Interior of Africa.]

This paper is dedicated to the examination of two points. 1. Some apparent discrepancies in Hornéman's Notes from the accounts of the modern writers cited by Rennell, including the traveller, Browne. And, 2. The coincidences to be found in ancient Authors with the essential parts of both his and Mr. Browne's statements.

Hornéman states *"the principal and fertile territory of Siwah to be fifty miles in extent."* He names all the towns within the territory of Siwah, *Sharkie, Msellem, Monachie, Shocka, and Barisha*; and he places all these villages, or towns, within *one or two miles* of Siwah, the capital. Hence, the Secretary to the African Society argues that Hornéman is inconsistent with himself; and that he must be mistaken, in assigning a circuit to the territory of Siwah, which is nearly treble the extent attributed to the oasis by Browne. Without entering into details, the Translator of Curtius begs leave here to remark, that perhaps some of the villages, subsequently visited by Belzoni, and which neither Browne nor Hornéman saw, might be included by the natives as ancient dependencies of the principal oasis, when they communicated to Hornéman the estimated extent of the Greater Oasis, or of the *Archipelago of fertile islands in that sea of desert connected with Siwah.*

Respecting the position of the country within which the renowned temple of Ammon was erected, Sir William Young considers that question as concluded by the acute and learned comment on the Geography of Herodotus, by Major Rennell; and that the facts, the arguments, and inferences in that admirable work, indisputably shew the Oasis of Siwah to have been the Oasis of Ammon. *Hornéman's Travels.* p. 83.

Comparing Hornéman's Notes with ancient accounts, the Secretary to the African Society then adverts to circumstances exclusively noticed by Hornéman.

1. In that part of Hornéman's description, where he mentions *the different levels of the basement or floor of the ancient edifice at Siwah*, the learned Secretary discovers vestiges of the *Adytum*, a kind of crypt or concealed recess, which formed a necessary appendage to the oracular temples of antiquity. pp. 84 . . . 87.

2. Then as to the smallness of the temple, and the plainness of the architecture; circumstances which induce both Browne and Hornéman to hesitate in believing that they had found the remains of the identical temple of Jupiter Ammon:—the learned Secretary adduces, from classic authors, several notices of ancient Egyptian temples, sufficient to shew that the architecture of some of the most famous exhibited a style of rude simplicity. pp. 87, 88.

Sir William Young further deduces, from comparing the ancient accounts, that Alexander alone entered the building, and that his attendants heard the oracle from without; hence he infers, that the temple of Jupiter Ammon may be presumed to have been of small dimensions. p. 88.

The learned Secretary cites some other circumstances of close agreement; particularly in the foundation traced by Hornéman of an outward inclosure, consisting of a strong and massive wall; and the strong circumvallation which both Diodorus and Curtius describe as a species of fortress protecting the ancient temple. pp. 89, 90.

In regard, however, to the "*spring of fresh water which takes its rise in a grove of date trees, and in a most romantic and beautiful situation.*" which was shewn to Hornéman at the distance of half a mile from the ruins:—the Translator of Curtius cannot agree with the Author of the Paper, that "*this description precisely answers to that of the Fountain of the Sun, mentioned by ancient writers.*" On the contrary, he cannot but view it as too vague, loose, and indistinct,

to afford any basis for a claim to identity; being, in regard to the interesting point of temperature, which is the chief criterion, quite featureless and defective.

In 1815, Belzoni, the most recent of the travellers who have entered the heart of the Lybian desert, to discover, if possible, the site of the temple, examined three *oases* situate more to the east.

The Elloah of Zaboo was the first village which this enterprising antiquary visited. He went thither from Benisouef, by the way of the Lake Mœris. He terms this secluded garden, to which the almost impassable desert surrounding it serves as a fortress, an Elysium. A few Bedoweens sometimes travel thither to purchase dates, which are very fine. He next proceeded to El Cassar, distant only three hours' journey from Zaboo. Describing the face of the contiguous territory, he says: "From the summits of the rocks which separate the two villages, I had a fine view of the site of the *elloah*, and on the side of El Cassar the country was most pleasant.

"A FOREST OF PALM-TREES SURROUNDED THE VILLAGE", stretching over a wide circuit, which included a great space of cultivable lands. My next point was the well of warm and cold water which I had heard talked of by my guide. I found it to be a well eight feet square, and about sixty deep. When I first put my hand into this water I felt it warm; it was then after sun-set: it springs from the bottom of the well, and overflows in a rivulet which runs to irrigate some cultivated lands. This well is situated near the ruins," [which another extract will describe,] "IN THE CENTRE OF A BEAUTIFUL WOOD OF PALMS AND OTHER TREES. The water is blackish, but perhaps this is owing to the soil." "Our next visit was to be made at midnight, to observe the difference of the temperature of the water. I found the water apparently much warmer than we had left it in the evening; and indeed I regretted I had broken my

* Compare with the words of Curtius, "IN A SECOND GROVE OF HAMMON WAS THE FOUNTAIN OF THE SUN."

“ thermometer. Early in the morning, before the sun, we
 “ went to the fountain again. I found the water rather less
 “ warm than I had left it at midnight, but still at a higher
 “ temperature than in the evening. For instance, if we were
 “ to suppose the water to have been at 60°. in the evening,
 “ it might be at 100°. at midnight, and in the morning at
 “ about 80°. ; but when I returned at noon, it appeared quite
 “ cold, and might be calculated in proportion to the other
 “ at 40°.”—*Narrative of Operations and Recent Discoveries*
in Egypt, Nubia, &c. by G. BELZONI. 4to, London, 1820.
pp. 403, 410, 416, 421 . . . 423.

It deserves particular remark, that the gradations of Belzoni's scale, as well as he could fill them up without a thermometer, closely agree, both in the times and proportions, with the alternations of heat and cold assigned to the fountain by Curtius, book IV. chap. vii. § 30. Our historian's account substantially coincides with that of Herodotus, except that the “*fervide exæstuat*” of Curtius is not necessarily to be construed as amounting to “boiling heat.” “The Ammonians have also a fountain of water, which at the dawn of morning is warm; as the day advances it chills, and at noon becomes excessively cold. When it is at the coldest point they use it to water their gardens: as the day declines its coldness diminishes; at sunset it is again warm; and its warmth gradually increases till midnight, when it is absolutely in a boiling state. After this period, as the morning advances, it grows again progressively colder. This is called the Fountain of the Sun.”—BELOE'S *Herodotus, Melpomene*, 181.

The passages in Ovid and Pliny, already referred to, do not individually embrace the changes of temperature at all the cardinal divisions of the day; but together they make up the more detailed description which is found, with little variation, in Herodotus, Diodorus, Curtius, and Arrian.

“Thy stream, O horn-crown'd Ammon, in the midst,
 Chills us at noon, but warms at morn and eve.”

Ovid, as cited in Good's Lucretius,

“ The fountain of Jupiter Hammon, in the day-time is cold ;
 “ at night it is seething hot.”—HOLLAND'S *Pliny*.

The elegant description of Silius Italicus corresponds so closely with the prose one of Curtius, as to require no translation ; and the word “ *fervet* ” is applied by both to the time of the highest degree of heat.

Stat fano vicina (novum et memorabile !) lympha,
 Quæ, nascente die, quæ deficiente tepescit,
 Quæque riget medius cum Sol accendit Olympum,
 Atque eadem rursum nocturnis fervet in umbris. iii. 669.

It is remarkable, that Belzoni misquotes Herodotus, to whom alone of all the ancient writers he refers ; he represents him as saying, that the fountain of the sun “ was cold both “ at noon and MIDNIGHT, and warm in the morning and “ evening.” This unaccountable mistake, by omitting the most wonderful in the series of vicissitudes, perplexes the traveller with an appearance of discrepancy in a case where the evidence of identity is complete.

On the other hand, if we revert to the Oasis of Siwah, to see if any traces of the spring sacred to the sun from all antiquity are extant there :—Mr. Browne saw nothing himself, on which to offer a claim of identity. And the following mention of a spring, from hearsay, is too loose and feeble in its features for any satisfactory comparison. “ One of those springs “ which rises near the building described, is observed by the “ natives to be sometimes *cold*, and sometimes warm.”—BROWNE'S *Journey*, p. 24.

Having examined Zaboo and El Cassar, Belzoni was desirous next to penetrate to the Elloah of Siwah, distant four days' journey from Zaboo ; but was unable to prevail upon his guide to take him thither.

Adverting to the ruins which both Browne and Hornéman examined at Siwah,—Belzoni hardly does justice to the modesty which induced them to hesitate in expressing a positive opinion, that they were the remains of the temple of Jupiter Ammon : when he represents them as pronouncing

of the temple at present to be seen there, that it is not that of Jupiter Ammon. And yet, with respect to the rival claims of Siwah and El Cassar to be considered the seat of this far-famed oracle, Belzoni candidly admits, that—combining such ruins as he saw at El Cassar, with the existence there of the Fountain of the Sun—Siwah, which he did not visit, has at least equal pretensions. “At El Cassar,” he says, “all I observed was apparently the vast ruins of a great edifice, covered with the mud cottages which formed the village; and [I imagine] that the standing part of a temple was built by later nations, and that the materials of the former temple have been employed to erect the latter, but the stones have been diminished in size.”

As Mr. Belzoni found the Fountain of the Sun in El Cassar, that local appropriation is evidence that El Cassar could not have been the seat of the oracle; for Curtius, after describing the principal *oasis*, with the temple and its walled inclosure, distinctly says: “In another grove of Hammon is the Fountain of the Sun.”

The result of the attention which the Translator of Curtius has given to the accounts of the three travellers, is—a forcible persuasion, that the ruins at Siwah are those of the temple of Jupiter Ammon; and that the well having diurnal vicissitudes of temperature at El Cassar is the Fountain of the Sun; also, that the temple here is the second temple mentioned by Diodorus, a building quite distinct from the seat of the oracle.

From El Cassar Mr. Belzoni proceeded to the *elloah* of El Haix, distant three days, in a south-west direction. It is a long tract of land, forming a crescent of more than twenty miles from one point to the other. It contains various spots of ground which repay cultivation, and springs of good water. pp. 404, 405. Thus, there is a cluster of *oases* in the vicinity.

As there are more than one route to the *Oasis* of Hammon, by which did Alexander return? Arrian tells us, that Aristobulus represents Alexander to have returned to Egypt

the same way he went; and that, on the contrary, Ptolemy conducts him back, by a much nearer way, leading to Memphis. M. Barbié du Bocage asks: "How is it, that two writers, who were equally companions of the prince, should differ so widely respecting a fact, which either might have ascertained so as to exclude doubt?" He then answers his own question, by supposing, that Arrian did not understand the Memoir of Ptolemy in this particular; and finding Memphis the first place mentioned on the king's return, MADE THE ASSUMPTION, that *Ptolemy stated that Alexander went back that way*. But this is to concede credit to Arrian—neither for discernment, nor truth. The objection must rather go to invalidate the high pretension to accuracy of one of the primary writers; and reasons have been given in the revised Supplement to Curtius, book I. p. 2, and ADD. NOTE [C], for preferring Ptolemy to Aristobulus.

Pliny, lib. v. c. 9, reckons the distance from Memphis to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, by the most direct route, to be twelve days' journey across the desert. M. Barbié du Bocage, after citing this, asks a second question: "Can any one believe, that the Macedonians, who had experienced excessive fatigue in a march of four days by one arid desert, would prefer to return by another route, lasting twelve days, through the same desert?"—*Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, p. 809. This general objection takes no cognizance of local circumstances, and relative considerations; which, when supplied, will diminish its weight.

1. The four days thither of Alexander from Parætonium were forced marches; Pliny's twelve days from Memphis are common journeys.
2. Political and Military considerations presented inducements for exploring the country in that direction, to see the nature of the commerce between Memphis and Ammon.
3. The traveller, Hornéman, in 1798, came from Cairo, with a caravan, to the principal oasis by this very route from which the Macedonian hero is supposed to have shrunk. The following extract from Horné-

man's Diary makes the entire distance $119\frac{1}{2}$ hours = 300 miles. This more direct line is 18 hours = 45 miles less, than by the right-angled tract from Alexandria: deducting the fertile territory at each end, the passage through the main desert is about ten hours longer; and this is compensated by the more frequent stations where water can be had.

Sept. 5.—The whole caravan, after assembling at the place of rendezvous near Cairo, marched 1 hour.

6.—Second day, 12 hours.

7.—Third day, 4 hours. *Watering place*, 4 hours.

8.—Fourth day. Entered the desert, which may be called the boundary of Egypt, 13 hours.

9.—~~N~~ Fifth day, $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours. *Watering place*, on the verge of a fruitful valley.

10.—Sixth day, 12 hours.

11.—Seventh day, 4 hours. *Watering place*.

12. } Eighth, ninth and tenth days, 40 hours, travelling occasionally

13. } in the night. On the eighth day reached a chain of hills.

14. } with salt table-lands.

15.—Eleventh day, 5 hours. A small village, with a cultivated spot, and *watering place*. Halted here some days.

Date omitted. ~~Twelfth~~ and thirteenth days, 20 hours. Passed the skirts of a sandy plain, and transcended some mountains, at the foot of which is a green and fertile valley which extends to Siwah.—*Travels*, pp. 1...13.

Deducting the first day, which was spent in assembling the caravan, Pliny's twelve days are exactly made out.

Curtius mentions the lake Mareotis as the first scene of any important transaction after Alexander had returned; from which M. Barbié du Bocage infers, that our historian would represent the king to have come back, as he went, by the sea-coast from Parætonium. But this is a gratuitous assumption. The fact is, Curtius gives no positive indication which way Alexander returned; he might think this silence better than deciding on adverse information with imperfect maps; a course which he has pursued in more than one instance where there is an irreconcilable conflict between the primary authorities.

[N]. *Passage of the TIGRIS.—Site of NINEVEH.*

P. 407.—“On the fourth day, he gains the bank of the “Tigris, higher up than Arbela.”]—Strabo makes the travelling distance between Thapsacus and the ancient ford on the Tigris 1400 stadia. The commentators on Curtius have doubted whether Alexander could traverse this space in four days. The Translator does not apprehend Curtius to affirm that he did, but that, having moved for some days with moderated progress, he passed the remaining distance in four days.

A ford near the modern town of Mosul has usually been assigned, by Niebuhr and others, as the point where Alexander crossed. The horizontal distance from Thapsacus to Mosul, is about 165 miles; and when the levels of Mesopotamia were fertile and inhabited, the travelling distance might not be much greater. Capt. Macdonald Kinneir, however, who has traversed the field of battle, is of opinion that Alexander crossed higher up than Mosul; at a ford called Eski Mosul; since it is the only spot ~~between~~ Jezira and Mosul where the river can be forded at this season of the year (Aug. 3).—KINNEIR'S *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Koordistan*, p. 45. The Translator has merely to remark on this question: 1. The different time of Alexander's crossing—the interval between August 3, and Sept. 18, being 46 days—might possibly leave a practicable ford for Alexander at a lower point of the river, as the melted snow from the mountain-peaks, which helps to increase its volume, would then flow in diminished streams. 2. The numerous canals, by which the waters of the Tigris were anciently led over the plains of Mesopotamia for irrigation, might have concurred to keep the level of the river much lower than it is at the present day. But Alexander, designing an improvement, to make the Tigris navigable, removed the dams and lateral sluices which had transformed the thirsty desert into a garden; and cultivation, deprived of this artificial aid, now obtains no returns from the feverish soil.

Mosul is conjectured to have been the western suburb of Nineveh, separated by the river. "On the opposite bank of the Tigris, and about three-quarters-of-a-mile from the waterside, the village of Nunia, and sepulchre of the prophet Jonah, seem to point out the position of Nineveh. When visited by Jonah, in the reign of Jeroboam, it was three days' journey in circumference; and Diodorus Siculus says, that it was 480 stadia. The history of this metropolis is lost in succeeding ages: it would seem to have gradually fallen into decay after the building of Babylon: in the reign of Adrian, the place where it had stood was unknown."—KINNEIR'S *Geogr. Memoir on Persia*, p. 258.

[O]: *Date of the BATTLE OF ARBELA fixed by the previous ECLIPSE.*

P. 410.— "about the first watch, the moon became eclipsed," &c.]—M. de Sainte-Croix, *Examen Critique*, edit. 2de. pp. 616. . . 619, has collected from the historians of Alexander all the direct and indirect notices which conspire to fix the date of the battle. Beginning retrospectively, he cites Arrian, lib. III. cap. 7, as stating that Alexander had reached Thapsacus in the month Hecatombæon, the first of the archonship of Aristophanes, in the second year of the 112th Olympiad: but he adds, that perhaps this author is mistaken in the month. He then cites the passage of Curtius which the present commentary is to illustrate; on which he remarks: "In THESE TRAITS, one may, without difficulty, recognize

* It is difficult to answer a sneer: nevertheless, the Translator will endeavour, at the close of this note, to point out ONE or TWO of these traits which are useful guides to enquiry.

"Quintus Curtius*. Happily the account of Plutarch is more simple and more instructive. 'In the month of Boëdromion,' says he, 'towards the commencement of the mysteries at Athens, there happened an eclipse of the moon; and on the eleventh night after this eclipse, the armies were in the presence of each other. Darius kept his troops under

“ arms, and visited the lines by torchlight.’—*Vit. Alex.*
 “ Parmenio counselled Alexander to attack the Persians on
 “ this very night; but this Prince rejected his advice, and
 “ the battle was not fought until the following day; this was
 “ the 26th of Boëdromion, according to Plutarch, *Vit. Camill.*
 “ Now, we know with certainty, that this total eclipse
 “ happened on the 20th of September, in the Julian year 331,
 “ before the Christian era,—at half-past seven o’clock in the
 “ evening.—This era in Chronology, SCALIGER, PETAVIUS,
 “ and others, have found by retrospective astronomy. The
 “ month Boëdromion commenced, in this year, on the 8th of
 “ September; the 13th, therefore, coincides with the 20th of
 “ September. Recurring to Plutarch’s information, that the
 “ armies came into contact on the eleventh night after the
 “ eclipse, and that the general action was fought the next day,
 “ this brings us to the second of October, which corresponds
 “ with the 25th of Boëdromion. In naming the 26th,
 “ Plutarch appears to be in error but a single day.

“ Arrian does not merit the eulogy of approaching so near
 “ to positive exactitude. 1. The terms in which he speaks
 “ of the eclipse, would import that it was *partial* and not
 “ total; for he unskilfully writes: ‘A great part of the
 “ moon’s light failed:’ as if her whole face were not eclipsed,
 “ 2. He assigns the day of the battle to a month in which it
 “ could not have happened. ‘This battle,’ says he, ‘was
 “ won, when Aristophanes was archon at Athens, in the
 “ month *Pyanepsion*.’—lib. III. cap. 15. At Alexander’s era,
 “ Boëdromion was the third month of the Athenian year;
 “ Pyanepsion the fifth; so that it is not easy to account for
 “ Arrian’s mistake. Pyanepsion did not commence till the
 “ 27th of November, fifty-six days after the battle. 3. The
 “ narrative of Arrian implies, that the battle happened *nine*
 “ days only after the eclipse; which is also incorrect.” His
 separate notices of the time are palpably inconsistent.

The Translator will now specify two points in the description which Curtius has left of the eclipse; which—on a comparative review of the *synchronizing circumstances* contributed

by different historians—seem to entitle him to rank, for the utility of this particular notice, in the second place; assigning, with M. de Sainte-Croix, the first to Plutarch.

1. "About the first watch the moon became eclipsed."—CURTIUS, *Transl. ut supra*. The autumnal equinox did not fall, at that era and latitude, until 27th September; so that on the 20th, the twilight would last till seven o'clock. The first watch would then begin, and end at half-past nine. The time indicated by Curtius, therefore, well agrees with that elicited by retrospective astronomy for the beginning of the eclipse—half-past-seven! 2. ". tarnished her "WHOLE LIGHT." This implies that the eclipse was total; as the same satisfactory criterion decides it to have been.

"In the midst of a TOTAL lunar eclipse, the moon's disk is frequently visible, and of a deep red or copperish colour. This remarkable phenomenon is caused by the sun's lateral rays, in their passage through the dense atmosphere of the earth, being inflected into their shadow by refraction, and falling pretty copiously upon the moon's disk, are reflected from thence to the eye of the spectator. If the earth had no atmosphere, the moon's disk would then be as black as in a solar eclipse."—HALES'S *New Analysis of Chronology*. London, 4to. 1809, vol. i. p 176.

A passage in Cicero, *de Divin.* lib. I. c. 53, would increase the perplexity arising from repugnant statements, did not the marked event contain within itself an index to the truth. "Such we find that written scheme: If the moon a LITTLE BEFORE SUNRISE be eclipsed in the sign LEO,—it shall happen that "Darius, in arms, with his Persians, shall be vanquished in battle by Alexander and his Macedonians; and Darius will meet his death." The Author of *Examen Critique*, exposing the futility of this pretended prediction, notices that the Eclipse took place in the EVENING, and that the moon was then under a different sign, PISCES. Cicero had drawn these details from the work of some astrologer; who, being misinformed as to the fact, ignorantly accommodated his scheme of the heavens to the false time and circumstances, to confer undue credit on his vain science.

“ Finally,” says M. de Sainte-Croix, “ the manner in which Q. Curtius explains this eclipse is remarkable: *“ Lunamquē deficere quum aut terram subiret, aut sole premeretur, &c.*—M. Beauzée renders this: ‘ La Lune s’eclipse quand elle est cachée par la terre, ou PRIVÉE du soleil,’ &c.:—construing *premeretur* as though it were *privaretur*. The explication of Q. Curtius, thus turned, “ is less ridiculous, without being more exact.”

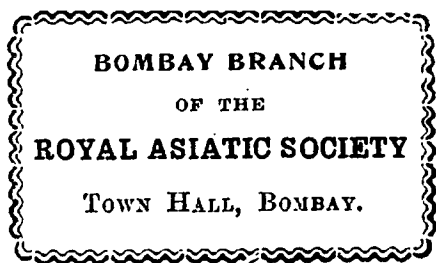
The Author of *Examen Critique*, in throwing out this animadversion, seems to forget, that when Curtius wrote, the science of astronomy had not attained its present state of proficiency. Now let us examine, whether it was absurd for Curtius to assign competing ALTERNATIVES—as possible causes for the eclipse. In the English translation, *terram subiret* is rendered, “ passes under the shadow of the earth.” This is the explication of the phenomenon, according to the system of Pythagoras; which was adopted by Archimedes, but met with little attention in the ancient schools—although in modern times Copernicus has revived, and Newton is generally admitted to have demonstrated it. To do justice to Curtius, we must transfer our thoughts to the ages back, when what is called the Ptolemaic system prevailed; and when the Egyptian system, which had a complicated affinity to some branches of both the others, had also its advocates. Hence Curtius adds: “ or is otherwise shut out from the sun.” For which of the orbs in the solar system was fixed in the centre, and which revolved round a common centre, the most able philosopher was then incompetent to demonstrate; owing to the imperfect state of the arts subservient to astronomy. In nature there can be but one cause of any identical effect; in the uncertainty of hypothesis, there have been many proposed, all contending to be that single one.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.



00032334





ALEXANDER THE GREAT,

From a Coin in the collection of John Foy Edgar. Esq.^r

THE
HISTORY
OF
ALEXANDER THE GREAT
BY
QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS

Translated from the Latin

WITH
ORIGINAL NOTES
CRITICAL AND CORROBORATIVE
INCLUDING
ILLUSTRATIONS FROM RECENT TRAVELS
AND FROM
REMAINS EXTANT IN PERSIA AND INDIA
OF THE ANCIENT NATIVE LITERATURE.

BY PETER PRATT

Of the East India House.

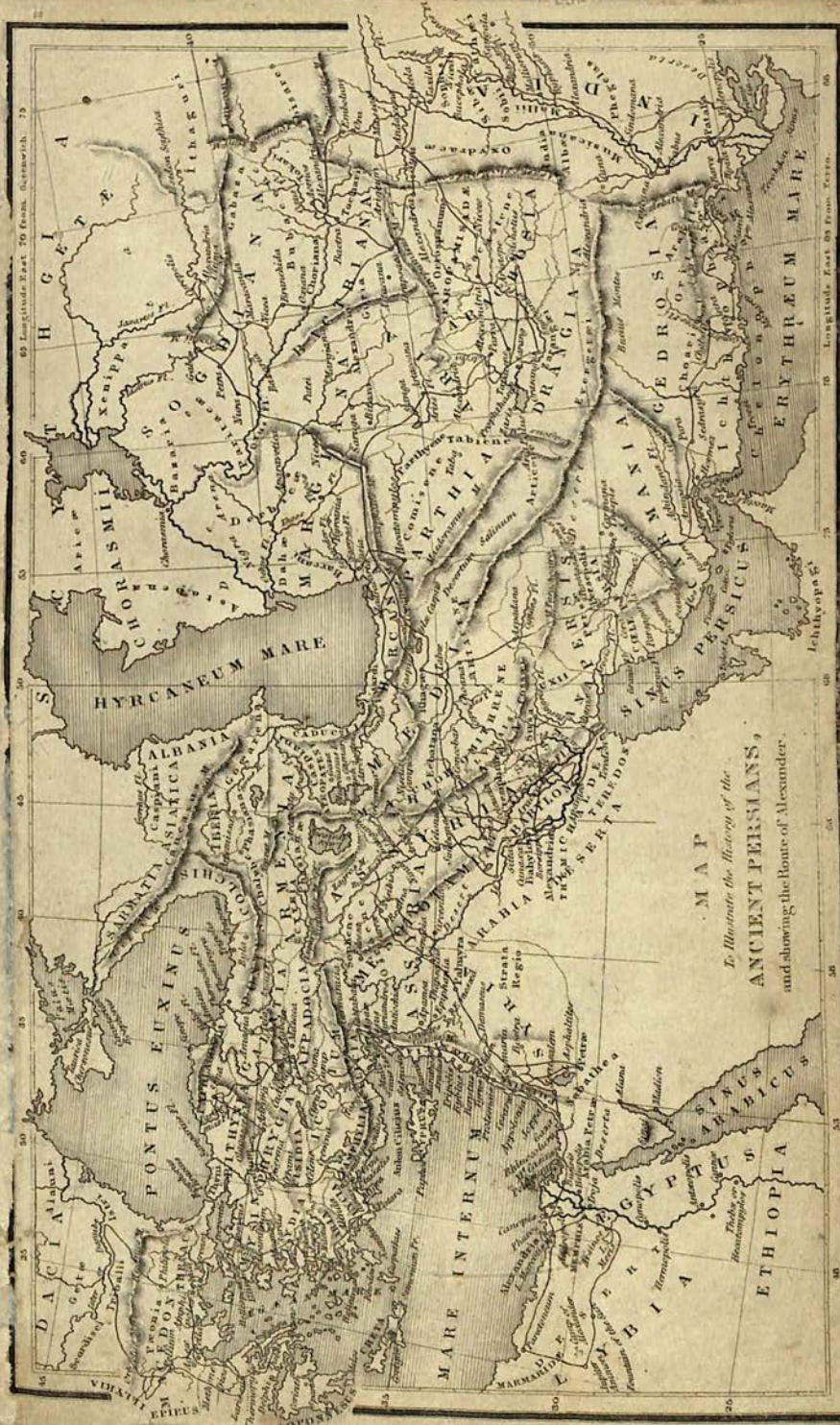
"So precisely does Quintus Curtius's description of the scene of Porus's battle correspond with the part of the Hydaspes where we crossed, that several gentlemen of the mission, who read the passage on the spot, were persuaded that it referred to the very place before their eyes."—MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE.

Revised Edition :
IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

LONDON :

PRINTED FOR LACKINGTON, HUGHES, HARDING, MAJOR, AND
LEPARD, FINSBURY SQUARE; BLACK, KINGSBURY, PARBURY,
AND ALLEN, LEADENHALL STREET; AND HATCHARD
AND SON, PICCADILLY.

1821.



MAP
To Illustrate the History of the
ANCIENT PERSIANS,
and showing the Route of Alexander.

65 Longitude East 70 From Greenwich 75

Longitude East 80 From Greenwich



00032334

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK V.

THE SUBMISSION OF BABYLON, AND OF SUSA. THE
BURNING OF PERSEPOLIS. THE DEATH OF DARIUS.

CHAP. I.

*Darius flies into Media. Alexander enters
Babylon.*

1. IN the order of time, here to have interposed transactions which meanwhile passed in Greece, in Illyria, and in Thrace, under the guidance and authority of Antipater, — would have broken the narrative of events in Asia; which, up to the death of Darius, I deem it more proper to exhibit with the same connection as they had in their occurrence.

Darius reached the city of Arbela about midnight*, whither a great concourse of his friends and troops fortune had also directed in

* From the mention of the “approach of night,” and then of “twilight,” in book IV. chap. xv. sect. 62., we gather, that the retreat had commenced some time before the close of day: as the action happened about five days after the autumnal equinox, allowing for the precession of the equinoxes, this calculation leaves to Darius between six and seven hours to perform the journey in

their flight. Having convened, he addressed them: “ I expect that Alexander will strike
“ at the provinces and cities most celebrated
“ for fertility and riches. The princely spoils,
“ there waiting seizure, are the fixed object of
“ him and his soldiers. Such are our circum-
“ stances, that this is an advantage; for we, a
“ body equipped for expedition, may mean-
“ while retire through desolated tracts. The
“ remote provinces of my dominions are yet
“ untouched; thence I may, without difficulty,
“ bring levies into the field. Let the avaricious
“ invaders rifle my treasures, and glut their long
“ raging appetite for gold, to be, at no distant
“ time, a prey to us; for experience teaches,
“ that gorgeous suits of movables, and trains
“ of concubines and eunuchs, are no other than
“ burdens and clogs. Alexander, dragging
“ these, will sink before those whom he has
“ overcome.” — These seemed to all, the
suggestions of desperation, inasmuch as impe-
rial Babylon was proposed to be abandoned to
the conqueror, with Susa, and the other gems
of the empire, which had been the motives to
invasion. — Darius proceeds: “ In the present
“ exigency, those things, which have dazzling
“ names, should not be our care, but those only
“ which can be of essential service. War strikes
“ with iron, not with gold; by men, and not
“ by the soft nurslings of cities. All things

“ devolve to the armed. Thus my ancestors, “ under reverses, in the infancy of the monarchy, speedily recovered their greatness.” This address inspired the adherents of Darius with confidence, or, unmoved by his counsels, they bowed to his sovereignty. He entered the borders of Media*.

2. To Alexander was soon afterwards surrendered Arbela, replete with regal furniture and treasures; comprising costly wardrobes and four thousand talents. Here the valuables of the whole army had been deposited†.

Alexander suddenly broke up his camp, menaced with contagion, caused by effluvia from the dead bodies lying in all the plains. At the beginning of his march, Arabia, celebrated for its aromatic productions, he kept bearing to the left‡. His road lay over levels. The pasturage between the Tigris and the Euphrates is represented as so rich and luxuriant, that the inhabitants restrain the cattle feeding, lest they should die by a surfeit. The cause of this fer-

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (A).

† Alexander, as he had formerly done with respect to Damascus, probably took possession of Arbela by a detachment, his main-body remaining encamped near the field of battle.

‡ The bearing of Arabia the Happy, if Curtius meant deliberately to refer to a region at such an immense distance, is relevant so far as it shows, that when Alexander broke up from Gaugamela for Babylon, he moved in a direction nearly retrograde, until he had crossed the Tigris. He went back a little, for the convenience of the ford.— See ADDITIONAL NOTES (B).

tility, is the humidity circulated through the soil by subterranean streams, replenished from the two rivers*. Both the Tigris and Euphrates have their source in the mountains of Armenia; and as they had begun their course with a great divergency, so a long way afterwards they continue it. Their greatest distance, in the vicinity of the Armenian mountains, those who have measured it, specify to be two thousand five hundred stadia. These rivers, *when they begin to intersect the OPEN COUNTRY, and the ridges of the GORDÆANS†*, gradually approximate; and

* The name of Houshung, the second ruler of the Pashdadian dynasty, is perpetuated in Persia, as the first who constructed aqueducts. These aqueducts are made by a succession of small wells at the distance of a few yards from each other, and of such depth as the level and soil require: they are connected with each other at the bottom by a channel, large enough for a man to pass to clear it. These wells commence at a spring, and not only convey its waters, but that of such other springs as are found in the course of the canal: the water they convey is applied to irrigation.—MALCOLM'S *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 14.

† The seats of the modern Koords. The Translator has rendered *Media* as a Grecism for "the open country," in which sense it will apply to Mesopotamia. For if "*Media*" be restricted to its ordinary meaning as a proper name, the text will contain several errors.

1. The Euphrates no where touches *MEDIA*; nor does the Tigris, though it may intersect a tract which had belonged to the Median empire. The geography of the text, incorrect in relation to the provincial divisions in the time of Alexander, might have suited the age of Xenophon; because a wall extending, in a remote age, across Mesopotamia, from the two rivers, a little farther from Babylon than the 33d degree of lat. continued to be called the Median wall, after the name of Mesopotamia had been introduced. See Rennell's *Geography of Herodotus*.

the farther they run, the smaller is the space between them : shutting in, on three sides, the

2. Nor do both rivers intersect the ridges of the GORDÆANS, unless the mountain-seats of that tribe be prolonged westward beyond the Euphrates, in opposition to the limited bearing of the Gordæan chain implied in book IV. *supra*, vol. i. p. 412. A note on that passage has already indicated, that, admitting the eastern border of Adiabene to have been the principal seat of the Gordæans, some hordes of that nation occupied Taurus Niphates, and other branches westward. The latest authority on the subject says : “ *Kurdistan*, “ the country of the *Kurds*, comprehends the whole of *Assyria Proper* [Adiabene], part of *Armenia*, and part of *Media*. The *Kurds*, “ under the appellation of *Carduchai*, are mentioned by the earliest “ of the Greek historians ; and they themselves boast of being the “ descendants of Noah. Possessing a wild and inaccessible country, “ they have never been completely subdued, and continue to live “ under a number of independent princes, whose government is absolute. They may be divided into two classes ; namely, those who “ live in tents, and those who have fixed habitations The former, “ on the approach of winter, quit the more lofty regions, and retire “ gradually toward the warmer climate of the South :—They return “ to their mountains about April or May.”—*Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire*, by John Macdonald Kinneir, Political Assistant to Sir John Malcolm on the Mission to Persia. 4to. London, 1813. pp. 141, 337.”

On the other hand, as far as the text imports, that the Euphrates and Tigris, in the age of Alexander, issued by separate channels to the sea, Curtius is to be allowed credit, which few of the ancients can participate, for a correct memorial. “ The “ Euphrates and the Tigris,” observes Major Rennell, “ in the “ time of Alexander, were known to have kept distinct courses “ to the sea ; and the fact has been clearly established from “ the history of Nearchus’ voyage.”

The representation, in the map, of the rivers and canals in Babylonia and the vicinity, is founded on an ANCIENT MAP preserved by Cellarius, which appears to belong to the age of Seleucus. During the short interval between the death of Alex-

country which is called Mesopotamia*, while they are embracing its plains they CONVERGE NEAREST. At length, passing the borders of the province of Babylonia, they fall into the Red Sea†.

Alexander, in four days, reached the walled town Memmium: Near it is a fountain in a cavern, which discharges bitumen in great quantities; so that it is probable, that the wall of Babylon, a prodigious work, was cemented with this material.

3. As Alexander was proceeding toward Babylon, Mazæus, who had fled thither after the battle, came with his adult offspring, and tendered the surrender of himself and the city. His overture was gratifying: the siege of a

ander and the transfer of the seat of government from Babylon to the new city Seleucia,—the canal, marked in the map above Babylon, which carried a derivation from the Euphrates into the Tigris, is stated to have increased to a river: this with other derivations, completely dried the old channel of the Euphrates, which is restored in the map.

At this day, there is no confluence before the rivers reach Korna. Parson's *Travels*, p. 153. The united stream is called the Schut-el-Arab; [*the river of the Arabs*;] separating near the Persian gulf, it discharges its waters by two principal mouths.

* The name *Mesopotamia* [*α μέσος ἔτ ποταμός*] expresses its central relation to two rivers. Some Persian historians have called the same country *Juzeerah*, meaning "the island."

† The Persian gulf. The name *Red* or *Erythræan* sea, was, by the ancients, promiscuously given to the Arabian gulf,—the Persian gulf,—and the ocean which washes the southern coast of Asia, of which those gulfs are arms.

place so strong were a tedious operation : his rank was illustrious, and his bravery acknowledged, and he had distinguished himself in the recent action : such an example might induce others to submit. Alexander, therefore, courteously received him with his children. He, nevertheless, leading his army in person, formed it into a square, and cautioned it to enter the city in order of battle. On the walls stood a great proportion of the Babylonians, eager to behold their new sovereign. The majority went out to meet him : Among these, was Bagophanes, governor of the citadel, and keeper of the royal treasure ; unwilling that Mazæus should surpass him in attention, he had strewn the road with flowers and garlands*, and had placed on each side silver altars piled with frankincense, and other costly perfumes. Intended presents followed him : droves of cattle and horses ; lions, in cages, and female leopards. The procession was continued by *Magi* chaunting hymns ; and by the Chaldæans, — the Chaldæans make known the motions of the planets, and the revolutions which measure time. Then advanced

* May 1811.—When the Prince of Shiraz went from that provincial capital, to meet a Kalaat (dress of honour) sent from the king; the whole of the road to Poorshan, three miles, was strewn with roses and watered ; both of which are modes of doing honour to persons of distinction. They also break vials of sugar, which they scatter under the horses' feet.—MORIER'S *Second Journey through Persia*.

the musicians with lyric instruments, whose office it was to sing the renown of their monarch. The train was closed by the Babylonian cavalry; the high wrought accoutrements of the men and horses were extravagant rather than magnificent.

Alexander directed the multitude of citizens to follow in the rear of his foot. In a car, surrounded by his guards, he entered the city, and then repaired to the palace. On the following day, he began to take an account of the heirloom-furniture, and of all the treasure of Darius.

4. The beauty and symmetry of the city struck Alexander and all who for the first time beheld it. It was founded by Semiramis, or, as the majority believe, by Belus, whose palace is yet preserved. The wall—of brick, cemented with bitumen—is thirty-two feet broad; chariots careering on it mutually pass in safety. The wall is one hundred feet high; the towers exceed it in altitude ten feet. The ramparts embrace a [quadrangular] line of three hundred and sixty-eight stadia; the work of building, according to tradition, occupied as many days*.

* *Singulorum stadiorum structuram singulis diebus perfectam esse, memoriæ proditum est.* CURTIUS.—Semiramis, who enlarged it, after Belus the original founder, assigned each furlong of the work, with materials and funds, to a confidential adherent, allowing a year for its completion. See Justin, *initio lib. i.* Diod. lib. ii.

From the wall, the houses are detached by a space of about two hundred and forty feet*. Nor is the whole city filled with streets; about ninety square stadia† are seats of habitations, which are not in a connected mass; I apprehend, because, by their dispersion, the danger from conflagration was deemed to be diminished. The area is ploughed and sowed, that, in case of a siege, the place may be fed by its own produce. The Euphrates, intersecting the city, is confined by mounds of mighty solidity; attached to the mounds are immense excavations, sunk deep, to receive the impetuous river, which, when it overflows, would sweep down the houses, were it not diverted by subterranean tunnels into the lakes: These tunnels, the greatest work of the engineers, are lined with brick, cemented with bitumen. The two parts of the city communicate by a bridge of stone; which also ranks among the wonders of the East: for the deep slime which is borne along the bed of the river, is with difficulty dug out, so as to arrive at ground solid enough for a foundation; and the sand heaps, which repeatedly accumulate round the stone piers on which the bridge rests, make the obstructed stream dash through more furiously. The citadel is twenty stadia in circumference; the foundations

* *Ferè spatium unius jugeri.* A JUGUM was 240 feet by 120.

† See PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION, *Testimonies*, No. 3.

of the towers are received thirty feet into the earth, their elevations rise eighty feet above it.

5. On the summit of the citadel are the hanging gardens, a trite theme with the Greek poets; they equal in height the walls of the town, and their numerous lofty trees afford a grateful shade. The trees are twelve feet in circumference, and fifty feet in height: nor, in their native soil, could they be more productive. Supporting these, are twenty dense walls, distant from each other eleven feet, surmounted with ranges of stone piers, over which is extended a quadrangular pavement of stone, strong enough to bear earth amassed high, and water supplied for irrigation. A distant spectator of these groves would suppose them to be woods nodding on their mountains. Notwithstanding time destroys, by insensible corrosion, not only human works, but even nature herself; yet this pile, pressed with the roots, and loaded with the trunks of so gigantic a plantation, still remains entire. Tradition affirms, that a king of Assyria*, reigning in Babylon, executed this work to gratify his queen, who, delighting in forest scenery, persuaded her husband to imitate the beauties of nature by a garden on this imperial scale.

* Nebuchadnezzar. *Josephus*, lib. x. chap. 11.—“Is not this
“great Babylon that I have built?” *Dan.* iv. 30. He constructed
the decayed buildings, and embellished it with new.

In this capital the Macedonian leader halted longer than anywhere: no place proved more destructive of military discipline. No contamination can surpass the manners of the city; no systematic corruption can offer more stimulations and allurements to debauchery. Here parents and husbands, so as they be paid for the atrocity, can endure their children and wives to prostitute themselves to their guests. Throughout Persia, the chiefs and nobles take pleasure in licentious revels. The Babylonians are grossly addicted to wine, and the consequences of drunkenness. At the beginning of their feasts, the women are decorously habited; after an interval, they throw off their upper garment, and gradually proceed in violating modesty; at length, (to use words the least disgusting,) they lay aside the last veil: Nor is this the infamous practice only of the courtezans, but of the matrons and their daughters, who regard this vile harlotry as an act of complaisance.

6. In such flagitious excesses, the soldiers, who had conquered Asia, wallowed thirty-four days: doubtless, had an enemy presented himself, they would, in subsequent engagements, have betrayed their debility. But that the army might feel its deterioration less sensibly, it was progressively renewed with recruits. For Amyntas, the son of Andromenes, brought from Antipater six thousand infantry and five hundred

cavalry, Macedonians; with three thousand five hundred infantry and six hundred cavalry, Thracians. There came also from the Peloponnesus a stipendiary force amounting to four thousand foot and three hundred and eighty horse. Amyntas had likewise conducted fifty youths, sons of the Macedonian nobility, to guard the royal person. Their office is, further, to serve the king at table; to attend him with horses when he is going to action; to accompany him a-hunting, and to do alternate duty at his chamber door. Their establishment is a seminary to form generals and prefects.

Alexander appointed Agathon governor of the citadel of Babylon, with seven hundred Macedonians and three hundred mercenaries. The territory and city he confided to Menes and Apollodorus, as prefects, with two thousand infantry, and the sum of one thousand talents: he charged both to levy additional soldiers. To the temporising Mazæus he gave the satrapy of Babylon; and Bagophanes, who had surrendered the castle, he ordered to move in his train. Armenia was bestowed on Mithrenes, who formerly betrayed Sardis. Out of the specie taken in Babylon each Macedonian trooper received six hundred denarii; each foreign trooper, five hundred: the donative to the foot-soldier was two hundred.

CHAP. II.

Military rewards and institutions. Alexander enters Susa. His courtesies to Sisygambis.

7. THESE arrangements complete, Alexander advanced to the district called Satrapene: its fertility and accumulated abundance induced him to prolong his stay. That the spirit of the unemployed might not be dissipated by indolence, he proposed prizes to competitors in military reputation*, and appointed judges. Those eight who should be pronounced to have distinguished themselves, were to be created commanders of a thousand men. Officers over divisions of that number, of which this was the first introduction, were denominated *chiliarchæ*: battalions had consisted of five hundred, and, previously, they

* The nature of the rewards induces the translator to consider, that they were to be distributed, by a retrospective decision, among soldiers and minor officers who had, on previous critical occasions, performed brilliant and highly serviceable achievements in the field. By *egregio certamini*, the "illustrious contention," he understands an emulous appeal to the arbitrators, by the candidates, stating their rival pretensions with the freedom, but without the personality, of Ajax and Ulysses contending for the armour of Achilles. It were absurd to propose the command of a thousand men as a stake to stimulate a military game.

had not been given as rewards for bravery. A great number of soldiers assembled to behold the illustrious contention; so many had witnessed the deeds of each candidate, who would also witness the decision of the judges, that the application of a false standard to merit, or the unworthy distribution of honours, could not pass undetected. The first prize was awarded to Atharias, one of the *seniors*, who had been chiefly instrumental in reviving the fight at Halicarnassus, when the young soldiers faltered. The next was conferred on Antigenes. Philotas, the Angean, obtained the third. One Amyntas, the fourth. After these were classed Antigonus, and another Amyntas, a Lyncestean. The seventh rank, and the eighth, was assigned to Theodotus, and Hellanicus.

In points of military economy, handed from his predecessors, Alexander made several judicious changes. Previously the cavalry from different nations formed separate corps: He abolished this distinction, and placed them under commanders selected without regard to their country. The signal for decampment had hitherto been given by sound of trumpet: but, drowned by the clattering bustle of thousands, had frequently failed to be adequately heard; therefore, he caused a staff, conspicuously high, to be erected at head quarters;—whence the

new signal, flame by night, smoke by day, might equally strike all.

8. As the king was proceeding toward Susa, Abulites, satrap of that province, either in obedience to Darius' command, that Alexander might be diverted by the spoil, or from an impulse of his own, sent his son to meet him, declaring his readiness to surrender the city. Alexander courteously received the youth; and was conducted by him to the river Choaspes, of which the water, according to report, is delicious. Here Abulites appeared, with presents of regal magnificence; including dromedaries of superior swiftness, — twelve elephants, sent for by Darius from India, not formidable to the Macedonians, as had been designed, but subservient; fortune transferring the resources of the vanquished to the victor.

Alexander, having entered the town, took out of the treasury — an incredible quantity — fifty thousand talents of silver, not coined, but in bullion. Several kings, in successive ages, had contributed to this accumulated wealth, as they imagined for their descendants in perpetuity: but one hour bestowed it on a foreign prince.

Alexander then seated himself in the imperial chair, unsuitably elevated for his person, so that his feet could not touch the step at the

bottom; one of his pages, therefore, placed a table under his feet. The king, perceiving a eunuch that had been a domestic of Darius to be much affected, inquired the cause of his grief. The eunuch said: "From off that, " Darius was used to eat: his consecrated " table I cannot see insultingly trampled on " without tears." The king, therefore, began to be ashamed of this sacrilege against the gods presiding over hospitality; [carved upon the table;] and desired it to be removed——When Philotas: "Suffer me, O king! to deprecate " its removal: rather accept it as an auspice, " that that board on which thy enemy spread " his viands, has become thy footstool."

9. Alexander, preparing to penetrate the frontiers of Persis, committed the government of Susa to Archelaus, and a force of three thousand men. Xenophilus was left in charge of the citadel, garrisoned with aged Macedonian veterans. The custody of the treasures was confided to Callicrates. And Abulites was reinstated in the satrapy of Susiana.

Darius' mother and children were assigned apartments in Susa. The king happened to receive a present from Macedon, consisting of various robes and a quantity of purple, accompanied by those who wrought them. To Sisymbambis, to whom he showed every respect, and

even the duty of a son, he ordered them to be conveyed with a message, ' That if the clothes pleased her, she might let her grand-children learn to work such, for the purpose of making presents.' At these words, her bursting tears sufficiently declared that the gift was unacceptable. Indeed, the Persian ladies hold nothing in more abhorrence, than to let their hands touch wool. Informed by those who had carried the presents, that the spirit of Sisygambis was hurt, he deemed himself obliged to go and remove her dissatisfaction by an apology: " Mother, " the habiliments in which I appear, were not " only presents from my sisters, but also their " work. Our dissimilar customs misled me " What I have ignorantly done, I entreat you " will not construe as an affront. To this hour " I hope, as I could learn your usages, I have " unreservedly honoured them. Understanding " it to be, in Persia, a gross offence for the son " to be seated in the presence of the mother, " unless by her permission, as often as I have " visited you, I have kept standing till authorized by you to sit. You have frequently " offered me the honour of prostration: I never " would suffer it. By that venerated title, " which belongs to my beloved mother Olympias, I uniformly address you."

CHAP. III.

Alexander reduces the city of the Uxians. Is repulsed at the Pylæ Susidæ.

10. SISYGAMBIS soothed, the king advanced in four days to the river, by the natives called the Pasitigris. Its source is in the ridges of the Uxians; through a thousand stadia, between wooded banks, it rushes headlong down a rocky channel. Received on the plains, it assumes a calmer tenor; thence a navigable stream, after gliding six hundred stadia over a bed singularly level, it blends its placid waters with the Persian sea. Having crossed this river with nine thousand infantry, the Agrians, the stipendiary Greeks, and three thousand Thracians, Alexander entered the district of the Uxians: It skirts Susiana, and extends to the frontiers of Persia, leaving between them a narrow pass*. Madates, who held the government of the country, no time-server, determined to encounter the fiercest perils, in a loyal struggle. Individuals, however, of local knowledge, apprised Alexander, that there was a bye-track, through the defiles, leading to the back of the

* *arctum, inter se et Susianos aditum relinquens*,—CURTIUS, —leaving a narrow pass common to the natives and to the Susians.
VARIED TRANSLATION.

city; where a small light-armed detachment might climb an eminence commanding the enemy. This counsel approved, and those who had imparted it selected as guides, the king directed Tauron, with fifteen hundred mercenaries, and about a thousand Agrians, to penetrate in that direction after sun-set.

Alexander, on his part, broke up his camp at the third watch, and at day-break had passed the streits. Having cut materials for hurdles and rolling-frames to cover those who should advance the engines, he began to besiege the town. All around, crags, rocks, and precipices, obstructed access. The soldiers, therefore, wounded in numbers, were repulsed; for they had to conflict not only with the enemy, but with the place*. Again they moved up, rallied by Alexander, who stood among the foremost: "Are you not ashamed, having conquered so many fortified cities, to waver in the siege of a small, obscure castle?" The king was now

* This hill-fort seems to answer to the Kala Sufeed of the present day. Sir John Malcolm obtained the following description of the Kala Sufeed from Lieut. M'Donald, who visited it in 1810. "It was then in possession of an aboriginal tribe, called the Mumasenni. It stands about 76 miles W. by N. of Shiraz, on a high hill almost perpendicular on every side. It is of an oblong form, and encloses a level space at the top of the mountain, covered with delightful verdure, and watered by numerous springs. The ascent is near three miles; for the last six hundred yards, the summit is so difficult of approach, that the slightest opposition, well directed, must render it impregnable."—MALCOLM'S *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 27.

attacked with missiles: he could not be induced to withdraw; and the soldiers formed a tortoise with their bucklers to protect him.

11. At length, Tauron appeared with his detachment above the fort. This display caused the enemy to droop, and the Macedonians to fight with augmented vigour. The inhabitants of the town were pressed by two divisions, of which the assault was irresistible: A few braved death; many were solicitous to fly; a great number escaped into the fort. Hence they sent out thirty deputies to Alexander to implore quarter. "There is no room for pardon," was the stern answer. Awed by imminent vengeance, they despatch, by a covert road unknown to the enemy, heralds to Sisygambis, entreating her to intercede for them with the king; for they were not ignorant that he loved and revered her as a parent. Madates having married her sister's daughter, stood in close affinity with Darius. Sisygambis long resisted their application, declaring, 'That interposition for them was not suitable to her condition: as to herself, apprehensive that she might weary the indulgence of the conqueror, she endeavoured rather to remember that she was a captive, than that she had been a queen.' Subdued, ultimately, by their importunities, she wrote to Alexander, beseeching, 'That he would excuse an appeal to his clemency on

‘ behalf of the besieged ; and if he refused to
‘ spare them, that he would at least forgive her
‘ intercession for a friend and kinsman, no
‘ longer his enemy, but a suppliant to him for
‘ life.’ A brilliant instance of the king’s moderation and goodness at that time, — he granted not only amnesty to Madates, but liberty and immunity both to the captives and the inhabitants surrendering : the city he left untouched, and permitted them to cultivate their lands tax-free. Had Darius been their conqueror, what more could his mother have obtained for them ? Alexander then made the district of the Uxians a dependency on the satrapy of Susiana.

Dividing his army, he commanded Parmenio to march through the level country ; while he, with the light-armed forces, traversed the mountains which extend in a continuous chain to Persis.

12. Having ravaged all this tract, he, on the third day, reached Persis ; and on the fifth, entered the streits called Pylæ Susidæ. Ariobarzanes, with twenty-five thousand men, guarded the yawning chasms and craggy precipices of these rocks, posted on eminences out of bow-shot. Here they remained inactive, counterfeiting terror, till the invaders had penetrated into the narrowest part of the defile. Perceiving them to advance in contemptuous security, they rolled masses of stone down the declivities,

which, rebounding from the opposite rocks, fell with aggravated force, crushing not only individuals, but companies. The Barbarians likewise discharged slings and bows in every direction. Nor of this did their brave opponents complain; but to fall unavenged, like beasts entrapped in a pitfall! galled to phrenzy, numbers cling to the jutting crags, and, supporting each other, attempt to climb to the enemy. But the profuberances of rock fell upon them, snapt off by the united weight of many men ascending together. It was as impracticable to proceed as to keep their ground; nor could they, by a tortoise of bucklers, protect themselves from the ponderous stones which the Barbarians propelled*. Alexander was mortified and ashamed of having rashly wedged his army into this defile. Till this day, never frustrated in an enterprize, he had been invincible. He had passed without loss the streits of Cilicia, and he had opened a new road by the sea-shore into Pamphylia. Here his arrested fortune found an obstruction. There was no remedy, but to retrace

* On hill-forts, and heights commanding passes, a battery of stones was a regular means of defence with the rude engineers of antiquity; and the present masters of Kala Sufeed alluded to, p. 19, note, have prepared "a line of large stones ranged in regular order around the edges of the precipice; each stone is wedged in by one of smaller dimensions; when that is removed, the large stone, or rather rock, is hurled down, and sweeps every thing before it with irresistible fury."—MALCOLM'S *History of Persia*, vol. i. p. 27. n.

his steps. Having made the signal for retreat in close order, with bucklers interlocked overhead, he commanded the men to retire from the pass : and they retrograded thirty stadia.

CHAP. IV.

Alexander proceeds by a detour : Craterus passes the streits.

13. **ENCAMPED** in an open place, Alexander not only deliberated with his officers on the course to be pursued, but superstitiously consulted the diviners. But what could Aristander, in whom most confidence was reposed, foretel ? Soon checking the unseasonable sacrifices, the king ordered into his presence persons acquainted with the country. These were pointing out a ROAD THROUGH THE LEVEL COUNTRY*, which was safe and open — But he felt it would be a stigma to depart without burying his slain ; for there was no custom observed more sacredly by the Macedonian soldiers than this duty to the fallen. He therefore directed that the prisoners recently made should be introduced : among them, was an individual skilled in both the Greek and Persian languages. This man replied : “ It would be

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (C).

“ fruitless to attempt to carry the army over
“ the acclivities of the mountains; the wild
“ paths will scarcely admit passengers one by
“ one; for trees intertwining their branches, and
“ forests wedged together, cover every thing.”

Persis is shut in, on one side, by continuous ridges of mountain, extending in length sixteen hundred stadia, and in breadth one hundred and seventy. This chain, derived from Caucasus*, runs on to the Erythrean sea; and where the mountains terminate, the gulf presents another breastwork. At the base of the hills lies the level country, a fertilized expanse, adorned with multiplied villages and cities. Through the plains, the river Arosis carries the water of many brooks to the Medus: the Medus†, diverted [by dams and canals for irrigation] *from* the SEA and *toward* the south, flows on, a less river than that which it receives. No stream more promotes vegetation; its banks are covered with plane-trees and poplars; and every tract which it laves is dressed in blossoms. To distant spectators the woods upon the banks appear as an elongation of the forest on the mountains; because the river gliding in a depressed channel, is lost in shadow; and the hills which rise near, imbibing its humidity at their

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (D).

† To the united stream Strabo gives the name of the Arosis.—
See PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION, p. xlv.

base, are skirted with groves. There is not, in all Asia, a more salubrious climate; on one side, the refrigerating shade of the ridges alleviates the heat and attempers the air; on the other, the adjoining sea cherishes the earth with moderated warmth.

14. Having heard the account of the captive, the king inquired of him, ‘ Whether he gave it from the relation of others, or from ocular experience?’ He answered, ‘ That he had been a shepherd, and had coursed every beaten track; that he had been twice taken prisoner, once by the Persians in Lycia, and now by Alexander.’ The king hereupon recollected an oracle which had predicted, that a Lycian should be his guide into Persia. Making him promises, therefore, adapted to the exigency, and to influence one in the prisoner’s condition, he ordered him to be armed in the Macedonian manner. “ Confiding in fortune,” said the king, “ show the way; which, however steep and difficult, shall be practicable by a small band, unless you suppose that Alexander cannot penetrate for glory and future renown where you have gone for your flock.” The prisoner here described the impediments in the road to men under arms. The king replied: “ I will undertake that none of those whom you are to lead will refuse to follow.”

Committing, then, the guard of the camp to

Craterus, with the foot under his ordinary command and the forces under Meleager, and a thousand mounted archers, he gave him these instructions: " Preserve the form of encampment, and display a great number of fires, that the Barbarians may not suspect my absence. But if Ariobarzanes should discover that I am making a detour, and should send detachments to obstruct my passage, then, Craterus! alarm the enemy by demonstrations, which may induce the Barbarian forces to return to oppose the immediate danger. Further, if I should pass unobserved by Ariobarzanes until I have obtained possession of the wood, when you hear the clamour of the amazed enemy pursuing me, enter the streits in which we were yesterday repulsed, certain to find them evacuated and the enemy turned upon me."

15. At the third watch, Alexander, with a division which broke up without sound of trumpet, silently followed the guide toward the narrow ways. Every light-armed soldier had been ordered to take three days' provision. Besides rocky steeps, and loose crags, which suddenly betrayed the feet, drifts of snow impeded them; into these they sunk as into pits, and sometimes pulled down their fellow-soldiers who endeavoured to extricate them. Night, a place unknown, surmises against the fidelity of their guide, increased their apprehensions:

“ Should he elude the guards, they might be
“ surprised in a snare, like wild animals; their
“ safety, and the king’s, depended on the loy-
“ alty and life of a single captive.” At length
they reached the summit of the ridge; whence
the way to Ariobarzanes was on the right.
Here Alexander left to the separate conduct of
Philotas and Cœnos, Amyntas and Polysper-
chon, a detachment of light-armed, with in-
structions, ‘ That on account of the intermix-
‘ ture of horse and foot, they should proceed
‘ leisurely wherever a fruitful soil afforded
‘ plenty of forage.’ He assigned them some of
the prisoners as guides.

He in person, with the body-guard, and one
of the flanking divisions denominated *agema*,
penetrated with difficulty an avenue, which lay
remote from the enemy’s centinels. It was
now noon; and his fatigued men required rest,
for as much of the way remained to be traversed
as had been passed, though it was less rugged
and steep. Having therefore refreshed his men
with food and sleep, he started at the second
watch, advancing with little difficulty as far as
where the base of the mountain slopes into the
plain: here the track was crossed by a capa-
cious ravine, which had been excavated by the
descent of successive land-floods. Added to
this, boughs of trees, entwining and meeting,
presented an unintermitted hedge. Now the

men's desperation almost drew from them tears; darkness fortified their terrors, for a dense canopy of foliage shut out the glittering of the stars. The man who would cheer his companions could not be heard, for the clashing of the branches mingled with the roar of the blast.

16. At length the welcome dawn reduced to insignificance the dangers which night had aggravated; for the soldiers by a slight detour avoided the ravine; and now every one undertook to be his own guide. They therefore ascend a lofty hill: whence having discovered the outposts of Ariobarzanes, they arm with alacrity, and show themselves at the back of the enemy, who had not apprehended such an attack. Those few who ventured to engage were killed. The groans of the dying, and the dismayed countenances of those who escaped, spread such a panic through the main-body, that they fled without hazarding a battle.

The din was heard or reported in the camp of Craterus; who led the soldiers to occupy the streits in which they had miscarried the preceding day.

All at once,—Philotas, Polysperchon, Amyntas, and Cœnos, who had been ordered to advance by a different road, shook the Barbarians with additional surprise. These, as soon as they were on every side invested, began a memorable fight:—Hence, I conclude, that necessity gives

courage to the fearful, and that frequently desperation creates an opening for hope. The naked Barbarians closed with their armed assailants; and having, by the weight of their bodies, brought them with themselves to the ground, they stabbed them with their own weapons. At length Ariobarzanes, with about forty horse and five thousand foot, forced through the centre of the Macedonian army, sustaining and inflicting a great loss. He, by expedition, strove to occupy Persepolis, the chief city of the country: but, denied entrance by the garrison, and closely followed by the enemy, he renewed the battle, and fell with all his adherents.

And now Craterus, with his division, came up by a rapid march.

CHAP. V.

Alexander marches to Persepolis. A procession of mutilated Greeks.

17. IN the place whence he had swept the enemy, Alexander pitched a fortified camp; for though the non-appearance of an opponent, confessed his consummate victory: yet deep fosses, with perpendicular banks, in many parts intersected the road. He proposed to advance circumspectly; not apprehending an ambuscade, but surmising insidious excavations to have

been made in the ground*. During his progress, he receives a letter from Tiridates, keeper of the regal treasure, notifying, ‘ That, on report of Alexander’s coming, the inhabitants designed to rifle the treasury: and recommending that expedition should be used to secure it: the way was unobstructed, except where the river Arosis ran across.’ No military qualification of Alexander deserves more highly to be extolled than his celerity. Leaving his infantry, he marched all night with his cavalry, previously fatigued, and, having traversed a long interval, came, at day-break, to the Arosis. In the vicinity were several villages; these he pillaged and demolished, and, laying the materials on blocks of stone, promptly formed a bridge.

At his near approach to the city, his eyes were shocked with a spectacle which has few parallels in history. It was a procession of Greek captives, amounting almost to four thousand†, whom the Persians had deplorably mutilated. Some had had their feet cut off; others had been deprived of their hands and ears; and

* It was part of the tactics, not only of the Persians, but of the Scythians, or the tribes which, in modern times, have been called Tartars, to watch for occasions of ensnaring a confident enemy by deep pits and trenches covered with wattles and earth. Here the stratagem was incomplete, for want of time to effect the concealment.—See MALCOLM’S *History of Persia*, pp. 130, 138, note.

† Diodorus enumerates them only at eight hundred.

all their bodies were branded with barbarous characters. Thus they had been reserved for the diversion of their inhuman enemies, who seeing themselves on the eve of foreign subjection, did not oppose their desire to go out and meet Alexander. They resembled uncouth images, distinguishable only as men by their voice. They excited more tears than they shed. In a calamity which capriciously marked every individual, it might be seen at once that they all shared : but their punishments had been so diversified, that it was impossible to pronounce who was most miserable. When they cried out, that Jupiter, the avenger of Greece, had at last awoke, all the auditors sympathized in their sufferings as their own. The king, having dried his tears, said to them : “ Resume courage : you shall again see your native land and your wives.” Then Alexander entrenched his camp two stadia from the city.

18. Meanwhile, the Greeks, having withdrawn, deliberated respecting what great boon they ought to demand of the king. Some were disposed to petition for a settlement in Asia ; others, for restoration to their homes. Euthymon, the Cymean, is represented to have thus spoke : “ We who but recently blushed to come out of our dark dungeons to implore relief, now desire to expose our sufferings to

“ all Greece, as if they were an agreeable spectacle: while it is uncertain whether, ourselves, we are the more grieved by, or ashamed of them. Those who conceal their afflictions, bear them best. To the incurably wretched, their native land cannot be so congenial as solitude and absolute oblivion of their former state. They who expect much from the commiseration of their friends, are ignorant that tears are soon dried up. None sincerely love those whom they loathe; for calamity is as addicted to moan, as prosperity is disdainful. Every one, when he considers the distresses of another, adverts to his own circumstances; and were we not equally miserable, we had long ago avoided each other. Is it wonderful that the happy delight in the happy? Let us, I entreat, since we are dead to enjoyment, seek the shade of seclusion for our mangled remains, and bury our déformities in exile. Returning, we shall be agreeable objects to those wives whom we married in our youth! Will our children, in the flower of life and prosperity, acknowledge the refuse of jails? How many of us are equal to the journey? From Europe far, in the remote East, old, infirm, despoiled of great part of ourselves, can we surmount fatigues which have oppressed even the victorious army? Further, with re-

“ spect to those wives whom accident and necessity forced us to take, as the only consolation of our captivity;—them, and our little children, shall we drag with us, or leave behind? If we take them, nobody will acknowledge us. Shall we, then, abandon these pledges, when it is uncertain whether we can see those others, if we seek them? Let us live sequestered among those whose acquaintance with us began under infelicity.”

19. Thus Euthymon. He was opposed by Theætetus the Athenian: “ No good man values his friends the less on account of bodily defects, especially when the inhumanity of an enemy has inflicted the calamity. He deserves every kind of evil, who is ashamed of pure misfortunes. For thinking so hardly of mankind, and despairing of pity, he can have no motive, but that he would refuse pity to another. What we never dared to hope, the gods now offer — — our native land, our wives, our children, and all those goods which give life its value, and which men defend unto death. Why then do we not burst from this prison? In our native land, the air is sweeter, the light is more grateful. Even the Barbarians revere and cultivate the Grecian manners, religion, and languages; and shall we, whose birth-right they are, wilfully relin-

“ quish them?— — Our greatest unhappiness is
“ exclusion from those blessings. For myself,
“ I am resolved to avail myself of the king’s
“ extraordinary bounty, and return to my coun-
“ try and my home. Attachments to those con-
“ cubines and children whom slavery compelled
“ us to acknowledge, may detain individuals: but
“ let those go to whom nothing is dearer than
“ their native country.”

A few were of this opinion: habit, which is stronger than nature, influenced the remainder. They agreed, ‘To request the king to assign a spot for their residence.’ Then they elected one hundred deputies. Alexander, concluding that they had come to ask the same boon which he was prepared to grant: “ I have appointed,” said he, “ conveyances for you, and to each of you
“ a thousand denarii; and when you shall have
“ reached Greece, I shall make such provision
“ for you, that, setting aside the past severities
“ of fate, no man’s condition shall be happier
“ than yours.” At these words, the deputies wept; and fixed their distressed eyes on the ground, not daring to speak. After an interval, the king inquired why they were dejected. Then Euthymon gave an answer corresponding to his speech at the consultation. Hereupon, the king, commiserating their misfortunes and confirmed melancholy, ordered the distribution

to each of three thousand denarii; he added cattle, teams, and seed-corn, that they might cultivate the land assigned them.

CHAP. VI.

Persepolis plundered. Treasures there and at Pasargada. Alexander conducts an expedition through the wilds of Persia into the country of the Mardians.

20. ON the following day, Alexander addressed his convened officers: "No city has been more
" pernicious to the Greeks than this seat of the
" ancient Persian monarchs. Hence was given
" the impulse to their immense armies. Hence
" Darius first, and afterwards Xerxes, poured
" their impious wars on Europe. It must be
" razed, to appease the manes of our ancestors."

From the evacuated city the terrified Barbarians fled in various directions: whereupon the king led the phalanx into it without delay. Conquest or negociation had made him master of many capitals imperially opulent: but the riches of this last transcended the others. The resources of Persia, as a state, the personal pro-

perty of the Barbarians, were here deposited: gold and silver in heaps; apparel for princes; furniture—in part ostentatiously superb, in part framed for simple utility. This caused the victorious troops to fight among themselves; and he who had seized the most valuable spoils, was treated by his companions as an enemy. As the soldiers could not bear away all that they found, they grasped at such articles as seemed to deserve a preference. They tore up the royal robes, every one snatching a piece: vases of exquisite workmanship, they split with axes: nothing was left untouched, nor carried off entire. Images were dismembered, as each despoiler could wrench away a limb. Nor avarice alone—cruelty now raged; for the savages, loaded with gold and silver, to avoid the trouble of guarding their prisoners, butchered them; and those who had bought their life by disclosing their riches, were no longer spared. This induced numbers to anticipate the enemy by a voluntary death. Habited in their most gorgeous apparel, with their wives and children, they plunged headlong from the walls. Some, supposing the enemy would ultimately burn the town, fired their houses, and, with their families, perished in the flames. At length the king gave orders, ‘That the persons of the women should be respected, and their apparel preserved to them.’

Of treasures taken here, the amount is almost incredible: but we must doubt respecting all the previous, or believe that in the citadel were deposited one hundred and twenty thousand talents. Destining this to the service of the war, the king caused horses, and camels, to be brought from Susa and Babylon, to transport it. To this sum may be added six thousand talents taken at Persagada, which was surrendered to Alexander by its governor Gobares. Cyrus founded Persagada*.

21. The king nominated Nicarthides governor of the citadel of Persepolis, leaving him a garrison of three thousand Macedonians. To Tyridates, who had delivered up the treasure, he confirmed the honours which he had held under Darius.

Alexander confided the chief part of his army, with the baggage, to Parmenio, and Craterus: while, with a thousand horse, and a division of light-armed infantry, set out, under the constellation of the Pleiades†, to penetrate the inward territory of Persis. He was annoyed by heavy rains, and by a tempest scarcely to be endured; notwithstanding which, he proceeded as he had planned. He had now ad-

* *Persagada*, or *Parsagada*, signifying the "camp of the Persians," is found in most of the Greek authors converted into *Pasargada*, by the transposition of two consonants.

† See ADDITIONAL NOTES (E).

vanced into a pass environed with perpetual snow, and the intensity of the cold had glazed the rugged road with ice. Dreary scenery and impassable wilds terrified the exhausted soldiers, who imagined themselves to be stepping on the confines of the world. They were astonished by solitudes, without a vestige of cultivation, or of man. They insisted on being led back, before the light and heavens failed them. The king forbore to punish them for the effect of horror; but leaped from his horse, and proceeded on foot through the snow and ice*: His friends, his generals, and the soldiers, were ashamed not to follow. The king, with a pickaxe breaking the ice, made himself a passage: the rest imitated his example.

At length, having traversed forests almost impervious, they discovered indications, that the tract was not entirely uncultivated, and a few wandering herds of cattle. The inhabitants dwelt in scattered cottages, deeming the protection of walls unnecessary in an inaccessible country†. At sight of the enemy, killing such

* It was so cold in the table-land of Hobatou in JULY 1810, that the water froze in the tent.—See *Kinneir's Geogr. Memoir of Persia*, p. 144, *text and note*.—Now the time of this expedition along an elevated region, and occasionally over higher ridges, is deduced to be MAY.

† “ The tribes of Louristan trace their origin to the most remote antiquity. They are a savage and fearless race, subject to no law but the will of their chiefs, and would seem to differ only in name

as could not accompany them, they fled to unfrequented mountains, covered with snow. Through conferences with the prisoners, their wildness diminished; they eventually surrendered themselves, and were treated with lenity by the king.

Alexander having ravaged the country of Persis, and reduced very many towns, at length entered the district of the Mardi*, a warlike tribe, whose habits are repugnant to the manners of the Persians. They dig caverns in the mountains, in which they inhume themselves with their wives and children: they feed on flesh, either that of their herds, or of wild animals. The women are not of a softer nature than the men: their hair is shaggy; and their garments do not reach to the knees. They bind the forehead with a sling, making an ornament

“ from the rude inhabitants of the same country in the days of Alexander. They reside in black tents even during the winter; [when some of them emigrate to a warmer climate, p. 143.] and consequently, with the exception of Korumabad, there are no towns, and but few villages to be seen in Louristan.” — *Geogr. Mem.* p. 138. The Illiats pass the months of June, July, and August, upon great table-lands, consisting of progressive clusters of hills heaped upon each other; at which time these highlands are covered with their flocks and tents; but they retire to the neighbourhood of Bagdad in the winter.” p. 143.

“ The soil of the glens is good, and will yield abundance of wheat and barley; but the Kurds, who prefer the pastoral life, content themselves with raising only what is absolutely necessary for their subsistence.” p. 144.

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (F).

of a weapon. This nation, also, was, however, borne down by the same torrent of fortune.

Alexander, on the thirtieth day after his departure from Persepolis, returned thither. Then, in presents to his friends and adherents, according to merit, he distributed almost all that he had taken in that city.

CHAP. VII.

The burning of Persepolis.

22. BUT the superior mental endowments of Alexander, that disposition more than kingly, that firmness in meeting danger, that velocity of preparation and of achievement, that good faith to an enemy submitting on terms, that clemency toward prisoners of war; were all sullied by an inordinate propensity to wine. While his antagonist, and competitor for empire, was making every exertion to renew hostilities — while the provinces, recently subdued, winced under his new government—he occupied each succeeding day in banquets; at which were present, fair guests, not such as it would have been a crime to debauch, but venal mistresses, whose licentious society was a disgrace to the brave. One of these, Thais, flushed with undiluted cups, suggested to the king, ‘ That if he burnt the palace of the Persic princes,

‘ it would, above all things, gratify the Greeks, who expected this reprisal for the destruction of their cities by the Barbarians.’ While this bacchante was agitating this serious affair, one and another inebriated individual expressed their applauses; and the king, not enduring merely, with avidity embracing the proposal, exclaimed: “ Why do we delay to avenge Greece, and apply the torches to the city?” Inflamed with the spirit of the grape, all rise together to burn that splendid seat which they had spared when armed. The king led the destroyers, and fired the palace: then his guests, his servants, and his concubines, applied their active flambeaux. The imperial structure contained a great quantity of cedar, which rapidly caught, and widely communicated, the flames. Now the army, encamped not far from the town, perceiving the conflagration, and considering it to be casual, hastened to give their services in extinguishing it; but when they had come to the portico of the palace, seeing the king hurling in a profusion of blazing combustibles, they dropped the water which they had brought, and augmented the fire with dry materials.

23. This was the end of the court* of all the

* Arrian, lib. iii. p. 66. Plutarch in *Alex.* and Strabo, lib. xv. p. 502, confine the conflagration to the palace. Diodorus says indistinctly, that the environs of the palace were consumed. Pliny, lib. vi. 26, having incidentally to mention Persepolis, subjoins: “ the

East; whence laws had emanated to so many nations; the birth-place of so many kings: formerly, the sole object of terror to Greece, its decrees had equipped a fleet of a thousand sail, and inundated Europe with armies; had constructed bridges over the sea, and cut through mountains a marine canal. Ages have elapsed since its destruction, and a new metropolis has not risen from its ashes; for Alexander and his successors held their courts in other cities; which the Parthians now occupy. Were it not for the river Arosis, the traces of it could hardly be found; that river flowed near its walls; by the neighbouring inhabitants the distance is rather conjectured, than ascertained, to have been twenty stadia. The Macedonians were ashamed, that the destruction of a city so illustrious, should be ascribed to a bacchanalian frolic of their king: they, therefore, gave the affair a severe aspect, and imposed on themselves a belief, that it was expedient that Persepolis should be so consumed. Alexander, on his part, as soon as repose had dispelled the fumes of inebriety, felt and expressed regret: “More ample atonement had been made to Greece, if the Persians had beheld me sitting on the imperial throne of Xerxes.”

The next day, he gave thirty talents to the

“capital of the empire, destroyed by Alexander.—See ADDITIONAL NOTES (G).”

Lycian, who had been his guide into Persis. Hence he passed into the country of Media, where he was met by recruits from Cilicia; they consisted of one thousand cavalry and five thousand infantry, the whole commanded by Plato the Athenian. Thus reinforced, he prepared to pursue Darius.

CHAP. VIII.

Darius at Ecbatana. His speech in council.

24. THE fugitive king had reached Ecbatana, the capital of Media. AT THIS DAY in the hands of the Parthians, the city is the royal seat during summer. Darius had designed to go thence into Bactriana: but apprehensive that the expedition of Alexander would anticipate him, he altered his intention. A space of fifteen hundred stadia* separated him from Alexander; but he deemed no space a protection from his

* Le Tellier, in his commentary, enters into a loose calculation of the distance between Persepolis and Ecbatana, on the supposition, that Curtius assumes it to be but fifteen hundred stadia: but the critic, deserted by his usual acumen, has overlooked those passages, which decide the intention of Curtius to have been, merely to mark the interval which divided the two kings — when one began to move from Ecbatana; and the other, having already advanced into Media, began an immediate pursuit. See *supra*, ch. vii. *paragr. ult.* and, *infra*, ch. xiii. 34.

pursuer's celerity. He prepared, therefore, rather for battle than for flight. He was followed by thirty thousand foot, comprising four thousand Greeks, whose fidelity to the king remained to the last invincible. He had also a body of slingers, and archers, amounting to four thousand: besides these, there were three thousand three hundred cavalry, chiefly Bactrians, commanded by Bessus, who was satrap of the city and province of Bactriana. With this army, Darius diverged a little from the high-road, having ordered those charged with the baggage to go on before.

To his convened council—"If fortune," said Darius, "had associated me with cowards, who
"prefer any manner of life to an honourable
"death, I would, in silence, forbear to waste
"the time in fruitless exhortations. But your
"courage and fidelity have been more severely
"proved than I could wish; and I ought rather
"to strive to be worthy of such friends,
"than doubt whether you are still like yourselves. Out of so many thousands once under
"my command, you only have adhered to your
"master, twice conquered, twice a fugitive.
"Your attachment and constancy make me
"regard myself still as a king. Traitors, and
"deserters, indeed, are appointed regents over
"my cities, not that they are deemed to merit
"such dignities, but by degrading honours into

“ wages, to tempt you to disloyalty. You have,
“ notwithstanding, chosen to connect yourselves
“ with my fortune, rather than with the con-
“ queror’s : a conduct worthy of reward from
“ the gods, if it should be never in my power
“ to recompense it—And, gods! ye WILL re-
“ ward it. There will be no fame so perverse,
“ no posterity so insensible, as not to bear your
“ memory to the skies. Therefore, although
“ I had, contrary to my own inclination, admit-
“ ted thoughts of flight,—yet, relying on your
“ bravery, I shall meet the enemy. For how
“ long am I to be an exile in my own domi-
“ nions, how long fly through my frontier
“ provinces from a remote-born sovereign,
“ when it is open to me, by trying the fortune
“ of war, either to recover my empire, or to fall
“ gloriously? — Unless it be better to trust
“ to the victor’s clemency, and, after the exam-
“ ple of Mazæus and Mithrenes, accept a pre-
“ carious satrapy over a single nation : admit-
“ ting he would gratify his vanity, rather than
“ his revenge. May the gods never suffer any
“ one, either to take this diadem from my brow,
“ or to replace it there. Living, I will not
“ surrender my sceptre ; my kingdom and my
“ life shall end together. If the same spirit
“ reigns in you, not one of you shall lose his li-
“ berty, not one be forced to crouch to the

“ haughty Macedonians. Your right-hands
“ shall avenge your sufferings, or terminate
“ them. Our present condition proves how
“ fluctuating fortune is ; and it is reasonable to
“ expect a favourable vicissitude. But if just
“ and pious wars be disregarded by the gods,
“ it is yet in the power of the brave to die
“ honourably. By the illustrious deeds of our
“ ancestors, by the renown with which they
“ governed all the kingdoms of the East, by
“ those great men to whom Macedon formerly
“ paid tribute, by the mighty fleets that have
“ been sent against Greece, by the trophies of
“ so many kings, by every sacred invocation,
“ I entreat you to call into exercise a courage
“ suitable to the nobility of your families and
“ nation ; and that with such resolution as you
“ have opposed to the past, you will assay what
“ fortune has to allot. For myself, I am re-
“ solved to be great to future ages—by a battle,
“ perhaps by a remarkable victory.”

CHAP. IX.

*Insolent proposition of Nabarzanes to Darius.
Disorganized state of the Persian army.*

25. WHILE Darius was speaking, the aspect of impending danger had oppressed the hearts and imaginations of all his attendants with horror : none could exert his reason. When Darius ceased, none ventured to speak. At length Artabazus, the oldest of his friends, and who had formerly resided at the court of Philip : “ In our richest apparel, and most splendid armour, we will follow our king to the field ; nor are we disposed to despair of victory, or to shrink from death.” The rest appeared to assent :——But Nabarzanes had leagued with Bessus in a conspiracy of unprecedented atrocity ; by the agency of the troops which they commanded, to seize, and bind the king,—meditating, if Alexander pursued them, to deliver him up alive, by which they expected to ingratiate themselves with the victor, who would highly estimate the acquisition : but if they should escape, they intended to kill Darius, seize the chief authority, and renew hostilities.

They had long revolved this treason; Nabarzanes now ventured on a prelude to his villainous plan. "Sire!" said he, "I am sensible that what I am going to propose, will not at first sound gratefully. But physicians expel desperate diseases by violent remedies; and mariners, menaced with shipwreck, throw over-board part of the cargo to keep the remainder afloat. Not that I advise you to submit to any loss, but, by a salutary proceeding, to save yourself and the empire. The gods frown upon us in the war, and fortune with fixed purpose oppresses the Persians. A new foundation must be laid under new auspices. Resign for a while the government and chief dignity to another, who shall continue king only till the enemy withdraw from Asia: then the conqueror will restore to you the sacred deposit. Reason promises that this will be speedily accomplished. Bactriana is yet entire. The Indians, as well as the Sacæ, are at your direction. So many nations, so many armies consisting of innumerable thousands of horse and foot, stand equipped ready to renew hostility, that the mass of force in reserve, is greater than that which has been dispersed. Why then should we as brutes rush on destruction? It is the part of the brave rather to despise death than to hate life. Cowards are fre-

“quently disgusted with their being, through
“impatience under difficulty: but manliness
“leaves nothing unattempted. Beyond all re-
“medies postpone death: it is enough to meet
“it cheerfully. What if we repair to Bactra,
“the most secure retreat, and there inaugurate
“Bessus, the satrap of Bactriana, temporary
“king. At the happy termination of our per-
“plexities, he will retransfer to you, his liege
“sovereign, the chief authority assigned to him
“on trust.”

26. Is it wonderful that Darius was incensed, although yet ignorant what consummate wickedness lurked under the insulting proposal: “Vile slave!” he cried, “hast thou found the
“wished time to disclose thy parricide?” Unsheathing his sword, he seemed in motion to kill him: but Bessus and the Bactrians interposed, with signs of dejection, although they intended to bind the king, had he persisted.

Meanwhile Nabarzanes made his escape. Bessus followed him. The troops, which they respectively commanded, they drew off from the rest of the army, preparatory to holding a secret consultation.

When they had departed, Artabazus endeavoured to appease Darius by a speech suitable to the aspect of affairs: “Bear with the folly or
“error of such adherents as you have: Alexan-

“ der approaches, formidable to us all united :
“ what will he be found, if the companions
“ hitherto of your flight shall be alienated from
“ your interest ?” Darius was persuaded. Although the camp had received orders to break up, yet, in the general agitation, no step was taken to remove. But the king, petrified with grief and despair, shut himself in his tent. The forces having no head, felt various attachments ; and the chiefs no longer met in one council. Patron, commander of the Greeks, ordered his men to take arms, and hold themselves constantly prepared. The Persians had taken separate quarters. Bessus was with the Bactrians, and laboured to gain over the Persians : he desecrated on the wealth of Bactriana, yet untouched, and on the perils awaiting them if they remained in that place. The Persians almost to a man replied, “ It were a foul enormity to desert the “ king.” Meanwhile, Artabazus discharged the office of a general ; going round to the Persians in their quarters, exhorting them now individually, now in a body : nor did he quit them till he was sufficiently assured of their obedience. Returned to Darius, he with difficulty prevailed on him to take food, and to exert fortitude becoming a sovereign.

CHAP. X.

Nabarzanes and Bessus counterfeit submission.

Darius, reconciled, proceeds on his march.

27. BESSUS and Nabarzanes determined to pursue their infamous machinations, inflamed with the lust of reigning. They could not, however, hope to be supported by the auxiliary forces, while Darius remained undegraded; for the people of those nations regard the sovereign majesty with extreme veneration. At the name of their king they assemble, serving him under adversity with no less devotion than in prosperity. The region which the execrable Bessus and Nabarzanes governed, inflated their ambition; for in arms, and men, and extent, it was second to none of the provinces,—it influenced the third part of Asia,—its mass of young men was adequate to replace the armies which Darius had lost. Hence they despised not their sovereign only, but Alexander as well; expecting, if they could direct the resources of Bactriana, to re-establish the empire.

After much distraction, they resolved—To employ the servile devotedness of the Bactrian soldiers, in arresting the king: and, then, by a

messenger to Alexander, to announce that they had him in custody alive: If, as they feared, Alexander should spurn abhorrent at their perfidy, they designed to kill Darius, and retire with their forces to Bactriana. They durst not, however, openly deprive Darius of liberty, while so many thousand Persians were ready to support him; they were restrained also by the known fidelity of the Greeks. Postponing coercion, they employ deceit, counterfeiting penitence for their secession, and pleading their late consternation as an apology to the king.

28. Meanwhile their emissaries assail the constancy of the Persians, by addresses to their hopes and fears: 'To place their shoulders under the ruined empire, were certain destruction; while Bactriana offered them prosperity and wealth surpassing their desires.'

Pending these practices, Artabazus, by the king's order, or from his own impulse, came to Bessus and Nabarzanes, and assured them, that Darius, appeased, was ready to admit them to their former rank in his friendship. They excuse themselves with tears; entreating Artabazus, as a mediator, to bear their supplications to the king.

At day-break, Nabarzanes conducted the Bactrian soldiers to the entry of the royal tent, masking his criminal designs under the exterior

of a solemn duty. Darius, having given him the signal to march, ascended his chariot in the usual manner. Nabarzanes, with the other paricides, prostrating themselves, affected to adore him whom they intended soon to oppress with chains; shedding profusely the symbols of penitence: so deeply rooted in some hearts is dissimulation. Darius, naturally sincere and mild, was induced not only to believe their professions, but to weep himself. They, nevertheless, felt no remorse on account of their premeditated villany, while witnessing how worthy a man and king they were proceeding to betray. He, insensible to danger at hand, hastened to escape beyond the reach of Alexander, the sole object of his apprehension.

C H A P. XI.

Patron's offer to protect Darius.

29. PATRON, commander of the Greeks, ordered them to assume their armour, which was carried with the baggage, and to be uniformly ready to act. He followed the royal carriage, awaiting an opportunity to speak to the king; for he had penetrated the plot of Bessus. The

traitor dreading this, kept close to the chariot, more like a guard over a prisoner, than an attendant. Patron, therefore, having often suppressed the salutation quivering on his lips, under hesitation between fidelity and fear, attentively fixed his eyes on the king, who, at length perceiving it, sent Bubaces, one of his eunuchs, to inquire, ‘ If he had any thing to impart ? ’ Patron answered, ‘ Yes, but he wished to speak to the king without a witness.’ Directed to approach, he, without an interpreter, for Darius understood Greek, said, “ Of your fifty thousand Greeks, we, a small band, only survive ; “ we have been your adherents through every “ variety of fortune, and our affection towards “ you now is the same as when you were on “ the summit of felicity. Whatever retreat you “ choose, we shall embrace as a country and a “ home. Your prosperity and adversity have “ connected us with you. By our invincible “ fidelity, I solemnly conjure you, to station “ your tent among us, and to permit us to undertake the duty of guarding your sacred person. We have relinquished Greece ; and have “ no Bactriana. Our whole reliance is on you. “ Would that we were not obliged to distrust “ others. It does not become me to say more, “ than that I, a foreigner, a stranger-born, “ would not entreat to have the protection of

“ your person, if I could deem it safe in the
“ keeping of another.”

30. Although Bessus was uninstructed in Greek, conscious of guilt, he believed that Patron had discovered him ; his surmise was confirmed, when an interpreter repeated to him the discourse which had been overheard.

Darius, without any symptom of fear in his countenance, demanded from Patron the cause of his suggestion. The latter conceived it were improper to refrain longer from speaking out :
“ Bessus and Nabarzanes have conspired against
“ you ; your fortune and life lie in extreme
“ hazard. If this be not the last day of the
“ parricides, it will, sire ! be your last.” Thus Patron strove to obtain the high glory of saving the king’s life. It is the notion of some, that human affairs have no controller superior to blind chance : Let those scoff : For my part, I believe, that events depend on an eternal arrangement, connecting a chain of hidden causes, and that every man performs a race prescribed long before by an immutable decree. The reply of Darius was :
“ Although I well know the fidelity of my
“ Greek soldiers, I will never detach myself from
“ my native subjects. It more pains me to dis-
“ trust than to be deceived. Whatever the un-
“ certain future may inflict, I would rather en-
“ counter among my own people, than desert

“ them. I shall fall too late, if my own soldiers
“ will not protect me.” Patron, despairing of
the king’s safety, returned to his division, pre-
pared, at any hazard, to prove his loyalty.

CHAP. XII.

Darius a captive in his own army.

31. BESSUS felt a violent propensity to kill the king immediately: but apprehensive that unless he delivered him up alive, he might not ingratiate himself with Alexander, he postponed the accomplishment of his treason till the approaching night. Addressing Darius, he ‘ congratulated him on having circumspectly avoided the snare of a perfidious man, now attracted by the wealth of Alexander. That man had fixed on the king’s head as an offering to the enemy. Nor was it surprising that every thing should have its price with a mercenary, without family-tie or home, an exile from the world, whom the beck of a higher bidder could transform into a foe to either party.’ Then exculpating himself, Bessus invoked the guardian deities of Persia to witness his fidelity. Darius

appeared, by his countenance, to credit Bessus, though he doubted not that the Greek had justly impeached him : but, at that conjuncture, to show distrust of his subjects, was not less dangerous than to bear with strong symptoms of duplicity : They who were suspected of disloyalty amounted to thirty thousand : Patron's band was but four thousand : Should he, by confiding to these the guard of his person, seal the accusation of the national army, he perceived that the conspirators might draw from it a plea for their parricide, which he was desirous not to afford. In answer to Bessus, he however said :
“ Alexander's justice is not less established than
“ his valour. They will be deceived who expect from him the reward of treason ; for there
“ cannot be a more rigid chastiser of perfidy.”

Night drawing on, the Persians, as they were accustomed, piled their arms, and went to the next village for provisions : but the Bactrians, by Bessus' order, continued under arms.

32. Meanwhile Darius summoned Artabazus to an interview. The disclosure of Patron imparted to Artabazus, the latter, without hesitation, advised the king to pass into the camp of the Greeks : “ The Persians will follow as soon
“ as you shall proclaim your danger.” But, doomed to his lot, Darius could no longer be influenced by salutary counsel. Artabazus, his

only friend in that extremity, he embraced as never to see him more. While tears stole from both, and Artabazus still clung to him, he ordered him to be forced away. Darius having covered his head, that he might not see the solemn grief of Artabazus, who departed as from a sepulchral chamber, flung himself on the ground. His guards, whose duty it had been to hazard their lives in protecting the king, gradually withdrew, not deeming themselves a match for the armed ruffians momentarily expected. In all the apartments of the tent was a dreary vacancy, there remaining only a few eunuchs, who did not know whither to retire. The king, having no companion of his distraction, revolved varying purposes, till he was disgusted with the ruminations to which he had had recourse for relief. Then he ordered Bubaces to be called in. Looking stedfastly at him, "Go, all!" said he, "and take care of yourselves, having preserved to the last a becoming duty to your prince: Here I shall wait my destiny. Perhaps you are surprised, that I do not terminate my life: I would that my death be the crime of another, rather than my own." At these words, the eunuch's mournful shrieks filled not only the tent, but that division of the camp. Then others rushed in, rending their clothes, and with savage howlings lamenting the king.

33. The Persians, to whom the outcry reached, durst neither return to resume their arms, lest they should fall in with the Bactrians ; nor remain quiet, lest they should appear shamefully to desert their sovereign.

A various jarring din prevailed in the camp, destitute of a leader, and in want of a signal. The soldiers of Bessus and Nabarzanes, mistaking the cause of the wailing, reported, that the king had killed himself. Whereupon Bessus and Nabarzanes galloped to the royal station, followed by select agents of iniquity. At the entrance of the tent, informed by the eunuchs that the king was still living, they ordered him to be seized and bound.

Thus he who had been recently borne in a splendid chariot, and worshipped with celestial honours, was now, without the coöperation of the enemy, made a prisoner by his own slaves, and laid in a sordid waggon covered with hides. The royal treasure and furniture is plundered, as under the laws of war. The pillagers separately fled, loaded with spoil acquired by the last atrocity.

Artabazus, with those under his command, and the Greek troops, turned towards Parthia, deeming any place safer than the society of paricides. The Persians, having received great promises from Bessus, yet principally because

they were without a leader, joined the Bactrians. That, however, they might maintain the honours due to majesty, they confined Darius with golden fetters : fortune inventing for him insults. That he might not be known by his habiliments, they had put on the tilt of skins : now, lest he should be pointed out to inquirers among the troops, they caused the waggon to be driven by persons of no note, while the guards marched far in the rear.

CHAP. XIII.

Death of Darius.

34. ALEXANDER, having been informed of the departure of Darius from Ecbatana, had quitted the road leading through Media, diligent to urge the pursuit. At Tabas, a town at the extremity of Parætacene, deserters represent Darius to be flying precipitately towards Bactra. Bagisthanes, the Babylonian, afterwards procured the more definite intelligence, that the king, at present undegraded, was in danger of death, or of chains.

Alexander, in a council of his generals: "The

“ essential operation remains to be executed,” said he, “ but the labour will be very short. “ Not far hence is Darius, abandoned or murdered by his men. The consummation of “ success depends on the possession of his person; and the latter, on expedition.” With acclamations the officers declared themselves ‘ ready to follow Alexander, and desirous to be ‘ spared neither fatigue nor peril.’ He then conducted the army with the rapidity of a race, rather than a march; nor were their exertions intermitted by repose at night. Having proceeded five hundred stadia, he arrived at the village where Bessus had seized Darius. Melon, the Persian monarch’s interpreter, is here taken prisoner: illness had disabled him from following the army: overtaken by the celerity of Alexander, he feigned himself a deserter. By this man every incident was related. But rest was necessary to the exhausted: Alexander therefore selected from his cavalry six thousand; to which he joined three hundred *dimachæ*, troops armed more heavily than the other horse, and trained to fight on foot when circumstances demanded.

During this pause, Orsillos and Mithracenes, who abhorred the parricide of Bessus, coming over to Alexander, announced, ‘ That the Persians were distant five hundred stadia: they ‘ would show him the nearer way.’ Their sub-

mission was gratifying to the king. In the dusk of the evening, with these guides, Alexander proceeded with his light horsemen, directing the phalanx to follow as promptly as should be practicable. He marched in order of battle, with such regulated speed, that the van and rear might co-operate.

35. He had advanced three hundred stadia, when Brocubelus, Mazæus' son, heretofore satrap of Syria, now also a deserter to Alexander, informed him, ' That Bessus was but two hundred furlongs thence; his army, as in security, ' marched without order, apparently stretching ' toward Hyrcania: Alexander, by an accelerated pursuit, might surprise them in a dispersed state. Darius was still living.'

This account inflamed Alexander's avidity to overtake them, before sufficiently eager. The squadrons sprung into an uncurbed gallop. And now the pursuers could hear the trampling of the enemy: but clouds of dust excluded them from view. Alexander therefore reined in his career, till the dust had settled. Presently they were discovered by the Barbarians, whose retiring army they could now see. They had plunged into a conflict altogether unequal, had Bessus shown as fierce a resolution to fight as he had to perpetrate parricide; for the Barbarians were superior in number and in personal strength;

besides, men refreshed would have contended with men fatigued. But a name, which produces great effects in war, made them fly.

Bessus and his accomplices repaired to the waggon conveying Darius, and urged him to mount a horse, in order to save himself from the enemy: but he refused, saying: "The vengeance of the gods is at hand: I rely on the good faith of Alexander. I will not associate with parricides." This so incensed them, that they discharged their darts at him, and, having given him several wounds, abandon him. They also wounded the horses, to disable them from proceeding, and killed the two slaves that attended the king.

36. Having perpetrated this enormity, that they might embarrass pursuit by scattering in various directions vestiges of flight, Nabarzanes turned toward Hyrcania; while Bessus, accompanied by a few horse, took the road to Bactra. Deserted by their leaders, the Barbarians dispersed as fear or hope directed. Only five hundred cavalry had formed in a body, still undetermined whether to engage or to fly.

Having ascertained the disorder of the enemy, Alexander sent forward Nicanor, with part of the cavalry, to arrest their flight; and followed in person with the remainder. Nearly three thousand of those who attempted opposition,

were slain. The rest were driven like sheep unhurt, the king having prohibited further slaughter. None of the prisoners could afford a clue to Darius. Each pursuer examined whatever he could overtake, without finding a trace of the waggon's course. Alexander moved with such rapidity, that scarcely three thousand horse kept up with him. But those who prosecuted the chase with least celerity, fell in with fugitives in masses. The captives—the fact is scarcely credible—exceeded those employed in taking them. Consternation had so dissipated their senses, that they could not perceive the small number of the enemy, and that themselves were a comparative multitude.

Meanwhile the horses which drew Darius, destitute of a driver, bolted out of the highway, and having wandered nearly four furlongs, stopped in a vale, faint as well from heat as from their wounds. Contiguous was a spring, which some natives had shown to Polystratus, a Macedonian, almost perishing under thirst. While drinking out of his helmet, he observed the darts fixed in the bodies of the beasts, and wondered that they should have been wounded rather than carried off. Hearing a groan as from a man in mortal agony, a humane* curiosity prompted

* Supplementum Freinsheimii.

him to examine what lay concealed in the waggon: removing the covering of hides, he found Darius pierced with multiplied wounds. Darius, who spoke Greek, thanked the gods, after the infliction of so many weighty evils, that they had indulged him with this alleviation: he should not expire without a human being nigh. Then addressing Polystratus: "Whoever thou art —
" By the common lot of men, from which this
" spectacle shows the greatest kings are not
" exempt, I conjure you to bear my last command to Alexander. None of those calamities
" which long since overtook me, nor the manner of my death, an unparalleled woe, presses
" so heavily on me as this one: after that most
" clement of conquerors has deserved so much
" from me and mine, I have been forced to live
" as his enemy, and I die without making him
" a return. But if the last vows of the unhappy
" can influence the gods, if the Deity more
" passionately listen to prayers poured out with
" the vital spirit,—Alexander will live in inviolable safety, seated far above the contagion
" of my lot and the envy of fortune: in the
" country of Cyrus, his shall be a more illustrious reign: Constant to his own virtues, he
" will permit my mother and children to live
" near him, which they shall deserve by their
" fidelity and obedience. But he will pursue to

“ speedy death the parricides, if not from sympathy with an unfortunate enemy, at least from detestation of an heinous crime, and lest such unpunished enormities should cause the murder of other sovereigns, and even of himself.” Thirst here choking his words, Polystratus fetched him some water. Refreshed, he said: “ It adds to my misfortunes, that I cannot repay thy kindness, but Alexander will repay thee, and may the gods reward him.” Then he stretched out his right-hand, and desired that Polystratus would lay it in Alexander’s, as a pledge of his sincere friendship. Pressing the hand of Polystratus, he expired.

Olymp. cxii. 3.

A. C. 330.

Alex. Ætat. 27.

Reg. 7.

Whether Alexander reached the place while Darius yet breathed, is uncertain*. Witnessing how deplorably a dispenser of imperial affluence had died, through ingratitude and cruelty, in return for princely confidence and bounty, he dissolved in copious tears, and, taking off his mantle, spread it over the corpse. He caused the body to be conveyed in state to Sisygambis, that it might be deposited, according to the Persian rites, among the tombs of Cyrus and his successors.

ADDITIONAL SUPPLEMENT.

Afterwards Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana; and took an account of such treasures as Darius had not removed. While in Media, he constituted Parmenio governor of the province.—*Deduced from, Curt. lib. VI. cap. ii. 4. and lib. VII. cap. ii. 5.*

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (H).

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK VI.

ANTIPATER'S VICTORY IN ARCADIA. COURSE OF
ALEXANDER THROUGH PARTHIA AND HYRCANIA.
SUBJUGATION OF THE MARDIANS. REVOLT OF
THE ARIANS. CONSPIRACY OF PHILOTAS AND PAR-
MENIO.

CHAP. I.

*Hostilities in Crete, Thrace, and the Peloponnesus.
Battle between the Spartans and Macedonians,
Death of Agis.*

1. * DURING these proceedings in Asia, some commotions were felt in Greece and Macedon. Of Archidamus, who had been slain on the very day of the battle of Chæronea, in an engagement between the Lucanians and Tarentines, in which he fought as an ally of the latter, Agis the son then reigned over the Lacedæmonians.

* We are again obliged to Freinshemius as far as this mark, § in p. 71.

He, emulous of Alexander's military fame, exhorted his free subjects, ' Not to suffer Greece
' to remain oppressed and enslaved under the
' Macedonians. Unless they providently res-
' cued her, the yoke would be extended to their
' own necks ; and the struggle ought to be made
' while the Persians retained ability to resist ;
' for, those subjugated, it would be fruitless to
' assert their ancient liberty against the great
' absorbing power.' Thus stimulated, they postponed war only till an inviting opportunity, and the successes of Memnon induced them to act in concert with him. When the prosperously opening career of that able commander was suddenly interrupted by his death, they betrayed no relaxation of vigour. Agis, visiting Pharnabazus and Autophradates, obtained from them thirty talents and ten triremes ; which, conveyed to his brother Agesilaus, enabled him to pass into Crete, where the inhabitants were divided by attachment to Sparta and Macedon. Negotiators were also sent to Darius, soliciting augmented aid in money and ships. The defeat of the Persians at Issus, which had intervened, so far from deranging, rather promoted these measures :—The consequent pursuit of Darius, drew Alexander farther and farther from the scene of minor warfare :—Severed from the Persians by that battle, a multitude of fugitive mercenaries

returned into Greece, of whom Agis enlisted eight thousand with the Persian Darics; and by this reinforcement retook the majority of the Cretan towns.

Directly afterwards, that Memnon whom Alexander sent into Thrace, irritated the Barbarians into a revolt; and when Antipater led an army from Macedon to suppress it, the Lacedæmonians seizing the opportunity, brought over to their cause the Peloponnesus, a few cities excepted. Having embodied a force of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, they gave the chief command to Agis. Antipater, apprised of these proceedings, accommodated the affairs of Thrace, returned with celerity into Greece, collected levies from the cities in friendship and alliance with Alexander, and formed an armament which altogether amounted to forty thousand men. There also repaired to his standard a strong body from the Peloponnesus: but, with dissembled distrust, ‘He thanked them
‘ for their readiness to maintain Alexander’s sovereignty against the Lacedæmonians, which
‘ he would report to the king, that they might
‘ receive his acknowledgments. At present, he
‘ was not in want of reinforcements; they might,
‘ therefore, return home, having fulfilled the
‘ stipulations of their treaty.’ Then he dispatched messengers with an account of the con-

vulsions in Greece, which did not however reach Alexander till he was at Bactra, and till Antipater had terminated the crisis by his own decision.

Alexander, however, who had previous intelligence of the Spartan movements, had made such provisions to counteract them, as could be arranged in a remote station. He had ordered Amphoterus, with the Cyprian and Phœnician fleets, to the coast of the Peloponnesus,—and Menes, with three thousand talents, to attend at sea as near as he could approach Antipater, that he might supply him with money as he should discover it to be necessary. For Alexander was well aware, that the result of these disturbances might essentially affect all his plans : nevertheless, when he had read the dispatch announcing Antipater's victory, comparing the conflict with his own achievements, he sarcastically exclaimed : “ The battle of the mice ! ” Yet in the first stages of the war, the Lacedæmonians were not unsuccessful. In an engagement with forces of Antipater's near Corrhagus, a Macedonian castle, they had the advantage ; the reputation attending this action, attracted to their side such as had preserved a temporizing neutrality. Of the Elean and Achæan cities, Pellene alone rejected their alliance. In Arcadia, Megalopolis adhered to the Macedonians, out of respect to the me-

mory of Philip, who had done them good offices. But pressed by a close siege, it must shortly have surrendered, had not Antipater arrived. He encamped almost in contact with the enemy, and perceiving his army to be superior both in amount and equipment, he determined to bring on a battle as soon as possible: nor were the Spartans reluctant to engage, for they considered that the streitness of the field would exclude the enemy from deriving any advantage from his numbers. They intrepidly began the attack: the Macedonians received them with determination: blood flowed profusely. But after Antipater had relieved repeatedly, by fresh troops, such parts of his line as were most distressed, the Lacedæmonians, feeling the constant brunt, retired a few paces. Agis, as he observed this, threw himself, with the royal regiment, into § the centre of the hottest battle. Having slain the more firmly resisting, he drove before him a great division of the enemy. They who had entered on victory, falling in numbers, fled till they had drawn their too eager pursuers into the plain: but at the moment of arriving at a place which permitted them to rally, the renewed fight once more hung in balance. Among all the Spartans, the king towered in distinction, not

by his arms and exterior merely, but by heroism which has never been excelled. He was attacked on all sides, both in close fight and by missiles. Receiving some darts on his shield, and eluding others by agility, he long exerted his weapons upon the enemy, till transfix'd through both thighs with a spear, and having lost much blood, he sunk on the ground. Then his attendants bore him on his shield hastily to the camp.

2. Yet the Spartans did not relinquish the contest: but recovering, as promptly as they could, ground more favourable to them than to the enemy, with deepened ranks they present a dam to a flood of assault. A more spirited struggle there is not on record: two armies belonging to nations the most warlike gave shocks in equipoise. The Spartans think of glory past; the Macedonians glow in defence of living laurels: Those contend for liberty; these for empire. The Spartans are destitute of a leader; the Macedonians want space to act. By the incidents with which the day teemed, exciting in both parties alternate expectation and apprehension, fortune appeared to have no partialities among the equally brave. But the narrow place would not admit all the forces: more numerous than the combatants, the spectators out of bow-shot, could only assist their comrades by encouraging acclamations.

At length the Laconians drooping, and bathed in sweat, could scarcely hold their weapons : they stepped backwards : then turned, and their flight was undisguised. The victor chased them scattering, and having passed over the space which they had defended, was advancing in pursuit of Agis himself. Agis, as he saw this, having desired his attendants to set him down, tried whether his limbs could obey the impulse of his courage : Feeling his inability to stand, he planted himself on his knees, resumed his helmet and shield, shook his spear at the enemy, and challenged them to come and take the spoils of a prostrate foe. None was so daring as to engage him hand to hand : many discharged darts at him, which he returned on the assailants, till a javelin was lodged in his naked breast. The weapon is extracted : oppressed by stealing languors, he gently rests his head upon his shield, and resigns his spirit with his blood.

3. There fell of the Lacedæmonians five thousand three hundred and sixty : the Macedonians lost or slain three thousand : and few returned to camp without having received a wound. This victory humiliated the Spartans and their confederates, and repressed those who had waited the event to declare themselves. Antipater was not insensible that the inclinations of the congratulating did not coincide with their expres-

sions : but, anxious to terminate hostilities, he connived at their dissimulation.

Although his success gave him satisfaction, he felt apprehensions of disgrace, because he had performed higher things than had been customary for a lieutenant. And indeed it afterwards proved, by words which escaped Alexander, that however desirous he might be to have his opponents reduced, he was not pleased that Antipater had been the conqueror : regarding the honours won by another, as a derogation from his own. With this presentiment, Antipater, who knew his disposition, did not dare to arbitrate as a victor, but convened the council of Greece. The Lacedæmonians obtained leave from the council to send ambassadors to Alexander, who excluded from amnesty only the movers of the revolt. The Achæans and Ætolians were sentenced to pay one hundred and twenty talents to the Megalopolitans, whose city the confederates had besieged. This was the result of the war, which flaming unexpectedly, was nevertheless extinguished before Alexander had gained the battle of Arbela.

CHAP. II.

Alexander sinks into voluptuousness. His generous behaviour to the wife of Hystaspes. Oxathres received into the band of friends. A rumour, that Alexander intends to return, agitates the camp.

4. ALEXANDER, whose genius was more vigorous in war than in peace, as soon as he obtained a respite from military cares, devoted himself to voluptuousness; and he whom the arms of the Persians could not keep in check, was conquered by their vices. Unseasonable banquets, whole nights consumed in drinking and revelling, a retinue of concubines, declared him to have fallen into all the obliquities of the Barbarian manners. By an assiduous adoption of these, as though he preferred them to the customs of his own country, he offended the eyes and understandings of his people, so that the majority of them contemplated him as an enemy. On the Macedonians, tenacious of their discipline, and accustomed to satisfy the appetites of nature with a temperate and simple diet, his conduct tended to impose the strange and

Olymp. cxii. 3.

A. C. 330.

Ætat. Alex. 27.

Reg. 7.

Imper. 1.

pernicious habits of the vanquished nations. Hence frequent conspiracies against him, and mutinies among the soldiers, who with asperity recounted their common grievances : these produced in Alexander irritation and distrust, gratuitous fears, and evils of a similar kind, which will be related as they occurred.

Of these convivial excesses, carried on equally in nocturnal darkness and the face of day, Alexander relieved the satiety by various interludes. A train of performers procured from Greece, were insufficient; and various female captives received his commands to sing before him in the Persian manner; their unintelligible strains were grating to their foreign auditors. Among these women, he observed one particularly dejected in her air, and reluctant to be introduced. Her form, transcendant, was dignified by modesty. Her down-cast eyes, and a veil as far as was permitted over her face, raised a surmise in the king, that she was of too high distinction to be exposed at these entertainments. To his inquiry, she replied, ‘ That she was ‘ grand-daughter of Ochus, not long ago king of ‘ Persia; *HER father* was *HIS son*: she had been ‘ married to Hystaspes, a kinsman of Darius, ‘ and commander of a considerable army.’ The king yet supported his manners on the ruins of his former virtue: venerating the adversity of

a princess, and a name so illustrious as Ochus, he liberated her, restored her possessions, and instituted a search for her husband, that he might be conducted to her.

The next day, he caused all the captives to be assembled in the palace: having ascertained every one's rank, he separated ten who were of royal descent. Among them was Oxathres, Darius' brother, not more distinguished by his birth than by the temperament of his soul. Alexander reinstated him in all the eminence of his former splendour, and admitted him into the band of friends.

Oxydates, a Persian noble, whom Darius had doomed to capital punishment, Alexander discharged from prison, and appointed him satrap of Media.

The treasures last taken amounted to twenty-six thousand talents: of which, twelve thousand were distributed as a donative to the soldiers, and an equal sum was embezzled by those who had charge of it.

5. Hence he moved into Parthia, then an obscure nation: now, the most powerful of those which lie beyond the Euphrates and Tigris, its dominions extend to the Red Sea. This fertile level was anciently seized * by a colony of Scy-

* Scythian tribes, it would appear, have at two separate invasions settled in Parthia. The horde who first made an irruption into the

thians. The Scythians are still troublesome neighbours: they occupy divisions both of Europe and Asia: those who are seated above the [Cimmerian] Bosphorus belong to Asia. The European Scythians are diffused over a space reaching from the left of Thrace to the Borysthenes, and from that river to the Tanais. The Tanais flows between Europe and Asia: nor is it doubted that the Scythians, who founded the nation of Parthians, migrated, not from the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, but out of Europe.

At that time was subsisting the famous city Hecatompylos, which had been founded by Greeks. Here the king established his camp, drawing supplies from the surrounding country. Hence busy rumour, the bane of an idle army, asserted, without authority, 'That the king, satisfied with what he had achieved, designed to return immediately to Macedon:' This was the more readily credited because he had ordered home some Grecian troopers with a boon to each of six thousand denarii. At this false rumour, the end of military fatigues deemed to have

country, gave the name to it, according to Justin; lib. 14: *Parthi*, in the Scythian language, signifies *exiles*. The time of that irruption, very remote, is uncertain. The second invasion, we are informed by Strabo, lib. 11, took place under Arsaces, who conducted into Parthia, from the neighbourhood of the river Ochus, a body of *Dahæ*, bearing also the tribuary names of *Parni* and *Nomades*.

arrived, the soldiers flew like maniacs to their tents, and prepare their baggage: a spectator might suppose them to be packing up by signal. Through the camp, all tumult, some hunt for their tent-fellows; groups are loading waggons. The situation of things is reported to Alexander. Alexander, who had determined to explore India and the remote confines of the East, heard it with proportionate alarm. He summoned the leading officers to his tent. "In the midst of a glorious career," said he, while tears of passion started, "I am checked, I am to be forced back to Pella, rather foiled than victorious. Not that I am obstructed by cowardice in my soldiers, but by the envious gods, who have infused into the bravest men a fit of longing to revisit their country, whither they would otherwise shortly have been led with augmented approbation and glory." Hereupon his generals tendered individually their services, each soliciting the most arduous charge. 'For the compliance of the men in the ranks, they would engage, were he to touch their minds with a soothing, cheering speech: they never withdrew dissatisfied or despondent, when they had been permitted to drink the emanating fire of his spirit.' Alexander desired the officers to prepare the men to listen. Having revolved the proper topics, he thus addressed the assembled army.

C H A P. III.

Alexander's speech, urging the troops to proceed.

6. " IT is not greatly surprising, soldiers ! that
" when you review our multiplied achievements
" you feel a desire for repose and a satiety of
" renown. Not to mention the Illyrians, the
" Triballi, Bœotia, Thrace, nor Sparta, the
" Achæans, the entire Peloponnesus*, all subju-
" gated either by me in person, or by my lieu-
" tenants : — Look at the war which we entered
" upon at the Hellespont : the Ionians and
" Æolians are delivered from servitude to capri-
" cious savages ; Caria and Lydia, Phrygia, too,
" Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, Pamphilia, Pi-
" sidia, and Cilicia, Syria with Phœnicia, Ar-
" menia, as well as Persis, Media and Parthia,
" are in our power : this hasty summary enu-
" merates more provinces than others have taken
" towns, and yet I am not positive that it em-
" braces all. If, therefore, I could be satisfied

* This appears to allude to the victory over Agis. Curtius, indeed, tells us, book VII. chap. iv. sect. 16, that the messengers, sent by Antipater did not overtake Alexander till he was at Bactra : but he at the same time states, that Alexander had information of the transactions in Greece through other channels.

“ of the firmness of our dominion over the
“ countries which we have so rapidly reduced,
“ I would then, soldiers! even against your
“ wishes, strike back to my household gods,
“ my mother, my sisters, my people at home,
“ chiefly that I might there enjoy with you,
“ the plaudits and celebrity which we have
“ won; the affluent rewards of all our victories;
“ the delightful society of our children, wives,
“ and parents; profound peace and repose, se-
“ cure hold of all the territory which our valour
“ has grasped. But at present our empire is
“ new, and (to avow the truth) precarious; the
“ Barbarians yet bear the yoke with an uncon-
“ senting neck; time is necessary, soldiers! for
“ them to grow better affected, that their latent
“ irritation may lose itself in habits of subjec-
“ tion. The fruits of the earth are not mature,
“ till they have vegetated their appointed time;
“ thus, even the kingdom of inanimate nature
“ is not established, nor crowned with fruit, at
“ once. What! do you imagine that so many
“ nations, accustomed to the government and
“ title of another, differing from us in religion,
“ in manners, in language, are inspired with
“ allegiance the same day in which they are
“ conquered? No; soldiers! your arms curb
“ them, not their inclinations. Your presence
“ awes them: your departure would trans-

“ form them into enemies. We have to manage
“ animals of a nature not to be tamed but by
“ long confinement. I have been speaking as
“ though all that acknowledged Darius’ sceptre
“ had submitted to our arms : but Nabarzanes
“ occupies Hyrcania ; the parricide Bessus not
“ only holds Bactriana, but assumes a menacing
“ attitude : the Sogdians, the Dahæ, the Mas-
“ sagetæ, the Sacæ, the Indians, retain their
“ independence. All these, as we retire, will
“ pursue us : for they are of one family ; we are
“ strangers, born in another continent. A
“ native sovereign is more cordially obeyed,
“ though he were the more severe master.
“ Either what we have acquired must be relin-
“ quished, or all beyond must be secured. As
“ physicians guard against the patient’s relapse ;
“ so we must expel whatever might subvert our
“ dominion. Sparks have caused conflagrations.
“ No enemy is safely despised : he whom you
“ neglect is meanwhile growing stronger. Da-
“ rius did not assume the royal tiara by here-
“ ditary right, but through the influence of the
“ eunuch Bagoas : not more difficult will it be
“ for Bessus to seize the vacant throne. Surely,
“ soldiers ! we shall have acted criminally, if
“ we have defeated Darius, that we might trans-
“ fer his dominions to a slave, who was so inso-
“ lently wicked toward his master in the last

“ stage of his distress, as to confine him in chains,
“ when we, his conquerors, would have treated
“ him with clemency ; and at length, by a foul
“ murder, robbed us of the glory of preserving
“ him. Will you suffer this wretch to reign ?
“ whom I am impatient to see suspended on a
“ cross, that, by deserved sufferings, he may
“ make satisfaction to all kings and people, who
“ cultivate the good faith which he violated.
“ But, O Hercules ! just as we gain home, what
“ if it be announced, that Bessus is wasting the
“ Hellespont, or burning the Grecian cities !
“ how acutely you will regret that the Bactrian
“ should have snatched away all the rewards of
“ your victories ! Hastily arming, you will fly
“ to recover them. But is it not far better to
“ overwhelm him, now terror renders him al-
“ most insane ? Four days’ march remains—
“ to us who have trodden so many drifts of
“ snow, transcended so many rivers, climbed
“ so many mountains. No usurping sea foams
“ over the road ; no Cilician defile shuts the
“ passenger between walls of rock ; all is level
“ or descent ; we are halting at the porch of
“ victory, when only a few fugitives and parri-
“ cides survive unreduced. It is an illustrious
“ consummation ; it will be transmitted to pos-
“ terity among your brightest achievements,
“ that, as Darius died, you forgot that he had
“ been an enemy, and pursued his murderers,

“ suffering no purpled traitor to elude your ven-
“ geance. This accomplished, how increasingly
“ sincere will be the submission of the Persians,
“ convinced that we engage in pious wars, tender
“ to their reputation, while we abhor Bessus.”

CHAP. IV.

Alexander enters Hyrcania. He gives Nabarzanes his parole of protection.

7. THE troops received this address with the most cordial eagerness, shouting, “ Lead us
“ where you think fit.” The king did not let their animation expire. Piercing through Parthia, he on the third day touched the frontiers of Hyrcania: Here he left Craterus, with that officer’s own division, the corps of Amyntas, six hundred cavalry, and as many archers, to cover Parthia from the incursions of the Barbarians.

Alexander directed Erigyius to proceed with the baggage, under a small escort, through the level country.

He conducted in person the phalanx and cavalry, and having marched one hundred and fifty stadia, encamped in a valley which leads into Hyrcania.

A thick grove of very lofty trees affords a

retreat from the heat. The rich soil of the valley is nurtured by streams from contiguous rocks. At the base of the heights rises the river Zibetes, which, after a course of three stadia, dashing back from intercepting crags, dispenses its waters in two channels. The re-united torrent's fury is aggravated by the ruggedness of its stony bed: It suddenly enters the ground, and remains subterranean three hundred stadia: Emerging as from a separate source, it occupies a channel more capacious than the former, expanding to the breadth of thirteen stadia: Afterwards, it once more labours between confined banks, and falls into the river Rhidagus. The inhabitants affirmed, that whatever is cast into the cavern into which the river descends, reappears with the river. Alexander therefore caused two bulls to be plunged in where the Zibetes buries itself; and those who were sent to watch, saw their bodies discharged by the resurgent stream.

8. Alexander had allowed his army to rest four days, when he received from Nabarzanes, a conspirator with Bessus, a letter to this effect: ' That he had never been inimical to Darius; on ' the contrary, he had advised him to measures ' which he believed beneficial; and because he ' had given faithful counsel, he had nearly received death from the king's own hand. That ' Darius meditated such a breach of propriety ' and law, as to commit the guard of his person

‘ to a foreign corps : rejecting his subjects as
‘ destitute of that loyalty which they had pre-
‘ served inviolate toward their sovereigns for
‘ two hundred and thirty years. That finding
‘ his situation perilously critical, he had been
‘ governed by present emergency. That Darius
‘ assigned to the people no other excuse for
‘ having killed Bagoas, than that Bagoas was
‘ plotting against him. That to wretched mor-
‘ tals nothing is dearer than life ; by love to
‘ which, he, Nabarzanes, had been driven to the
‘ last expedient, consulting necessity rather than
‘ inclination. In circumstances of general cala-
‘ mity, every one is anxious for his own welfare.
‘ Were Alexander to command his attendance,
‘ he would obey without fear ; persuaded, that
‘ so great a king would not break his promise,
‘ as the gods do not deceive each other. Should
‘ not Alexander deem him worthy of his royal
‘ word, many foreign places were ready to afford
‘ him refuge ; and that where a brave man chose
‘ to settle, that spot was his country.’

Alexander did not hesitate to pledge his faith in the Persian manner*, ‘ That if Nabar-
‘ zanes came, he should not be hurt.’

Alexander, notwithstanding, proceeded with his army in order of battle, sending forward scouts to explore. The light-armed formed the

* The right hand is given to the party surrendering, or to the herald or mediator, when the party is not personally present.

van; then advanced the phalanx; the baggage moved in the rear of the foot. A warlike nation, in a country difficult of access, exercised the circumspection of the king.

The elongated vale extends to the Caspian sea. Two promontories shoot from the mainland like arms: the intervening coast, gently curved, forms a bay: altogether, not unlike the Crescent moon. To the left, are the *Cercitæ**, the *Mosyni*, and the *Chalybes*; on another point, are the *Leucosyri*, and the plains of the Amazons: those have a bearing northward; these lie westward.

9. The water of the Caspian is less brackish

* As to the relative position of these tribes, all the previous is sufficient to prove, that Curtius knew that Media Minor was immediately to the left of Hyrcania Proper; and that with Armenia, it intervened between the places whose bearings are mentioned in the text. The Hyrcania of Curtius does not uniformly mean Hyrcania Proper, but occasionally that indefinable region, which, according to Ptolemy, included Margiana and old Parthia; and, according to Strabo, in the accounts of the Macedonians, frequently expressed the Persian dominions, embracing a large portion of the Caspian coast. The *Cercitæ* were situated to the left of the Caspian, but distant from it, on the northern shore of the Euxine; not far from these, the *Mosyni* occupied the extreme ridges of the Scydisis; the *Chalybes* [very anciently called *Chaldæi*, a distinct race from the Chaldæans,] dwelt near Colchis, on the southern shore of the Euxine, and possessed Trapezus and Pharnacia, as their chief cities. The *Leucosyri*, or White Syrians, held part of Cappadocia, near the river Thermodon: the seat of the Amazons is more definitely mentioned in the text, sect. 13, infra. If we extend Hyrcania to the river Araxes by mount Ararat, the bearings given in the text will be freed from all objection.

than other sea-water: it cherishes serpents of a vast magnitude, and fish of a peculiar colour. Some call it the Caspian, and some the Hyrcanian, sea. There are persons of opinion, that the lake Mæotis falls into it; they allege, as an argument, the comparative sweetness of the Caspian, which they ascribe to infusions from the lake. In a north-wind, a heavy swell breaks over the low beach, and converts a great extent of deluged country into a fen*. When the storm blows from the contrary quarter†, the sea, with equal impetuosity driven back to its bed, leaves the land to recover itself. Some have supposed that the floods do not come from the Caspian, but descend from India into the continuous vale, which stretches between the sloping ridges of Hyrcania.

Hence the king advanced twenty stadia by a road scarcely passable, commanded by a wood, and interrupted by torrents and inundations: but he penetrated, unobstructed by the enemy.

* The inroads of the Caspian, and the torrents from the mountains, had formed many rivers and channels of water, some of which were hardly passable. The north wind also made so great a surge on the shore where we were obliged to pass, that many horses belonging to our company were thrown down by its violence, and their riders in danger of being drowned. The village was situated in a wood, very marshy.—*Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea*, by JONAS HANWAY, cap. xxxii. p. 217.

† *Alio cali statu*. CURTIUS. Literally, "In a different state of the atmosphere."

At length he enters a country, which, amid a general abundance of provisions, produces great store of fruit, and possesses a rich soil, highly congenial to the grape*. Common here is a tree resembling the oak, whose leaves during the night are thickly suffused with honey: but it can be collected only before sun-rise, for a slight tepidity causes it to evaporate†.

Thirty stadia further, Phrataphernes, and his adherents, who had fled after Darius' death, met the king, and, surrendering, were handsomely received. Alexander proceeded to the city Arvæ. Here he was joined by Craterus and Erigyus, bringing with them Phradates, satrap of the Tapurians. This chief, admitted also to fealty, was an example influencing many to assay the king's clemency. Alexander re-established Phradates over the tribe of Tapurians. Menapis, who in Ochus' reign had repaired to the court of Philip, he nominated satrap of Hyrcania.

* [Between Balfrosh and Langarood] the roads through the woods were very marshy, whilst the sand on the shore, and the trees which the sea had washed down, rendered travelling very disagreeable; but the temperate quality of the air was extremely refreshing. I now first observed the delightful situation of many recesses in the mountains, where they have plenty of delicious running water, with a profusion of vines, orange and lemon trees.—HANWAY *ut supra*, p. 118.

† See ADDITIONAL NOTES (I).

CHAP. V.

Submission of Artabazus, with the Greeks. Reduction of the Mardi. Nabarzanes surrenders. Visit from Thalestris, queen of the Amazons.

10. ALEXANDER had now entered the chief district of Hyrcania, when Artabazus, whose entire fidelity to Darius has adorned the narrative, met him, with Darius' relations, his own children, and a body of armed Greeks. The king impulsively gave him his right hand. Artabazus, when an exile from the court of Ochus, had been entertained by Philip : but the marked friendship of Alexander had been chiefly won by his persevering constancy to his prince. To the king's cordial welcome he replied : " Mayst thou reign in uninterrupted felicity. My full satisfaction has but one alloy ; my extreme old age will not permit me to enjoy thy goodness long." He had entered his ninety-fifth year. Nine sons, all by the same mother, accompanied him : these he presented to the king, wishing they might live so long as they could be serviceable to his majesty.

Alexander had performed the greater part of the march on foot ; but then he ordered horses to be brought for himself and Artabazus, lest, if he walked, the old man should be ashamed to ride.

Afterwards, having encamped, he summoned the Greeks who had followed Artabazus : but

they answered, ' That unless the plighted inviolability comprehended the Lacedæmonians, they should deliberate respecting the disposition of themselves.' These Lacedæmonians were ambassadors to Darius, and, on his overthrow, had recourse, for protection, to the Greeks in the Persian service. But Alexander, refusing a pledge or engagement, commanded them all to come, and receive their lot from him. Divided in opinion, they demurred a considerable time: at length they promised to come. But Democrates, the Athenian, who had principally obstructed the prosperity of Macedon, despairing of pardon, transfixed himself with a sword. The rest, as they had undertaken, surrendered. There were fifteen hundred soldiers, besides deputies from various states to Darius. The military, distributed, recruited the army: the rest were sent home, except the Lacedæmonians, who were committed to custody.

11. The Mardi are a tribe on the borders of Hyrcania, of rugged habits, and accustomed to pillage*. They alone, neither sent ambassadors, nor manifested an inclination to submit. The king was incensed, that a single tribe should prevent him from being esteemed invincible. Leaving his baggage under a guard, he advanced with a light-armed division; and marched all night: at dawn, the enemy were

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (K).

descried. A tumultuous rout ensued, rather than a battle. Dislodged from their eminences, the Barbarians fled; and the neighbouring villages, deserted, were entered by the Macedonians. The army, nevertheless, had a vexatious task to penetrate the interior of the country. The ridge of mountains is hedged in at the base by lofty woods, or barred up by impervious crags: and the inhabitants, by singular fortifications, had obstructed the entrances to the plain. They plant trees purposely thick: while their branches are tender, they bend them downwards, twist them together, and insert them in the ground. Taking root, the new stems vegetate luxuriantly; and the Barbarians so interweave the young shoots, that when they are clothed with foliage, they cover the ground. These snares of net-work, in a continued maze of thicket, obstructed the Macedonians. One remedy was, to open an avenue with the axe: but felling the trees was an arduous labour; for the knotty trunks resisted the stroke, and the implicated boughs eluded it, like a suspended hoop, while the fury of the blow was lost on a weak tendril. The natives, meanwhile, accustomed to nestle through these coverts like beasts of prey, had entered the wood, and, from latent stations, were galling the invaders with darts.

12. Alexander, in the manner of a hunts-

man, tracked these to their haunts, and killed the greater part. At length he ordered his troops to surround the wood, and, if they discovered any opening, to rush in. Having no local knowledge, the Macedonian parties wandered lost: a company was taken, with the horse Bucephalus; which was not prized by Alexander at a rate common to favourite chargers; for Bucephalus would not suffer any other person to cross his back: when the king was stepping to mount, he would kneel to receive him, as conscious whom he carried. Alexander, transported unbecomingly with rage and grief, instituted a search for his horse; and, by an interpreter, signified to the Barbarians, that if they did not restore it, not one of them should remain alive. Intimidated by this menace, they restore the horse, accompanied with presents. The king, not thus appeased, gave directions to have the woods cut down, and earth from the mountains piled upon the intricate covert. The terrace conspicuously rises: the Mardi, despairing of being able to defend the country, surrender in a body. The king, having taken hostages from them, annexed them to the jurisdiction of Phradates. Thence, on the fifth day, he returned to his camp.

Having conferred on Artabazus double the dignity which he had supported under Darius, he dismissed him to his home.

He proceeded to the city of Hyrcania, in which the Persian kings had a palace. Here Nabarzanes met him, and surrendered on parole, bringing him immense presents : Among them, was Bagoas, an eunuch, in the flower of youth ; this lower than slave had been a favourite of Darius, and became a favourite of Alexander, who was chiefly moved by his depraving influence to pardon Nabarzanes.

13. The nation of Amazons, as above noticed, bordered upon Hyrcania*. They inhabited the plains of Themiscyra, near the banks of the Thermodon. Their queen, Thalestris, extended her sway over all the region between mount Caucasus and the river Phasis. She undertook an excursion from her kingdom, inflamed with a desire to see Alexander : arrived in the vicinity of his station, by messengers she announced, ' That a queen was coming, impatient to see and converse with him.' Invited to approach, she commanded the others to halt, while, accompanied by three hundred female warriors, she advanced. As she came in view of the king, she leaped from her horse, poising

* See the note, ante, p. 87.—Klaproth endeavours, with great plausibility, to show, that the Kabarduh must have been the country of the Amazons, and of their husbands, the male and female communities being separated by the Torck. He identifies the Amazons with the ancient Marmadales, deriving these from the Lesgian tribes, or the *Aiyai*.

two javelins in her right hand. The robe of the Amazons exposes the left side of the body as far as the chest; the lower drapery, gathered up in a knot, does not fall below the knee. The Amazons sear away the right breast, that they may with increased freedom draw the bow, and launch the spear: but they preserve the left perfect, that they may suckle their female offspring. Thalestris looked at the king with an undaunted countenance, perusing his person — nowise correspondent to the magnitude of his achievements; for the veneration of Barbarians is excited by a majestic exterior, and they expect such only to act greatly as nature has favoured with a transcendent figure. Interrogated, “Whether she had any favour to demand?” she did not scruple to avow, ‘That she made that visit to the king, in order to become a mother: she was worthy to bear him heirs. If the child proved a female, she would retain it: if a male, she would deliver it to the father.’ Alexander inquired, “If she was inclined to accompany him in his wars?” She alleged, ‘That her dominions were left without a regent.’ But repeated her desire, entreating that she might not be suffered to depart disappointed. As the temperament of her passion was higher than the king’s, he was obliged to suspend his progress

a short interval: thirteen days he entertained her: after which, she departed for her kingdom, and he marched toward Parthia.

CHAP. VI.

Alexander affects the Persian manners. Bessus assumes royalty. Alexander, to restore discipline, fires his baggage. Satibarzanes revolts. Alexander forces an inaccessible rock; pardons the Artacranans; advances into Drangiana.

14. **HERE** he unbridled his appetites; and moderation and continence, illustrious qualities in the most elevated station, were supplanted by pride and voluptuousness. Renouncing, as beneath his dignity, the manners of his country, the exemplary self-controul and popular carriage of a Macedonian sovereign, he would sit throned in that pomp of despotism, by which the Persian princes had ill emulated the sublime majesty of gods. He began to suffer his courtiers to prostrate themselves; and, gradually to mould to servile offices, the conquerors of so many nations; at length, he required them to stoop to a level with their captives. He assumed a turban, such as Darius had worn, of intercoloured purple and white; and, then, the entire Persian

costume; regardless of the omen, raised upon a victor's adopting the dress and ensigns of the conquered*. He affirmed, that he merely carried the spoils of the Persians: but with them he also put on their manners; and the proud gorgeousness of his exterior was associated with insolence of heart. While he sealed letters dispatched to Europe, with his own ring, he impressed such as he circulated in Asia with the signet of Darius. Thus it would appear, that one mind could not sustain the fortune of two sovereigns. His friends, his generals, and his chief officers, not daring to refuse what they despised, were decked by him in Persian habits. The royal apartments were filled by three hundred and sixty concubines, the same number that Darius had; and these were attended by herds of eunuchs, themselves accustomed to effeminate employments.

15. To these taints from luxury and exotic fashions the veterans, who had served under Philip, men, unschooled, in voluptuousness, showed their open aversion. The common sense of the camp spoke aloud: ' More was lost by their victories, than had been gained. ' They were essentially conquered, enslaved ' to foreign manners. For so long an absence

* It appears from the speech of Clitus, as reported in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, that the king wore the Persian girdle, and a white robe.

‘ from home, their reward would be, to return
‘ in the guise of captives. Shame was the
‘ suitable feeling, now that their leader, looking
‘ more like one of the subjugated than a victor,
‘ from the sovereign of Macedon was trans-
‘ formed into a satrap of Darius.’ Alexander,
not insensible that he had disgusted the better
part of his friends, and the troops generally, en-
deavoured to regain their affection by largesses
and presents: but to the free, the hire for sla-
very is offensive. To prevent a sedition, it be-
came necessary to terminate the inactivity of
the army; and an object of hostility seasonably
offered.

“ Bessus has assumed the name of Arta-
“ xerxes, with the mantle of royalty, and is as-
“ sembling the Scythians inhabiting the banks
“ of the Jaxartes.” This intelligence was con-
veyed by Satibarzanes, whom Alexander had
received to allegiance, and reinstated in the
government of Aria. Encumbered with a heavy
train of spoils and of furniture for luxury, the
army could with difficulty be moved. The son
of Philip causes his own private equipments
and booty, first to be conducted to a central
part; then, the baggage of the army, reserving
only things indispensable. Now the freighted
waggons stand ranged on a spacious plain; all
eyes wait the result. Alexander directed the
teams to be led away; and, lighting his own

° piles with a brand, directed the rest to fire theirs. All reluctantly burnt effects which, in several instances, had been rescued from cities left in flames by the enemy: no one dared to mourn the price of his blood, seeing what sumptuous treasures the king was devoting. Alexander, by a short address, dissipated their mortification: as soldiers, better equipped, better prepared to meet emergencies, they rejoiced that by the sacrifice of their spoils, they had preserved their discipline.

16. They stretch toward Bactriana. Bereaved of Nicanor, Parmenio's son, by sudden death, the army is filled with mourning. The king, eminent in sorrow, was anxious to halt, that he might attend the funeral: but want of provisions obliged him to hasten on. He therefore left Philotas, with two thousand six hundred men, to perform the last duties to his brother, while he proceeded against Bessus. By letters from bordering satraps he learns, on the march, that Bessus is approaching him hostilely with an army; and that Satibarzanes had revolted.

Intent on Bessus, yet deeming it advisable to crush Satibarzanes first, he took the light-armed foot and the cavalry, marched rapidly all night, and came unlooked-for upon him. Satibarzanes, on news of his arrival, with two thousand horse, all that he could suddenly assemble, fled to Bactra. The other Arians gained the

contiguous lofty ridges. There stood a rock, rising a precipice up from the East: but its western side sloped with temperate acclivity. It was covered with trees, and copiously watered by an unfailing stream. The mount, two and thirty stadia in circumference, has, at the summit, a verdant level*. On this refuge, the Barbarians lodged an unarmed multitude; fortifying it, wherever the crags failed, with trunks of trees and blocks of stone. Their army amounted to thirteen thousand.

17. Committing the siege of these to Craterus, Alexander revived the strenuous pursuit of Satibarzanes: but ascertaining that the fugitive was too distant to be overtaken, he turned back to reduce those who were posted on the towering peaks. [At his arrival, he detached Craterus to besiege Artacrana, the capital of Aria.] He directed his men to begin the approaches to the rock, by clearing whatever [woody ground]

* The description and locality seem to identify this with Kelât, a natural fortress, which Nadir Shâh sometimes made his residence, but which since his death has been neglected. Kelât comprises two pieces of table-land seated on a very lofty hill, accessible only by narrow paths. After an ascent of seven miles, you reach a fine plain nearly twelve miles in circuit, watered by a multitude of little streams, and covered with herbage, or cultivated with corn and rice. A second track of fifteen miles leads to the summit of the rock, on which is a smaller plain of equal richness. The rock of Kelât stands in a mountainous country called *Ashdar Koh*, or the Mountains of the Dragon; about 30 miles N.E. of Mushid.—KINNEIR'S *Geogr. Mem. of Persia*, p. 176.

they could enter — — Turned successively, by impassable crags and steeps, they found nature opposed to their fruitless labour. It was distressing so to proceed, and perilous to retire. Alexander, who had a genius to combat difficulties, revolved various projects, till fortune was subservient to him, in a point over which study had no power: a strong wind arose from the West. As the soldiers had cut down much timber, which a torrid sun had dried, he caused the trees to be heaped in a mass, till they equalled in height the mountain; the pile, then, fired on every side, was involved in one vast blaze. The gale blows the flames into the enemies' faces, while the groves ring with the crackling roar, and a cloud of smoke obscures the skies. The flames catch the trees growing nearest. The Barbarians fled from the fiercest of torments to such parts of the wood as the fire had not invaded: but where the combustient element left an avenue to shelter, the enemy intercepted them. Their deaths varied in shocking forms: some plunged into the midst of the flames; others precipitated themselves on the shelving rocks; others trusted to the fury of the soldiers. A few, severely scorched, were taken prisoners.

18. Alexander now rejoined Craterus, who was besieging Artacrana. That commander had prepared every thing against the king's arrival,

decorously reserving him the compliment of taking the city. Alexander orders the battering turrets to advance. The enemy, in consternation at the sight of these engines, extended their clasped hands over the walls; entreating the king to turn his anger on Satibarzanes, the author of the revolt, and to spare them, now surrendering and suppliant. Declaring an amnesty, he not only raised the siege, but restored all the property of the inhabitants.

Moving hence, he was met by a reinforcement of fresh troops. Zoilus had led from Greece five hundred horse; Antipater had sent three thousand foot from Illyria; from Lydia, had come two thousand six hundred foot and three hundred horse. Accompanying these recruits, were one hundred and thirty Thessalian horse, who had remained with Philip.

Alexander now entered the country of the Drangæ, a warlike nation. Their satrap, Barzaentes, an accomplice of Bessus, to avoid the punishment due to his treason, had fled to India.

CHAP. VII.

Information of a conspiracy against Alexander, suppressed by Philotas.

19. **HERE** the army remained encamped nine days. The king, when not only invincible by

à foreign force, but in conscious security, was assailed by domestic treason.

Among the lowest in estimation or favour at court, was Dymnus. Infected with atrocious degeneracy, he was subdued by dotage on a Cinædopolite named Nicomachus. Having retired into a temple, where no one was nigh to overhear, with an aghast expression of countenance, he prepared the wretched youth to be a confidant of important secrets ; conjuring him by their mutual obligations, and requiring him by the engagement of an oath, inviolably to keep the communication which he was going to confide. Nicomachus, not expecting that any thing would be imparted, which it would be his duty, at the expense of perjury, to make known, swore, by the gods there present, that he would never make it known. Dymnus then disclosed to him a conspiracy against the king, intended to be carried into execution in three days ; adding, that he himself, and several brave and distinguished men, were concerned in it. As soon as this was uttered, Nicomachus, starting, exclaimed, ‘ That he had not plighted his faith to be a party in the plot, and that no sanction could oblige him to conceal treason.’ Dymnus, distracted by abominable infatuation and dread of punishment, seized the Cinædopolite’s hand, and, with grotesque tears, pressed him, ‘ To combine

‘ in the enterprize.’ If he shrunk from that undertaking, he entreated, ‘ That he would not betray him, of whose regard he had received, among others, this strong proof, that he had committed his life to his discretion, before he had ascertained his fidelity.’

Nicomachus persisted in abjuring the design. Dymnus menaced him with death : ‘ The conspirators would begin the glorious work by striking off his head :’—then he called him “ Effeminate coward ;” “ Betrayer of his friend ;” —then strove to sap his repugnance, by promises, swelling to the offer of a kingdom ; then passed the blade of his sword alternately to the other’s throat, and to his own. Threats and entreaties at length extorted a promise from Nicomachus, ‘ Not only to conceal, but to take a part in the plot.’ This, however, adhered to his first intention, with firmness worthy of a better man.

He feigned himself so concerned for the interest of Dymnus, that he could refuse him nothing. He then inquired, ‘ Who were the parties to the conspiracy, chiefly as it respected what *kind* of men they were who had engaged in so important an affair.’

Dymnus thanked him for himself, and congratulated him, ‘ That he had not been afraid to associate himself with some of the bravest

‘ young men, Demetrius, of the body-guard, and Peucolaus, and Nicanor.’ To these, he added Alphæbetus, Loceus, Dioxenus, Archepolis, and Amyntas.

20. Dismissed after this speech, Nicomachus repaired to his brother Cebalinus, and rehearsed what had been imparted to him. It was agreed that Nicomachus should remain in his tent, lest if he should be seen in the palace, not being accustomed to wait on the king, the conspirators should conclude that they were betrayed.

Cebalinus, not permitted to proceed beyond the palace porch, waited for some individual belonging to the first band of friends, by whom he might be introduced to the presence. It happened, that Philotas, Parmenio's son, came out last from the king. Cebalinus, with strong symptoms of emotion in voice and countenance, stated what he had learned from his brother, and required him to apprise the king of it without delay. Philotas commended his fidelity, and returned to Alexander, with whom he conversed on several subjects, but mentioned nothing of the information of Cebalinus. Toward evening, the young man intercepted Philotas descending from the portico, and inquired, whether the royal command for him was not coming out? Philotas alleged, that the king had not then leisure to hear him. Cebalinus attending the

next day, as Philotas was going in, reminded him of the affair, who answered, that he would take care of it. Nor then, however, did he disclose what he had heard to the king.

Cebalinus began to distrust him ; and deeming it fruitless to trouble him further, opened the conspiracy to Metron, a young nobleman, master of the armoury. Metron secluded Cebalinus in the armoury-chamber, repaired to the king, who happened to be bathing, and announced what the informant had disclosed.

21. Alexander, having dispatched guards to seize Dymnus, came into the armoury. Cebalinus, transported with joy, exclaimed : “ I behold my sovereign timely snatched from the hands of impious assassins ! ” Alexander inquired into all the circumstances known to Cebalinus, and minuted the information. He then asked, ‘ How long it had been received from Nicomachus ? ’ When Cebalinus replied, “ Three days, ”—the king, concluding that some disloyal motive had occasioned the delay, ordered him to be put in irons. The informant declared loudly, ‘ That the moment he heard it, he ran to convey it to Philotas, who could attest that fact. ’ The king reëxamined him, ‘ Had he been to Philotas ; had he pressed for admission to an audience ? ’ Cebalinus persisted to affirm that he had. Alexander lifting his hands toward

heaven, with tears, arraigned the ingratitude of a man honoured with the first place in his friendship.

Meanwhile, Dymnus, conscious why he was summoned to the royal presence, wounded himself deeply with a sword: the guards stopped him from killing himself, and brought him to the palace. The king turned on him a searching eye, "What ill, Dymnus, didst thou imagine
" I designed thee, that Philotas should seem to
" thee more worthy of the kingdom of Macedon
" than myself?" Dymnus' voice failed, he gave a groan, turned his face from the look of the king, and fell lifeless.

22. Philotas was commanded to attend; and the monarch thus addressed him:—"Cebalinus,
" who had deserved supreme punishment, had
" he suppressed during two days information
" of a conspiracy against my life, transfers that
" crime to Philotas, to whom, he affirms, he
" communicated it instantly. The easier access which, as a friend, you had to me, aggravates the guilt of keeping it back; and I
" must declare, that such concealment had been
" less inexcusable in Cebalinus than Philotas.
" You have an indulgent judge, if that which
" should not have occurred can be extenuated." Philotas, without any trace of fear in his countenance, thus replied:—"Cebalinus,

“ it is true, reported to me the allegation of a
“ miserable Cinædopolite: but the meanness
“ of the author made me discredit it. I, in fact,
“ considered, that I should expose myself to
“ derision, by rehearsing an absurd story found-
“ ed on a disgusting quarrel. Since Dymnus
“ has killed himself, it strikes me in an altered
“ light; and how improbable soever the account
“ seemed, it should not have been suppressed.”

Philotas, then embracing the king, entreated him to have regard rather to his past life, than to a single instance of blamable silence, without any criminal motive. It is not easy to decide, whether the king believed this, or but embosomed deeper anger. He gave Philotas his hand, as a pledge of restored favour, telling him, ‘ That he looked upon him rather to have
‘ despised, than to have kept back, the infor-
‘ mation.’

CHAP. VIII.

Speeches in council against Philotas. Philotas is arrested.

THE king, nevertheless, convened a council of his friends, excluding Philotas. Nicomachus, conducted in, detailed a disclosure agreeing with that which he had transmitted to the king.

23. Craterus, one of a few in select favour with Alexander, envied the distinguished confidence enjoyed by Philotas. He was not ignorant, that the latter was ever filling the king's ear with vaunting exaggerations of his own bravery and services; which was ascribed either to a design to depress others, or to gross arrogance. Persuaded that a more available opportunity to crush his rival could not occur, masking hatred of a brother officer under attachment to his prince: "Sire!" said he, "I regret that you did not call us to deliberate on the first intelligence of this affair. Our advice had been; — *If it be your will to pardon Philotas, keep him ignorant how much he is indebted to you; and do not, by bringing him under apprehensions of death, force him to meditate more on his own danger, than on your goodness: For he will always have the power of conspiring against you: you cannot always connect oblivion with pardon.* Nor suppose that a disposition to embark in such an enormity can be changed by forgiveness. He well knows, that those who have exhausted clemency, cannot hope for favour. Admitting that penitence or gratitude may allay his restless spirit: yet his father, Parmenio, who is at the head of so powerful an army, whose established ascendancy over your soldiers invests him with little

“ less than sovereignty, will not, with complacency, stand indebted to you for his son’s life. Some kindnesses we abhor : ashamed to confess that he has deserved death, a man will rather have it believed, that he has received an injury than mercy. It follows, that you will have to contend with THOSE TWO, for your safety. Enemies enough, we are going to encounter in the field. But secure your person by removing domestic foes ; and I do not dread foreign violence.” Thus Craterus.

24. The rest were confident, ‘ That Philotas would not have stifled information of the plot, unless he were principal in it, or a party. What good and loyal man, belonging to the band of friends, or even to the plebeian class, entrusted with such a disclosure, would not have hastened with it to the king ? But the example of Cebalinus, in promptly reporting what he had discovered, was not to be imitated by Parmenio’s son, master of the horse, the favoured confidant of the king. He pretended that the king was merely not at leisure to hear the detail, lest the informant should seek to convey it by some other channel. Nicomachus broke an oath taken in a temple, to disburden his conscience : Philotas having consumed hours in mirth and raillery, disdained to relieve his inexhaustible wit, by a few words.

‘ involving the safety of his sovereign. Ha!
‘ but he did not credit a disclosure from infor-
‘ mers of a juvenile age. Why, then, keep
‘ them in suspense for two days, dissembling
‘ with them? He should have dismissed Ceba-
‘ linus, if he disbelieved his narrative. If the
‘ hazard be his own, every man may rely on his
‘ own discretion: but where the king’s safety
‘ is affected, it is our duty to be credulous, and
‘ to transmit the slightest intimation to the royal
‘ ear, to be weighed by the royal judgment.’

It was unanimously agreed, that Philotas should be forced by torture to expose his confederates. Dismissing the council, the king enjoined on all inviolable secrecy. He gave public orders for the army to decamp the next day, as though that had been the subject of deliberation. He invited Philotas to the last banquet of which he was to partake, and had the heart not only to sup, but converse familiarly with the man whom he had condemned.

At the second watch, Hephæstion, Craterus, Cœnos, and Erigyius, *friends*, with Perdiccas and Leonnatus, *lancebearers*, and a few others, proceeded, without torches, to the palace, and ordered the king’s guards to keep watch under arms.

25. Soldiers are planted at all the avenues, and horsemen patrol the roads, lest any one

should go off to Parmenio, commanding a great army in Media.

Attaras now, with three hundred armed men, entered the palace; he had also the direction of ten pursuivants, to each of whom were attached ten lancebearers,—These were dispersed to apprehend the other conspirators. Attaras, leading the three hundred to take Philotas, with fifty the most active forced his door, while the rest were stationed round the house to prevent his escape. Philotas was wrapt in profound sleep, and, when Attaras seized him, was unconscious of the violence. Awakened, as they were putting him in chains, he cried out: “The bitterness of my enemies, O king! has overcome thy goodness.” They covered his head, and conveyed him to the palace.

The next day, the king summoned the Macedonians to attend armed. Six thousand attended*; a crowd of camp-followers filled up the palace-court. The lancebearers enclosed Philotas, that he might not be seen by the multitude, till the king had harangued the soldiers. By an ancient custom, the Macedonian army was the tribunal to decide on capital offences during

* Possibly some management of the officers prevented a greater number from attending; the custom, dangerous for Alexander to abolish, he would prevent from being more than a form. Or, the right of voting might be confined to MACEDONIANS by birth.

war, and the common people in time of peace ; so that the king's power, as a sovereign, was inefficient, unless his influence previously prevailed. Therefore the body of Dymnus was first exhibited ; the major part being ignorant what he had done, or under what circumstances he had been killed.

CHAP. IX.

Alexander addresses the army, and, retiring, leaves Philotas to reply.

26. THE king now appeared in the assembly : the anguish perceptible in his countenance, and the sorrowful air of his friends, excited expectations of no small interest. He stood, as lost in astonishment, looking on the ground : At length recovering himself, he said : “ I had nearly, “ soldiers ! been snatched from you by the wickedness of a small confederacy. By the providence and mercy of the gods I am alive. “ Your venerable presence renders my anger “ hotter against the parricides : for the grand, “ the only enjoyment of my life is, That, of so “ many gallant men who from me have deserved “ so much, I possess means to requite the ser-

“ vices.”——A burst of grief through the army interrupted his speech, while down every cheek rilled a tear.—He resumed: “ If this simple
“ opening raises these emotions, how will you
“ feel when I disclose the principals in the hor-
“ rible plot! I tremble to mention them: as
“ though they might be yet saved, I spare their
“ names. It is necessary, however, to overcome
“ my former friendship for them, and to unveil
“ a small knot of impious men. Indeed, how
“ could I prevent their villany from becoming
“ manifest? Know, then, soldiers! that Par-
“ menio, in his advanced age, loaded with my
“ father’s favours, with my favours, the oldest
“ of all our friends, is the leader in this criminal
“ enterprize; and Philotas has been his instru-
“ ment to hire Peucolaus, Demetrius, and Dym-
“ nus, whose corpse you behold, and other
“ madly-wicked men, to execute a design against
“ my life.”

A din of indignation, mingled with sorrow, ran through the whole assembly.

Then Nicomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus, were produced, who each repeated their respective informations. But by the evidence of no one of these, was Philotas designated as a party to the conspiracy; so that, the indignation of the assembly subsiding, the depositions of the informants are received with silence.—Appealing

to the soldiers; "In your judgment," exclaims the king, "what motive could a man have for keeping back information of this conspiracy? That it was not unfounded, Dymnus' suicide proves. Cebalinus brought it at the risk of torture, had it not proved true: Metron did not delay a moment to deliver the deposit, but burst into the place where I was bathing. Philotas alone, unconcerned, believed nothing. Serene hero! Had his sovereign's danger affected him, would he have heard of it with a countenance of apathy? would he not have examined the person disclosing it? Without doubt, a criminal design lay couched under this silence; and the greedy hope of a kingdom precipitated him into the darkest enormity. His father governs the Median army; and he himself, above most of my general-officers, preferred to a distinguished command, aspires to things exceeding his capacity. He despises me as destitute of offspring: Philotas errs: you are my children, my parents, my kindred: while you are safe, I have a family and heirs."

27. Alexander then read an intercepted letter of Parmenio, to his sons Nicanor and Philotas: certainly not express evidence of treasonable intention; for the material part of it was: '*First take care of yourselves; then, of those under you:*

‘for so we may effect what we have designed.’
“And,” added Alexander, “he wrote thus, that
“it might elude notice, if it were intercepted
“by those who were not in the secret, while it
“was sufficiently intelligible, if it reached his
“sons.—But Dymnus, when he specified the
“other conspirators, did not name Philotas!
“This is, in fact, less a mark of his innocency,
“than of his power; because those who could
“impeach, might stand so much in awe of him,
“that while confessing their own guilt, they
“concealed his*.—But the past life of Philotas
“declares him. When Amyntas, my kinsman,
“formed a plot against me in Macedon, this
“man was privy to it, a party to it. This man
“had affianced his sister to Attalus, than whom
“I had not a more inveterate enemy. When I
“had written to this man, with the intimacy
“of friendship, mentioning the oracle vouch-
“safed to me by Jupiter Hammon, he had the
“insolence to write back, *‘That he congratulated*
me on being received into the number of the gods,
although he pitied those who lived under a prince
exalted above the condition of man.’ These,
“soldiers! are symptoms, that his affections
“have been long alienated from me, and that

* It would have been a better argument, to say, that all the subordinate parties to the conspiracy, might not themselves know the mover.

“ he envies my glory : But I suppressed resent-
“ ment as long as possible : It appeared like
“ rending part of my vitals to disgrace those
“ on whom I had heaped benefits. But now
“ they are not mere words that require chastise-
“ ment. The revolt of the tongue is succeeded
“ by the preparation of daggers. Such instru-
“ ments, if I am to be credited, Philotas has
“ sharpened against me. If HE has harboured
“ treason, with whom, soldiers ! shall I asso-
“ ciate ? to whom entrust my life ? I con-
“ stituted him general of my cavalry, the chosen
“ part of the army, and dignified him by a com-
“ mand over our noblest youth. To his fidelity
“ I committed my safety, my hopes, and all the
“ fruits of victory. His father I have elevated
“ to greatness, almost rivalling that to which
“ you have raised myself : investing him with
“ dominion over Media, than which there is not
“ a richer country, and with the command of
“ so many thousands of our countrymen and
“ allies. From that on which I relied, has
“ arisen my danger. How much nobler to have
“ fallen in the field, a prey to the enemy, than
“ to die the victim of a fellow-citizen ! Perils
“ to which only I was awake I have escaped ;
“ involved in those which I ought not to have
“ expected. You have repeatedly exhorted
“ me, soldiers ! to consult my safety : It is in

“ your powers to secure it. Whatever you advise, I shall do. To your swords I appeal. I would not be safe unless you will it : if you will it, I cannot be safe, unless I am avenged.”

28. By order, Philotas was then brought forth, with his hands pinioned at his back, and an old veil over his face. The soldiers were perceptibly moved at his deplorable appearance, though they had recently beheld him with envy. The preceding day, they had seen him general of the horse, and they knew that he had supped with the king : suddenly he is exposed to view, impeached, condemned, and degraded with fetters. They sympathized with the adversities of so masterly a general, so illustrious a citizen as Parmenio, who had lately been bereaved of two sons, Hector and Nicanor, and was now, under the disadvantage of absence, arraigned, with his remaining son, on a charge affecting life.

Amyntas, marshal of the king's tent, seeing the multitude inclined to pity, stimulated them by an inflammatory sally : ‘ They were betrayed to the Barbarians. Not one of them would return to his wife : not one reach his country, or his friends. They would be as a headless trunk, without motion, without name, the sport of their enemies in a strange country.’ Far from what Amyntas proposed, this speech was unacceptable to Alexander ; because, by

reminding the troops of their wives and native land, it might indispose them to proceed with their leader. Then Cœnos, although he had married Philotas' sister, inveighed against him more acrimoniously than any one, terming him "paricide of the king, country, and army." Having seized a weighty stone, he was going to discharge it at his head, designing, as the major part supposed, to withdraw him from impending torture. But the king, arresting his hand, declared, that the accused ought to have liberty to plead, nor otherwise would he suffer him to be judged.

Philotas, summoned now to speak, was, either from conscious guilt, or overwhelming danger, possessed with wild stupefaction: unable to lift up his eyes, or articulate a word, he burst into tears, and swooned in the arms of the guard who held him. Afterwards recovering, he wiped away his tears with his veil, and seemed preparing to speak. The king, turning to him, said: "The Macedonians are to be your judges. I ask, whether you intend to use their native language?" Philotas answered: "Besides the Macedonians, there are great numbers present, who I believe will understand me more readily, if I use the same language in which yourself spoke*, for no other reason,

* Greek, probably.

“ I apprehend, than that it was more intelligi-
“ ble to the majority.” ‘ Mark,’ cries the king,
‘ how Philotas rejects his country’s dialect, dis-
‘ dained only by himself. But let him adopt
‘ what tongue he pleases, so you remember that
‘ he equally abhors our manners and our speech.’
And thus Alexander retired.

CHAP. X.

The defence of Philotas.

29. PHILOTAS began : “ Words readily occur
“ to the innocent : but it is difficult for the
“ wronged to speak in a temperate tone ; I am
“ ignorant how to adapt my discourse to my
“ feelings and circumstances, to a pure con-
“ science and a state of suffering. The best
“ judge of my case has withdrawn. Why he
“ refuses to hear me, I cannot divine, since a
“ consideration of my plea would leave him the
“ power as well to condemn as to acquit me :
“ as nothing of it will reach him, I cannot be
“ cleared by him absënt, who condemned me
“ while present.

“ But although the defence of a man already
“ in chains, not merely superfluous, is in danger

“ of being offensive, as tending to criminate the
“ magistrate who has punished him,—Yet as far
“ as I am allowed to speak, I shall not desert
“ my own cause, nor act like a man convicted
“ in his own breast. I do not perceive for what
“ crime I am arraigned. No one includes my
“ name among the conspirators : Nicomachus
“ mentions nothing of me ; nor, more than he
“ had heard, could Cebalinus know. The king,
“ notwithstanding, believes me to be the leader
“ in the plot ! Could Dymnus forget the chief
“ by whom he was directed ; especially when
“ asked of what class the confederates were ?
“ He was more likely to have employed my
“ name, falsely, to stimulate an irresolute individual.
“ Disclosing the treason, he would not
“ omit my name out of tenderness to an accom-
“ plice : but while entrusting secrets affecting
“ himself to Nicomachus, under an oath to si-
“ lence, he musters up the others, and with-
“ holds me. I demand, fellow soldiers ! whether,
“ if Cebalinus had not accidentally addressed
“ me, any thing would have been heard of ME
“ among the conspirators ; whether I should
“ have had to day, to plead, unimpeached ? Were
“ Dymnus living and disposed to save me, would
“ the rest screen me ? confess their own guilt,
“ and conceal mine ! Calamity is malevolent,
“ and a tortured criminal is commonly willing

“ enough to implicate a comrade. Of the many
“ privy to my guilt, will not one, on the rack,
“ confess the truth? But, I am persuaded, no-
“ body spares him that is to die; nor will he
“ that is to die spare any one.

“ To come to the true, the only, charge
“ against me : *Why did you in silence pass over*
“ *this secret information? why did you hear it*
“ *without alarm?* Whatever kind of offence this
“ be—where are you, Alexander?—you pardon-
“ ed it upon my confession, gave me your right
“ hand as a pledge of reconciliation, and after-
“ wards entertained me at a banquet. If you,
“ thus, expressed belief of my representation,
“ I am acquitted; if forgiveness of my error,
“ I am discharged: At least, be constant to
“ your own intention. What have I perpetrated
“ since I, last night, left your table? What
“ newly discovered treason has caused this
“ change in your mind? I had sunk in confi-
“ dence to sleep; and my enemies awakened
“ me, reposing over unexpected woes, by the
“ clang of fetters. Could a parricide, whose
“ plot was betrayed, enjoy the balm of sleep?
“ The clamorous conscience of the wicked will
“ not let them sleep; the furies toss them,
“ whether they have perpetrated treason, or are
“ brooding it in thought.—My security, Alex-
“ ander! rested, first, upon my innocence, and,

“ next, upon your right-hand. I had no apprehension that the cruelty of individuals could sway you more than your own clemency. Not to repent that you credited my apology, reflect that this affair was transmitted to me by a youth, who had been able to bring no witness, nor proof, to establish his private information : yet to have opened it, had filled the palace with terrors and suspicions. Ill-fated ! I imagined that my ears had been abused by a jarring between two viler than wretches. I suspected, alternately, that Nicomachus had fabricated the accusation, because, instead of announcing it himself, he whispered it by his brother : or, that he might wholly disown the intervention of Cebalinus ; in which case, vital peril to several of the king’s friends, would appear to have been created by me. While I strove not to injure any one, I have met with those who would not regret to see me perish. What rancorous burnings had I excited, had I stigmatized guiltless individuals !

“ It is an argument against me, that Dymnus committed suicide. Could I divine that he would do so ? Impossible ! Thus the circumstance which corroborates the information, is one which, when I was spoken to by Cebalinus, could not impress me.

“ In common sense, had I been concerned
“ in such a momentous plot with Dymnus,
“ should I have concealed from him for two
“ days, that we were discovered? I could with-
“ out difficulty have taken off Cebalinus. Be-
“ sides, after having been made the depository
“ of a disclosure which entailed my own ruin,
“ I entered the king’s chamber alone, wearing
“ a sword : Why defer the murder? could I not
“ venture on villany without Dymnus? He,
“ therefore, must have been the chief conspira-
“ tor : while Philotas, lurking under his wing,
“ aspired to the kingdom of Macedon.

“ Which of you have I corrupted with bribes?
“ What commander, or lieutenant, have I assi-
“ duously courted? It is alleged against me,
“ that I despise the language, and the manners,
“ of the Macedonians : a singular method of
“ grasping at the crown ! Intercourse with fo-
“ reigners, we know, has rendered our vernacular
“ tongue almost obsolete ; and the conquerors,
“ as well as the conquered, have acquired a new
“ language.

“ As little does it blemish me, that Amyntas,
“ the son of Perdiccas, practised treasonably
“ against the king, at his accession. For a pre-
“ vious friendship with Amyntas, I am content
“ to suffer, if it be a crime to have loved Philip’s
“ nephew : But if it becomes us to pay honour

“ to a man of such princely birth; I ask, then,
“ am I impeached because I had not the gift of
“ prophecy? Ought the innocent friends of par-
“ ricides to be also cut off? If that be justice;
“ why have I lived so long? If injustice, why
“ doom me to death now?

“ But it is stated, *That I expressed, in a letter,*
“ *pity for such as should live under him who BE-*
“ *LIEVED himself Jupiter's son.* O! the fidelity
“ of friendship! the dangerous freedom of honest
“ communication! You, Alexander! deceived
“ me; you urged me not to disguise my senti-
“ ments. I wrote thus, I confess, TO THE
“ KING; never thus OF the king: excited to
“ that, not by envy, but by friendly concern.
“ It seemed to me more worthy of Alexander,
“ tacitly to be satisfied of being Jupiter's son,
“ than to vaunt of it by proclamation. And
“ because the oracle is infallible, let Hammon
“ attest my plea. Let me remain in custody,
“ till the Egyptian Jupiter can be consulted re-
“ specting this mysterious, impenetrable treason.
“ Meanwhile, he who has acknowledged a son
“ in our king, will not suffer any conspirator
“ against his offspring to remain undetected.—
“ Or if you believe that the rack gives more
“ certain responses than the oracle, I do not
“ desire to be spared from so establishing the
“ truth.

“ Persons capitally accused, usually place
“ before you their nearest relatives. Two
“ brothers dead, I have recently mourned. My
“ father, far hence, I cannot produce ; nor dare
“ invoke him, recollecting that he is charged
“ with the same high crime. It were too mild
“ a calamity, to have been bereaved of so many
“ children, might he lean supported on his only
“ remaining son : he must survive his last child
“ —unless his corse and mine be laid together
“ on the pile. Must you, then, dearest father !
“ die for me, and with me ? I deprive you of
“ life ; I crush you in your old age. Why did
“ you become my parent, when the gods were
“ adverse ? Was it to reap those fruits from me
“ which await you ? I cannot tell whether my
“ ripened spring or your decline is more unhap-
“ py. The executioner snatches me off in the
“ vigour of life : your spirit, nature would soon
“ require, were fortune to forbear this violence.

“ The mention of my father impresses on
“ me, how tremblingly and deliberately it
“ behoved me to weigh Cebalinus’ whispered
“ tale ; before I imparted it. For Parmenio,
“ informed that the physician Philip had pre-
“ pared to poison the king, dispatched a letter
“ to dissuade him from taking the medicine.
“ Was my father credited ? had his communi-
“ cation any authority ? How repeatedly, when

“ I represented what I had heard, have I been
“ repulsed with ridicule ! Now, if we meet with
“ scorn, when we transmit a report, and incur
“ suspicion when we silently pass it over ; what
“ ought we to do ? ” — One of the surrounding
multitude cried out : ‘ Not plot against those
‘ who have deserved well of us. ’ — “ Thou speak-
“ est rightly,” rejoined Philotas, “ whoever
“ thou art. If, therefore, I have conspired, I
“ am content to suffer. I say no more, since
“ my last words appear to be ill received.” The
guards then conducted him away.

CHAP. XI.

Belon's invective. Philotas is tortured : his confession. Those accused by Nicomachus are stoned.

30. AMONG the captains was one Belon, brave, but wholly uncultivated ; long in the service, he had risen from the ranks. Perceiving the assembly stand mute, he, with the daring of insensibility, ferociously began : “ How often
“ have we been thrust out of our quarters, to
“ make room for the scum of Philotas' slaves !
“ The streets are filled with his waggons laden

“ with gold and silver. He will not suffer any
“ of his fellow soldiers to lodge near his quar-
“ ters : but, by ministers to his sleep planted
“ round, keeps them aloof, lest the repose of
“ that lady-officer should be disturbed by the
“ stillness, rather than sound, of men murmur-
“ ing in conversation. The plain in manners
“ he calls, in derision, Sapiient Phrygians—
“ Eloquent Paphlagonians : a Macedonian-born,
“ he does not blush to hear his own country-
“ men by an interpreter.

“ Why would he have Hammon consulted
“ he who, when Jove pronounced Alexander
“ his son, charged the oracle with lying. He,
“ forsooth, feared that what the gods had con-
“ ferred might excite envy. When he plotted
“ against the life of his sovereign and friend,
“ he did not consult Jove : now he would in-
“ quire of the oracle, that meanwhile his father,
“ the viceroy of Media, may be instructed, and,
“ with the money in his custody, may draw des-
“ perate men into their combination. We shall
“ ourselves send to the oracle, not to inquire
“ respecting that which we know from the king,
“ but to thank the gods, and offer up vows for
“ the safety of the best of sovereigns.”

Then the whole assembly became inflamed,
the body-guards crying out : “ It belongs to us
“ to tear the parricide in pieces.” Philotas,

who was afraid of greater torments, heard this without uneasiness.

Alexander, returning into the council of the army, adjourned it to the next day, either that Philotas might be racked in prison, or that all the circumstances might be otherwise penetrated. Although night was approaching, the king convened his friends. Most of them proposed, that Philotas should be stoned to death, according to the Macedonian custom: but Hephæstion, Craterus, and Cœnos, contended, that the truth ought to be wrung from him by torture; and the others came over to their opinion.

31. The council dissolved, Hephæstion, Craterus, and Cœnos, rose together, to go and press the question on Philotas. The king sent for Craterus, had a conversation with him, of which the tenor is unknown, and then retired to his closet, where in solitude great part of the night, he waited the result of the inquisition.

The executioners displayed before Philotas all the instruments of cruelty. "Why do you delay," he exclaimed impulsively, "to kill the king's enemy and murderer, now confessing? What need for torture? I contrived, I willed the mischief." Craterus required, that he should repeat that avowal on the rack. Philotas, as they were haling him, stripping him, and filleting his eyes, appealed to remorseless ears,

by the gods of his country, and the laws of nations. As though he were condemned, made to suffer the last resources of excruciation, he is deplorably lacerated by his persecuting enemies, affecting zeal for the king. Notwithstanding they employed, alternately, fire and the scourge, less for the purpose of examination than punishment, he forbore to utter either a cry or a groan. But, afterwards, his body swelling with ulcers, while lashing whips furrowed him to the bone; unable to support the agony, he promised, 'If the torments were discontinued, to communicate what they should demand to know.' But he required them, 'To swear, by the safety of Alexander, that they would no more apply the torture; and to dismiss the executioners.' When both were obtained, he said to Craterus: "Tell me what you would have me say." Craterus, incensed at being mocked, called back the executioners. Then Philotas requested time till he should recover his spirits, when he would reveal all that he knew.

32. Meanwhile, the superior officers of the cavalry, who were chiefly near relatives of Parmenio, heard the circulating rumour, that Philotas was on the rack. Of these—terrified because the Macedonian law involved in punishment the kindred of conspirators against the monarch,—some committed suicide, some fled

to mountains and solitudes. An aghast tumult agitated the camp, till the king proclaimed that he remitted the law, affecting the kindred of traitors.

Philotas was impatient to liberate himself from torture, by a disclosure, or by a fabrication: either may be supposed; because those who confess the truth, and those who lie circumstantially, equally propose to escape from the horrible machinery. ‘You are not ignorant,’ he said, ‘how intimate my father was with Hegelochus, that Hegelochus who fell in battle. He was the source of all our ills. For when the king began to require the salutation, SON OF JOVE! this man, resenting it heinously, deposited his sentiments with us: *Then we acknowledge this our sovereign, who disowns Philip his father? We are lost, if we submit to it. The man who desires to be thought a deity, insults not mankind merely, but the gods themselves. We have forfeited Alexander, we have forfeited our king, by giving into a pride, intolerably odious to the celestials whom he affects to rival, and to men whom he renounces. Have we spilt our blood to deify him, who will disdain us, who will be shocked to preside over a council of mortals? Believe me, if we are not less than men, we likewise may be adopted by the gods. Who avenged*

‘ *Alexander**, great-grandfather of our Alexander? who, Archelaus slain afterwards? who took vengeance for Perdiccas? Nay, has not our divinity pardoned the homicides of his father? This, Hegelochus uttered at supper. Next morning, at day-break, my father required my attendance: Melancholy, he saw that I was deeply so, for we had heard things not to be recollected without anxiety. In order to know

* It is not easy to ascertain to which Alexander, or Archelaus, or Perdiccas, the passage applies.

Alexander I. properly *great-great-grandfather* of Alexander the conqueror of Persia, is not represented by any historian to have fallen by domestic treason: no more is Perdiccas I. his predecessor, nor Perdiccas II. his son, nor Perdiccas III. his great-grandson, and uncle of the last Alexander.

PERDICCAS, then, might have been some prince cut-off before he came to the crown.

ARCHELAUS, an illegitimate son of Perdiccas II. was killed at a chase by his favourite Craterus, according to Aristotle, [Polit. lib. v. sect. 19.] with design. But the murderer, contrary to the abominable argument above, was, a few days after ascending the throne, himself assassinated.

But as ALEXANDER II. *uncle* of Alexander, conqueror of Persia, was, in the ascending series of kings, four removes higher, some sciolist supposing him to be, therefore, his great-grandfather, might intrude into the MS. *proavum* instead of *patrum*. Alexander II. after reigning a year, fell a victim to the treasonable practices of his queen and Ptolemy.

But by thus bending the allusion to Alexander II. we exclude the Archelaus who had previously reigned. The second Archelaus, whom some historians admit during a turbulent interval, lived also previously.

‘ whether Hegelochus had poured out the suggestions of wine, or the purpose of deliberation, we sent for him. He came, and, of his own impulse, repeated the same suggestions; adding, *That if we dared to act as leaders, he claimed the next station to us; if our resolution failed, he would shroud our consultations in secrecy.*’ Parmenio deemed the enterprsie “ premature; for, while Darius was living, not we, but the enemy, would be benefitted by removing Alexander: but when Darius should have fallen, Asia, and all the East, must devolve as a prize to those who should kill the king.” ‘ This modification was approved, and the parties pledged themselves to mutual fidelity. Respecting Dymnus, I know nothing. But after the preceding confession, I am convinced that total innocence of his plot will not avail me.’

33. They again applied to him the instruments of torture, themselves also striking his face and eyes with their lances, in order to extort a confession of this crime likewise. Required to disclose the train of the contrivance, he at length answered: “ As it seemed probable, that the king would be long detained at Bactra, I feared that my father, seventy years of age, who commands a great army, and had the custody of vast treasures, might die

“ meanwhile. Deprived of such powerful aids,
“ I should have no object in causing the king’s
“ death. I therefore hastened to effect it,
“ while the reward for it was in my power. If
“ you do not believe that my father was unacquainted with this plot, I shall not shrink
“ from further tortures, though too weak to
“ bear them.” Having, in a conference, agreed, that there had been a sufficient investigation, they returned to the king.

The next day, Philotas’ confession was, by order of Alexander, publickly read; and Philotas, unable to walk, was carried into the assembly. He acknowledged the whole confession.

Demetrius, impeached as a party to the recent conspiracy, is now produced. With solemn protestations, delivered with steady boldness and an undaunted countenance, he denied, that he had meditated any thing against the king, and he demanded the application to himself of torture. Then Philotas, rolling round his eyes, recognised a person named Calis standing near, and desired him to approach closer. As Calis, in confusion, refused to move towards him, Philotas cried: “ Will you suffer Demetrius to lie, “ that I may be tortured again?” Calis was speechless, and the retreating blood left him pale.

The Macedonians began to suspect, that

Philotas implicated the innocent, because Nicomachus had not, nor had Philotas, while on the rack, named the youth. When, however, Calis found himself surrounded by the king's officers, he confessed that both himself and Demetrius were involved in the treason. Hereupon all who had been named by Nicomachus, were, according to the Macedonian usage, at a given signal, stoned to death.

Alexander here escaped a two-fold danger ; that which had menaced his life, and the danger of making himself odious to the troops ; for unless the guilt of Philotas and Parmenio, his leading friends, had been made apparent, he could not have condemned them, without incurring the indignation of the whole army. The affair appeared under two aspects ; while Philotas denied the fact, he was looked upon to be persecuted inhumanly ; after his confession, not from his friends even did he deserve pity.

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK VII.

CATASTROPHE OF PARMENIO. COURSE OF ALEXANDER FROM DRANGIANA TO SCYTHIA, INCLUDING EXPEDITIONS AGAINST REVOLTING PROVINCES.

CHAP. I.

Alexander, the Lyncestean, killed. Accusation and defence of Amyntas.

1. AS Philotas, while the proofs of his crime were recent, was deemed by the soldiers justly punished; so, when he had disappeared, the mingled feelings of envy and resentment were succeeded by pity. They now were touched with his youth and distinction, and sympathized with the old age and filial bereavements of his father—who had been the first friend of Philip! who had opened the passage to Asia! whose fidelity had so proved itself to Alexander, that he would employ no other agent to remove Attalus! who had shared in all the dangers of the king, uniformly leading one of the wings of the

army! Such were the reflections which agitated the soldiers. The king heard the report of their seditious expressions, unmoved; sufficiently expert to dissipate the vices of idleness by action. He directed that the army should assemble before his palace. Then, Apharias, doubtless by concerted instruction, demanded that Alexander Lyncestes, who, long prior to Philotas, had designed to assassinate the king, might be brought to trial. It was now the third year* of his imprisonment, since he had been apprehended on the testimony of two informants. That he had been accessory to Pausanias' murder of Philip, was known: but having been the first to salute Alexander, "King!" the latter, from this circumstance, and his deference to the intercession of Antipater, Lyncestes' father-in-law, had rather suspended his punishment, than declared him exculpated. The resentment so long dormant now revived, the present necessary conservative measures calling to remembrance past dangers.

Lyncestes, therefore, conveyed from prison, is commanded to deliver the defence which, during three years, he had been preparing. With faltering terror, he pronounced a few studied

* The arrest of Lyncestes [narrated, *ante*, b. ii. c. 11.] commenced about mid-winter, Olymp. cxi. 4. But the death of Darius happened cxii. 3. in the Attic month Hecatombæon, commencing on the 23d of the modern July; since which event, the operations of Alexander must have consumed not less than three months. The confinement of Lyncestes, therefore, exceeded three years.

sentences : at length, his faculties wholly failed him. The auditors imputed his confusion, not to defect of memory, but to the compunctions of conscience ; and while he was struggling for recollection, those who stood nearest pierced him through with their lances.

2. His body removed, the king commanded that Amyntas* and Simmias should be arraigned. Polemon, the youngest of the three brothers, had fled during the examination of Philotas by the torture. These had been Philotas' most intimate friends, promoted, through his interest, to offices of dignity. Alexander, beginning to denounce them to the assembly, mentioned the zeal with which Philotas had recommended them to his favour : " Nor, that they were privy
" to the late conspiracy, can I entertain a
" doubt. I had indeed been warned, in a letter,
" by my mother, not to risk my safety with
" these men ; but I was averse from believing
" an unfavourable representation. On irresist-
" ible proof, I have now consigned them to
" chains. It is ascertained, that they had a
" secret conference with Philotas on the day
" before his treason was detected. One of the
" brothers absconded while Philotas was under
" torture, and, in flying, betrayed the motive.
" Very recently, under colour of their office,

* Amyntas, the son of Andromenes, a distinct person from the Amyntas impeached by Nicomachus.

“ but contrary to established usage, they removed my other attendants without cause, and planted themselves at my elbow. Surprised to see them wait out of their turn in such an office; alarmed by their agitation, I promptly withdrew to my lancebearers*. Add to this, that when Antiphanes, clerk of the cavalry, required Amyntas, on the day before the discovery of the plot, to supply with some of his horses such persons as had lost theirs, he received the haughty answer, *That if he did not desist, he should shortly know to whom he was speaking*. The intemperate and rash expressions which burst from them respecting their sovereign himself, can be evidence only of a treasonable propensity. If these charges are true, they deserve punishment no less than Philotas; if false, let them disprove them.”

Antiphanes affirmed, that Amyntas had refused him the horses, with arrogant and menacing words.

* Among the Macedonians, the most honourable military class was the *body-guards*, or *guards of the presence*; Arrian states them to have been SEVEN in number, and afterwards EIGHT: — but from the recorded admission of four Sogdian chiefs, among the *body-guards*, Curt. lib. VII. x. 37. and the investiture of a thousand Persians, with the same title and office, *Supplement* by Freinshemius, lib. X. iv. 11; the Translator considers the EIGHT individual Macedonian commanders eminently styled “body-guards” to have been captains of as many companies. The *lance-bearers* held the next rank, among whom this Amyntas was enrolled, though a commanding-officer. See *Translation*, b. iv. c. 13. sect. 52.

3. Amyntas then availed himself of permission to speak : “ I request, that, if it do not
“ affect the king’s right, I may plead unfetter-
“ ed.” Alexander immediately ordered both
the brothers to be unbound. Amyntas then
requested, that the ensign of his office as a lance-
bearer might be restored to him. When this
was granted, bearing it in his left hand, and
removing to some distance from the place where
Lyncestes had fallen, he thus spoke : “ We are
“ compelled, sire ! to confess, that if the lot
“ awaiting us be prosperous, to your generosity
“ we shall be indebted for it ; if adverse, we
“ must ascribe it to fortune. We do not plead,
“ prejudged. Our persons, at liberty, are distin-
“ guished by those tokens of authority, which
“ we bore when we attended you in our respec-
“ tive posts. Our freed minds fear not for our
“ cause, nor longer distrust fortune. Permit
“ us to reply, at once, to your concluding accu-
“ sation : we are not conscious of having spoken,
“ in any shape, disloyally of your majesty. I
“ would say, that you had long ago overcome
“ malevolence, might you not possibly suspect,
“ that I aim, by compliments, now, to atone for
“ former disrespectful expressions. If, when
“ weary and fainting on a march, or hazarding
“ our lives in battle, or sick in our tents, or suf-
“ fering under wounds, any sore word has escap-

“ ed us ; we have deserved, by intrepid actions,
“ that it should be attributed to our condition
“ at the moment, and not to disaffection. In
“ supreme calamities,—we accuse every thing ;
“ we wound our own bodies, which we certainly
“ do not hate ; our parents, if they strike our
“ sight, are odious. After victory, when we are
“ distinguished by bounty, when we return laden
“ with spoils, who can bear our incontrollable
“ elation ? Neither the anger nor the joy of
“ soldiers acknowledges bounds. We are extra-
“ vagant in all our affections. We blame,
“ praise, melt, or storm, the sport of the exist-
“ ing impression. Now, we exultingly pene-
“ trate to India and the Ocean ; now we embrace
“ in our clinging thoughts, our wives, our chil-
“ dren, and our country. But these reflections,
“ these discourses cease, when the trumpet
“ sounds to arms ; then every one flies to his
“ post ; and whatever irritation had accumulated
“ in our tents, is all discharged on the enemy.
“ Would to God that Philotas also had confined
“ his delinquency to words !

“ I now revert to the ground on which we
“ were arraigned : our friendship with Philotas.
“ So far from disowning his friendship, I avow
“ that we cultivated it. Is it wonderful, sire !
“ that we respected the son of Parmenio, whom
“ you had distinguished among your friends,

“ investing him with dignity, inferior only to
“ your own? If your majesty will hear the
“ truth, it is you that has drawn us into this
“ disgrace. For who else was the cause, that
“ all who sought your favour, courted Philotas?
“ If we are honoured with any rank in your
“ friendship, he introduced us to it. Honour-
“ ing him with intimacy, you made his favour
“ an object of ambition, and his displeasure of
“ dread. Have we not all sworn in your pre-
“ sence, to have the same enemies as you, and
“ that your friends shall be ours? We deemed
“ that this oath, dictated by yourself, forbade us
“ to slight the man ennobled by your esteem.
“ If this be a crime, then, sire! you have few,
“ you have no, subjects that are innocent; for
“ all aspired to Philotas’ friendship, although
“ the mass was disappointed. If his friends must
“ be conspirators, so must all those who would
“ have been his friends. What forms the proof,
“ that we were privy to his treasonable design?
“ I apprehend, our private conversation with
“ him the day previous to his arrest. This
“ would implicate us beyond exculpation, if we
“ had done something unusual: but as we, on
“ this obnoxious day, repeated only the practice
“ of every day, the constancy of the habit clears
“ us.

“ But—then—we would not give up our

“ horses to Antiphanes! and our contention
“ happened, on the same attainted day, while
“ Philotas was yet undetected. If for this re-
“ fusal I am suspected, he who made the demand
“ must be suspected also; the only difference
“ between us is, that he claimed another's; and
“ I, with superior justice, kept my own property.
“ However, sire! of ten horses belonging to
“ me, Antiphanes had already transferred eight
“ to such as had lost theirs: our remaining two
“ chargers, which he insolently required, had I
“ not retained, we must have served on foot. I
“ cannot deny that the tone of my refusal was
“ that of a man of spirit speaking to a poltroon,
“ whose sole occupation in the army, is to dis-
“ tribute to those who fight, other people's horses.
“ I deem it unfortunate, that while I apologize
“ to Alexander, I appear to do so to Anti-
“ phanes.

“ But, O Hercules! your venerated mother
“ has denounced us in her letters as your ene-
“ mies. I regret, that she does not exercise her
“ maternal solicitude more judiciously, than to
“ infuse into her son's mind chimerical suspi-
“ cions. Why does she not assign the cause of
“ her terrors? name her author, or particularize
“ what action or expression of ours moved her
“ to perturb you with such letters? Unhappy
“ my condition! equal, perhaps, my peril, whe-

“ ther I speak or am silent. But let what will
“ result, I had rather displease you by my de-
“ fence, than leave my cause under imputation.
“ You will recollect, that when you detached
“ me into Macedon, to collect recruits, you
“ stated, that there were secluded in your mo-
“ ther’s palace, many youths of an age to bear
“ arms; and you instructed me, with attention
“ only to yourself, to impress those eluding the
“ levies. I executed your orders more com-
“ pletely than consisted with my private inte-
“ rest; bringing thence Gorgias, Hecatæus, and
“ Gorgatas, who have proved highly serviceable
“ in the field. What were more unjust, than
“ that I, whom merited punishment awaited,
“ if I disobeyed, should now fall for having
“ obeyed you? On no other account does
“ your mother persecute us, than that we pre-
“ ferred your benefit to her favour. I con-
“ ducted hither six thousand foot and six hun-
“ dred horse, many of whom would not have
“ marched, had they not been compelled. As
“ queen Olympias is indignant against us from
“ this cause, it is reasonable that she should be
“ conciliated by you who exposed us to her
“ displeasure.”

CHAP. II.

Amyntas and his brothers discharged. Catastrophe of Parmenio.

4. WHILE Amyntas was pleading,—those who had pursued, having overtaken his brother Polemon, brought him back bound. The assembly, incensed, could hardly be restrained from the summary vengeance of stoning him, the death which custom assigned to traitors. Polemon, wholly unterrified, said, “For myself I
“supplicate, that my fault in absconding may
“not affect my brothers. If my defence be not
“satisfactory, let condemnation attach only to
“myself. It assists their cause, that I am believed to be guilty only because I fled.” At these words, all the auditors, favourably affected, dissolved in tears, suddenly induced to sympathize with the act of weakness, which had chiefly provoked their fury. A youth just entering on the age of puberty, he had been carried away by the contagious terror, which disturbed the cavalry, while Philotas was tortured. Deserted by his companions, he was deliberating whether to return to the camp, or to continue his flight, when his pursuers came up.

In tears, now, he smote his forehead; distressed not for himself, but for his two endangered brothers. The king, with the assembly,

was moved. Amyntas, alone implacable, looking at him sternly, said: " Fool! thou shouldst have wept, when thou wert galloping away, a deserter of thy brothers, an associate of renegades. Wretch! whither and whence didst thou fly? Thou hast brought me under an impeachment menacing my life; thou hast caused me to reproach thee." Polemon acknowledged, ' That his offence was heavier as it had affected his brothers, than as it could affect himself.'

5. The soldiers no longer restrained those tears and acclamations, which express a burst of popular good-will. By a universal voice, the king was entreated to release these brave and innocent men. His friends also seized the opportunity to appeal to his humanity. He commanded silence: " Of my free impulse, I acquit Amyntas and his brothers. — — And, young men! I had rather that you should forget this generous return, than remember your jeopardy. Be as cordial in resuming friendly relations as I am. Had I not examined the charge, it might have been ascribed to dissimulation. To you it must be satisfactory to be cleared, instead of remaining suspected. Reflect that no one can establish his innocence unless he be tried. And, you Amyntas! forgive your brother, which I shall esteem as a pledge of your sincere reconciliation to myself."

The assembly dismissed, he summoned to his presence Polydamas, who was in the particular confidence of Parmenio, and accustomed to fight at the veteran general's side. Notwithstanding Polydamas had gone to the palace, relying on his innocence; yet on receiving a command to produce his brothers, who, on account of their juvenile age, were unknown to the king, his firmness sunk wavering into solicitude, exercised rather in imagining possible imputations, than in framing a defence. The lancebearers now brought in his brothers. The king commanded Polydamas, exanimate with fear, to come close to him. Having dismissed all the retinue of the presence: "Polydamas!" he said, "we are all invaded by Parmenio's treason; but myself and you especially are, whom he has deceived under the mask of friendship. I have chosen to employ you to seize and punish him — see what confidence I have in your fidelity. While you are discharging this trust, your brothers will be deposited with me as hostages. Depart for Media, and deliver these letters, in my own hand, to my sub-governors. Your expedition must anticipate the flight of rumour. I would have you arrive in the night; and, next morning, attend to the written instructions. You shall also carry letters to Parmenio; one from myself, and another as from Philotas, whose seal

- “ I have : thus the father, believing the letter to
“ have come from the son, will have no appre-
“ hensions at your sudden appearance.”

6. Polydamas, disburdened of terror, volunteered above what had been required ; and Alexander heaped upon him commendations and promises. Polydamas assumed an Arabian habit. Two Arabs, whose wives and children remained with the king as pledges of their fidelity, were assigned to accompany him. Riding on dromedaries on account of the arid deserts, they, on the eleventh day, reached the destined place.

Here Polydamas took the Macedonian dress ; and, before his arrival could be announced, repaired, at the fourth watch, to the tent of Cleander, the king's provincial administrator. When his dispatch had been delivered, they agreed to meet at day-break at Parmenio's quarters, for Polydamas had to deliver other letters from the king. As they were about to proceed thither, Parmenio heard of Polydamas' arrival. Overjoyed at the coming of his friend, and impatient to know how the king was engaged, from whom he had received no epistle a long while, he sent to inquire after the welcome visitant. The palaces* of this country have, at their rear, large grounds planted exquisitely with trees,

* *Diversoria*, public caravanseras : but the context shows that the word must be understood with a latitude which will embrace private mansions.

which the princes and satraps enjoy as paradises: Parmenio was walking in such a grove, surrounded by the officers who had received the king's mandate to kill him. The time for the deed they had concerted: when he should begin to read the letters to be delivered by Polydamas.

7. While approaching, recognised from a distance by Parmenio, whose features played with satisfaction, Polydamas ran to embrace him. After mutual greetings, he delivered the king's letter. While Parmenio was opening it*, he inquired, what the king was doing? Polydamas answered, the letter would inform him. Parmenio, having read the letter, said: "The king is preparing an expedition against the Arachosians. Intrepid and ever active prince! But having acquired so much glory, it is time that he should spare himself." The other letter written in Philotas' name, he then began to read, with visible joy in his countenance. Meanwhile, Cleander passed a sword through his side; he afterwards stabbed him in the throat; and the rest pierced him as he lay lifeless.

The guards stationed at the entrance of the plantation, having witnessed the murder, without knowing its cause, repaired to the camp;

* Literally, *while he was breaking the band of the letter*. It was customary with the ancients, in sealing letters, to carry a thread round, the knot of which was covered and confined by the impressed wax.

and convulsed it with the clamoured tidings. The soldiers, flying to arms, invested the place where their general's corpse lay: threatening, 'That unless Polydamas and his accomplices in the crime were delivered up, they would force the wall enclosing the grove, and sacrifice all within to the manes of their leader.' Cleander admitted their officers, and read to them a letter from Alexander to the troops, stating Parmenio's treason, and concluding with a request that they would avenge him. As the king's orders became known, the sedition was allayed, though indignation was unappeased. After the mass of soldiers had dispersed, the few remaining petitioned, that they might at least be allowed to bury the corpse. This was long refused by Cleander, apprehensive that compliance might displease the king. As they persisted with increasing vehemence, he at length, in order to deprive tumult of a rallying cry, yielded them the trunk of the corpse to bury. The head, which he had severed, he sent to the king.

8. Such was Parmenio's exit, a man illustrious by talents and services, in civil not less than military affairs. He had gained many successes without the king: in his absence, Alexander had achieved nothing of magnitude. He had satisfied a prosperous prince, who required every

thing to correspond with his own elevated fortune. At seventy years of age he would often take the duty of a young general, and sometimes that of a private soldier. He was wise in the cabinet, valiant in the field, beloved by the officers, still more the favourite of the ranks. These great qualities, with conscious popularity, inspired him with the ambition of reigning: or, he was sacrificed to suspicion. This is a problem; for while the recency of the affair admitted elucidation, it was not ascertained, whether Philotas, subdued by complicated tortures, disclosed actual transactions, which no informant could have laid open—or, whether, to end his sufferings, he devised a fiction.

Those whom Alexander had observed to re-pine at Parmenio's fall, he determined to separate from the rest of the army: the command of this distinct corps he gave to Leonidas, who had shared in the intimate confidence of Parmenio. These were, for the most part, the identical men, whom he had otherwise devoted to disgrace. For, once to sound the soldiers' dispositions, he proclaimed, That such as wished to write to their friends in Macedon, might securely send their letters by his messengers:—Every one, addressing his relatives, gave his sentiments frankly: Some were sick of the war: To the more numerous, it was generally agreeable:—Thus he ob-

tained the letters of the gratefully affected, and the discontented. He ordered this corps to encamp separately, as a mark of infamy; proposing to retain their valour in his service, while he locked out their licentious fluency from ears too ready to drink it. The rashness, or policy of irritating the bravest among the younger troops by these contumelies,—was espoused by the fortune which had attended other measures of equivocal discretion. For none fought with more alacrity than these; fired by courage, by impatience to expunge their disgrace, and by consciousness, that in a small body superior acts of gallantry could not shine unnoticed.

CHAP. III.

Alexander enters the country of the Evergetæ. Detaches a force against Satibarzanes. Reduces Arachosia. Founds a city at the base of the Indian Caucasus.

Olymp. cxii. 3. 9. **THESE** things thus settled,
 A. C. 329. Alexander appointed a satrap over
 Alex. Ætat. 28. the Arians.

Reg. 8.

Imper. 2.

He then gave orders for proceeding toward the Ariaspes; at that era called Evergetæ*, because, when Cyrus'

* Gr. *benefactors*. With this was synonymous their Persian name *Orosungæ*.

army was sinking under cold and famine; they had clothed and victualled it. On the fifth day after entering their country, he is informed, That Satibarzanes, who had revolted to Bessus, had, with a body of horse, made another irruption into Aria. Alexander, therefore, detached thither Caranus and Erigyius, Artabazus and Andronicus, with six thousand Grecian infantry and six hundred cavalry.

The king remained sixty days among the Evergetæ, during which he organized their state; and, by a munificent pecuniary largess, rewarded their fidelity to Cyrus. Amenides, who had been a scribe * of Darius, he constituted their governor.

He then reduced the Arachosians, whose territory extended to the Indian sea †. Here he

* *Scriba*, a Pehlivism for SECRETARY OR MINISTER. Among the Persians, the office of a pennian was one of primary dignity; by the Greeks, too, it was classed with the first in distinction, contrary to the practice of the Romans. The court of Modern Persia furnishes, in its costume, a good commentary on Curtius. "The *kullumdan*, "or *inkhorn*, is made in Persia to hold both ink and pens. It is, in "length, about ten or twelve inches, and three or four round. It is "generally beautifully painted, and is still worn by ministers in "Persia, as an insignia of their office. It is stuck in the girdle, in "the same part in which military men wear their daggers."—MALCOLM'S *History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 369. note.

† *Ponticum mare*. — CURTIUS. Deduced from lib. IX. cap. vii. s. 23. to be a literal error for *Indicum mare*, the Indian ocean; it there appears that a nation on the west bank of the Indus paid a tribute to the Arachosians; moreover, their "territory extending to the Indian sea," probably included so much of the intervening region

received the army which Parmenio had commanded, consisting of six thousand Macedonians, with two hundred nobles, and five thousand Greeks, and two hundred horse : it was, indisputably, the chief strength of the king's forces. He nominated Menon provincial administrator over the Arachosians, with a garrison of four thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry.

10. He advanced into a region imperfectly known to the bordering nations, as it cultivates no interchange by commerce. Designated *Parâpamisadæ*, the wild inhabitants are the most uncivilized among the Barbarians ; the hard aspect of the local scenery has petrified their minds. Touching Bactriana on the west, the greater part of their country has its aspect toward the frozen pole ; the southern district stretches toward the Indian sea. Their cottages are built, the lower part of brick, and the upper of tile ; for no timber grows in the sterile fields, nor on the naked mountains : their form, broadest at bottom, gradually contracts as the structure rises, till it terminates in the fashion of a ship's

of Gedrosia as answers to the modern Beloochistan. As the latter is a dependency on the present kingdom of Caubul ; and Caubul itself, though now independent, was but a province of the modern empire of Persia in the height of its power ; the analogy in the chain of dependencies and sub-dependencies, is very striking. Curtius has *mare Indicum* but a few lines lower.

keel, with an aperture in the centre to admit the light*. Such vines and trees as can endure the rigour of such a climate, the inhabitants press down, and cover with earth during the winter: and when the snow is dissolved, they dig them out and restore them to the air and sun. So deep are the snows which shroud the ground, so bound up by ice and almost perpetual frost, that no symptom was perceived of birds, or any beast remaining out†. The light is rather an obscuration of the sky resembling darkness, in

* The houses are constructed of brick, burnt or unburnt, and cemented with mud, mixed with chopped straw. The roofs are sometimes terraces laid on beams, but far more frequently are composed of three or four low domes of brick joining to one another. An opening is left in the centre of one of the domes, and over it is a chimney made of tiles, to keep out the rain. This sort of roof is recommended by its requiring no wood for rafters, a great consideration in a country where timber is so scarce. Most dwelling houses have but one room, about twenty feet long and twelve broad.—DESCRIPTION OF A DOORAUNEE VILLAGE, in a district near Candahar, ELPHINSTONE'S *Cabul*, p. 405.

† Alexander was now in some elevated table-land comprised within the modern Afghaunistan, not farther north than lat. 33°. Not finding any modern traveller who has pictured winter in what may be deemed the same identical region, the translator quotes a notice of a similar climate four or five degrees more to the south, and nearly treble that farther to the east. "In the territory round Phari fortress in the southern part of Tibet, perpetual winter may be said to reign, though in 28° n. lat. Such is the intensity of the frost, that animals exposed in the open air, are found dead, with their heads split open by its force. Wheat is grown for forage, but does not ripen." — HAMILTON'S *Description of India*.

which the nearest objects are with difficulty seen.

11. In this uncultured wild, the destitute army had every variety of ill to endure; scarcity, cold, weariness, despair. The blast of the snow* extinguished life in many; and caused the feet of others to mortify: its white glare perniciously affected the eyes of the majority. Some, having stretched on a bed of ice their exhausted frames, through want of motion, were so stiffened by the activity of the frost, that when they assayed to rise, they were unable.

* BLAST of the snow. The *uredo* of the original will equally bear the sense of BURNING or BLISTERING; and in the natural history of the effects of cold, there are not wanting facts to countenance the notion which either term conveys. An ode of Dr. Watts alludes to an accordant phenomenon, with which the inhabitants of Sarmatia and Scandinavia are familiar: but from the poetical veil of the allusion, it is not generally understood.

Cold steel exposed to northern air,
Drinks the meridian fury of the midnight Bear,
And burns the unwary stranger there.

A good comment on these lines is supplied by a correspondent in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for Feb. 1811. "In the winter season in the northern regions of Europe, it is common for strangers to be invited to put their tongues to cold iron, which instantaneously causes the sensation of burning; were the tongue not immediately withdrawn, the skin would be blistered. I have been informed, that a soldier in the guard-room at Prague, had, during a severe frost, warmed his hands to a glow; and on the guard being suddenly turned out, taking hold of the barrel of the musket, which had been exposed to the external air, the palm of his hand was blistered."

The torpid were lifted up by their comrades: there was no better remedy than compelling them to walk; the vital heat thus excited, the use of their limbs in part returned. Such as could reach a cottage, were restored quickly: but through the density of the atmosphere, huts could be traced out only by the smoke. The inhabitants had never seen a foreigner in their territory; and as their armed visitants suddenly presented themselves, their hearts died with fear: Petitioning to have their lives spared, they produced what their hovels afforded.

The king on foot moved through the troops, raising up the recumbent, and supporting languid stragglers. Proceeding, and rapidly turning, he was present in the van, the centre, and the rear. At length the army steps among patches of land improved by tillage, and a large supply of provisions refreshes it: those who had been unable to keep up, came in while the camp remained here.

12. Hence Alexander moved toward mount Caucasus*. A continuous ridge connected with this mountain divides Asia. Here its peaks overlook the sea which washes Cilicia; there another chain stretches toward the Caspian sea, the river Araxes, and the deserts of Scythia.

* The Hindoo Cos, or Indian Caucasus. — See ADDITIONAL NOTES (L).

Mount Taurus, second in magnitude, rising in Cappadocia, traverses Cilicia, and joins the mountains of Armenia. By so many branches and spurs, closely linked among themselves, a continuous ridge is formed. Thus is Taurus connected with Caucasus. In this entire chain, the sources are traced of almost all the rivers of Asia, which discharge themselves, respectively, into the Erythræan, the Mediterranean*, the Euxine, and the Caspian seas.

The army consumed seventeen days in passing over mount Caucasus. Among its eminences, is a rock ten stadia in circumference, and four in height; to which, according to an ancient tradition, Prometheus† was chained. At the base of the ridge‡, Alexander selected a site for founding a city, which he peopled with seven thousand Macedonian menials, besides soldiers with whose services he could dispense. This also the inhabitants named Alexandria.

* *Hyrcanum mare*.—CURTIUS. Evidently a casual substitution for *Internum mare*, the ancient name of the Mediterranean. The palpable error which the translation corrects, must be ascribed to intermediate MSS.; for Curtius has shown in a previous chapter information superior to it, noticing "Caspian" and "Hyrcanian" as alternative names of the same sea.—*Translation*, vol. ii. p. 88. This therefore is an inductive, rather than a conjectural emendation.

† The mythologists, for the most part, fix Prometheus to the Western Caucasus. Goropius Becanus, in *Indo-Scythicis*, agrees with Curtius; and so do ancient Sanscrit authorities.

‡ See ADDITIONAL NOTES (M).

CHAP. IV.

Bessus flies from Bactriana, which Alexander enters. Single combat between Erigyius and Satibarzanes.

13. BESSUS, terrified by Alexander's expedition, after a sacrifice to the national gods, as the custom is in those regions, at a banquet, deliberated, with his friends and chief-officers, respecting the war. Oppressed with wine, they extolled their own force, and ridiculed the rashness and small number of the enemy. Bessus, above all bold in words, elated with dominion procured by treason, and scarcely master of recollection, thus expressed himself: "From
" Darius' stupidity, Alexander's fame has risen.
" He met our invaders in the defiles of Cilicia,
" when, by retiring, he might have drawn them
" upon places naturally inaccessible; so many
" rivers in the way, so many mountains with
" recesses for ambuscade, — surprised among
" which, the enemy, deprived of the power
" to resist, would have had no opportunity to
" escape. I have determined to withdraw
" into Sogdiana, interposing the river Oxus,
" as a barrier to Alexander, while strong
" reinforcements assemble round my standard

“ from the bordering nations. Coming to my
“ aid are the Chorasmii and the Dahæ, the Sæcæ
“ and the Indians, and the Scythians from be-
“ yond the Jaxartes, who have not among them
“ a man so short that his shoulders are not even
“ with a Macedonian’s head.” The drunken
crew unanimously shouted, that this plan was
wise. Bessus caused the wine to circulate, and
routed Alexander at the table.

14. At the feast was Cobares, a Median, famed
rather as a professor of the magic art, (if it be
an art, and not an illusion on the superstitious,)
than as an adept. He was, in other respects,
reasonable and honest. He began to preface :
‘ He was convinced that it were better for a
‘ servant to obey implicitly, than to offer coun-
‘ sel; since he who obeys fares as the rest, but
‘ the mover of any measure takes a personal
‘ risk.’ Bessus then delivered the cup out of his
hand to Cobares, who, as soon as he had received
it, said : “ It is an unhappy feature in the con-
“ dition of man, that every one is far less saga-
“ cious in his own affairs than in another’s. A
“ tumult of projects and inclinations agitates a
“ mind deliberating with itself: apprehension
“ oppresses it, or avidity misleads it, or self-
“ complacency weds it to a fatal decision. Pride
“ I will not name; it can have no influence
“ over you. You have experienced, that every

“ one deems his own proposition, either alone
“ fit to be entertained, or the best. In the im-
“ perial diadem, you have to sustain a great
“ weight, which must be carried with modera-
“ tion; or, what I solemnly deprecate, it will
“ crush you. Prudence, not impetuosity, is
“ requisite at this crisis.” He then adduced
what were trite remarks among the Bactrians,
The timorous dog barks more fiercely than he bites,
—and, *The deepest rivers glide on with least noise:*
These recorded adages attest, that among Bar-
barians, of whatever description, traces of wis-
dom may be found. When Cobares had thus
awakened the expectation of the auditors, he
delivered advice more salutary to Bessus, than
agreeable: “ The gates of your palace are in-
“ vested by a prince consummately active. He
“ sooner will move his army, than you this table.
“ Is this a time to summon troops from the
“ Jaxartes, or to oppose the invader with rivers!
“ Can you fly whither he cannot follow? Com-
“ mon to both, the way is safer to the victor.
“ Is consternation nimble?—exulting pursuit is
“ swifter. Why do you not court the stronger,
“ and give yourself to his mercy? Follow what
“ will, by submission you must obtain a better
“ lot than by hostility. You wear another’s
“ crown, therefore to part with it is less a hard-
“ ship. You may perhaps begin to reign law-

“ fully, when he shall have made you a king,
“ who can both confer a sceptre, and take it
“ away. You have here faithful counsel, which
“ to press farther were superfluous. The steed
“ of spirit is touched by the shadow of the
“ switch: the jade cannot be stimulated even
“ by the spur.”

Bessus, whose cholerick temper drinking had inflamed, was so infuriated, that he drew his sword, and could hardly be hindered by his friends from killing Cobares. The usurper, as if his reason were impaired, sprung out of the company. Cobares, having escaped in the confusion, went off to Alexander,

15. Bessus' army consisted of eight thousand Bactrians, who, while they imagined that their inclement country would induce the Macedonians to march in preference toward India, remained faithful to him: when Alexander was known to be coming, they deserted Bessus, every one returning to his hamlet. The purpled traitor, with a small dependent retinue, which adhered firmly to him, passed the river Oxus in boats, which he burnt, lest they should avail the enemy. Among the Sogdians, he began to embody a fresh army.

Alexander, as above related, had passed the [Ind.] Caucasus: but the scarcity of corn in his camp almost amounted to famine. With a juice

expressed from the *sesama**, the Macedonians anointed their limbs: but of this juice every amphora† cost two hundred and forty denarii: the price of the same measure of honey, was three hundred and ninety denarii; of wine, three hundred. No wheat, or but a scanty quantity, could be procured. The *siri*, as the Barbarians call their subterranean granaries, are covered in so subtilely, that those only who had excavated, could find them. In these, were buried stores of corn‡. Under the want of which, the sol-

* The botanic name is *SESAMUM*, *oily grain*. There are several species, all natives of the East Indies. The *orientale* has been introduced into many other parts of the world, and is cultivated in Egypt, Syria, Africa, and the warmer climates of America. 1. The seeds form an article of food. 2. The oil, drawn from these, if kept two years, grows mild, and is by some preferred to that from the olive. 3. The herb is applied externally for the cure of cutaneous,* and other diseases, in the form of a fomentation, or of a cataplasm.

By employing the oil as an unguent, the Macedonians probably sought to obviate the consequences of exposure to extreme cold.

Sesamum is very abundant in Afghaunistan.—ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, p. 302. In Syria and Persia, the oil is called *Sharaj*.

† The Roman *amphora* contained forty-eight sextaries, or nearly seven gallons one pint English wine-measure: the Attic amphora contained one third more.

‡ The custom of excavating pits for preserving corn from the influence of the air, as affected by the vicissitudes of dryness and moisture, heat and cold, has been prevalent through all antiquity in India, Persia, and Asia Minor. The construction of them has varied as stone, brick earth, or sand, composed the soil,—as bitumen or lime has furnished the means of keeping out humidity,—and as a hot climate might spontaneously dry the grain to be preserved, or as

diers supported themselves on river-fish and herbs. As these kinds of food presently failed, they were directed to kill their draft-cattle, on which they subsisted till they entered Bactriana.

16. The face of Bactriana is contrastingly diversified. In many places, luxuriant trees and vines yield fruit of fine growth and flavour : numerous springs irrigate a rich soil. The more generous land is sowed with corn ; other fields afford pasturage. Further, great part of the country is deformed by tracts of barren sand, in which a mournful absence of vegetation refuses nourishment to man. When the winds blow from the Indian ocean*, the floating dust is swept into masses, which at a distance assume the appearance of hills. These moveable shoals obliterate all traces of previous roads. Travelers, therefore, through these levels direct their course at night, like mariners, by observation of the stars. The shadowy night is to the full as luminous as the misty day. In the day-time,

coal and other fuel might be applied to that stage of preparation in a cold one. In China, too, subterranean corn magazines have been constructed from time immemorial. One of their most successful methods has been to cut a cavern in the rocks, and to line the sides and bottom with straw mats. In 1820, M. Le Comte De Laysteyrie published a work on this subject, recommending the use of subterranean pits, as an economical substitute for the present public granaries of Paris.

† i. e. from the South. The original has *Pontico mari*, which the Translator regards as an error for *Indico mari*.

this region is impassable, because the tracks, which ought to be followed, are not discoverable, and a dense vapour veils the sun. If one of those winds from the sea overtakes a traveller, it overwhelms him with flying sand.

The cultivated portion of the country is crowded with inhabitants, and well stocked with horses. Bactra, the capital, is situate under mount Parâpamisus; the river Bactrus, which washes its walls, gives name to the city and province.

The king, while encamped here, received intelligence from Greece of the revolt of some of the Peloponnesian cities in concert with the Laconians; for they had not been reduced when Antipater's messengers came away, now arriving with an account only of the first movements of the insurrection. Another — an existing — cause of alarm is announced: the Scythians seated beyond the river Tanais [Jaxartes] are advancing to the aid of Bessus.

17. At the same time is brought a narrative of the proceedings of Caranus and Erigyius in the country of the Arians. The forces having come to action, the renegade Satibarzanes, who commanded the Barbarians, perceiving that the lethargic battle stood equally poised, rode up to the first lines, and stopped the discharge of missiles: taking off his helmet, he spoke aloud a challenge, — If any man was disposed to single

combat, he was ready to fight bare-headed. The Macedonian general, Erigyius, of a great age indeed, but not inferior to any of the young soldiers in strength and courage, could not patiently hear the insolence of the Barbarian. Showing his grey hairs as he lifted up his helmet—"The day is come," he cried, "in which I will, either by victory or honourable death, display what sort of friends and soldiers surround Alexander." He galloped to charge his antagonist. It might have been supposed that both armies had received orders to arrest their darts: both, in the same time, trod backward to form an area; watching, in the result, the fortune not of the combatants only, but of themselves, involved in their leader's danger. The Barbarian launched his spear: Erigyius eluded it by a slight inclination of the head, spurred his horse, and struck his javelin through his adversary's throat, so that the point stood out behind his neck. Fallen from his seat, the Barbarian yet grappled. Erigyius disengaged the javelin, and aimed it into his mouth. Satibarzanes, to avoid a lingering death, grasped the weapon, and assisted the conqueror's thrust.

The Arians, having lost their general, whom they had followed rather from necessity than attachment; and not unmindful of their obliga-

tions to Alexander, delivered up their arms to Erigyius.

The king, while gratified by this success, felt not entirely at ease respecting the Spartans; but he bore their defection with fortitude, observing, ‘ That they had not dared to manifest their designs, till they knew that he was on the frontiers of India.’

He decamped, in order to pursue Bessus; and was met by Erigyius displaying the spoils of Satibarzanes as an opime trophy.

CHAP. V.

Alexander advances into Sogdiana. Spitamenes delivers up Bessus.

18. ALEXANDER having committed the province of Bactriana to Artabazus, left there his baggage under a guard. He in person, with a flying camp, marching by night, entered the deserts of Sogdiana*. Amid a dearth of water, despair of obtaining any, kindled thirst before nature excited it. Throughout four hundred stadia not a drop of moisture springs. The

* He has not yet passed the river Oxus, which Strabo and Ptolemy make the boundary between Bactriana and Sogdiana. Dionysius Periegetes, however, extends a portion of Sogdiana across the Oxus.

exhaling power of a summer sun, which then began to reign, torrefied the sands; every thing is dried up as in a kiln always burning*. Steaming from the fervid earth, a cloudy vapour darkens the day; and the arid plains take the appearance of a vast and deep sea†. Travelling between sun-set and sun-rise is supportable, on account of the dews, and the freshness of the mornings. But the heat which commences at dawn, exhausts the animal juices, blisters the skin, and causes internal inflammation. The soldiers sunk under depression of spirits, succeeded by bodily debility: it was annoying both to halt and to march. Some few, advised by such as knew the country, had provided themselves with water; a temporary relief:—the progressive heat soon rekindled the importunity of parched nature. The stock of wine and oil is distributed to the troops. To drink was so voluptuous, that the soldiers forgot that thirst might recur. They gulped the liquor so greedily, that they became unable to carry their arms, or to march; and those seemed happier, who had pined without water, than these who had swallowed intemperate draughts of wine and oil, which the offended organ of nourishment refused to entertain.

* See PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION, *Testimonies*, No. 4.

† *Glittering with salt*.— See ADDITIONAL NOTES (N).

19. The king, pensive under these disasters, is, by his encircling friends, entreated to remember, that his greatness of mind could alone save the fainting army. At this moment, two of a party who had been sent forward to mark out an encampment, returning with some skins of water to relieve their sons also in the army, in passing along, came into his presence. One of them untied a bottle, filled a cup, and presented it to the king. Alexander, taking it, inquired for whom the water was intended. The man acknowledged, that he was carrying it to his sons. The king, returning the vessel full, said : “ I cannot endure to drink alone, “ and I cannot distribute to every one out of “ so small a quantity. Hasten, and give it to “ your children, for whom you had designed “ it.”

At length he reached the river Oxus about the setting-in of evening. As a great portion of the army had been unable to keep up, he caused fires to be displayed on a mountain-peak, that the distressed in the rear might perceive that they were not far from the camp. Those of the advanced division, after they had speedily refreshed themselves with aliment, he ordered to fill up the bottles, bowls, and every vessel in which water could be carried, and return to relieve their fellow-soldiers. Those who

drank the more immoderately, died : and a greater number perished thus than he had lost in any battle. On his part, without throwing off his armour, or taking meat or drink, he placed himself where the army was coming : nor did he retire to bathe till the last companies had passed. He consumed a sleepless night in anxiety.

The morning light failed to dispel his uneasiness, because it disclosed, along the river's bank, a bare tract, so void of timber, that it disabled him, destitute of boats, from building a bridge. He had a single resource. Skins filled with straw, he distributed to a great proportion of the soldiers : on these they floated across the river. Those who had first passed, took a covering station while the rest ferried over. In thus transporting the army to the opposite bank, six days were exhausted.

20. Alexander was decided to persevere in the pursuit of Bessus, by information of the occurrences in Sogdiana. Among the friends of Bessus, Spitamenes had been courted by the highest honours. But perfidy cannot be humanized by beneficence : his, however, is the less hateful, because in relation to Bessus, the murderer of his sovereign, nothing appears execrable. To colour his treachery, this man professed to avenge Darius : but it was the fortune,

not the crime of Bessus, that provoked the conspirators.

When Spitamenes knew that Alexander had crossed the Oxus, he imparted his design to Dataphernes and Catenes, in whom Bessus reposed eminent confidence : they met his proposal eagerly ; and, having suborned eight robust young men, the party concerted this wily procedure. Spitamenes, with parading secrecy, informs Bessus, ‘ That having discovered Dataphernes and Catenes to be plotting together ‘ to deliver him up alive to Alexander, he, of ‘ his own act, had arrested and bound them.’ Bessus, under obligations for such meritorious fidelity, thanked Spitamenes ; and, impatient to consummate their punishment, gave him an order to lead them in. Their hands having been tied by their own connivance, they were dragged along by their accomplices. Bessus, fixing on Dataphernes and Catenes a sanguinary look, rose to despatch them with his own hand. But the party, dropping the disguise, surround him, bind him, snatch from his head the diadem, and tear his mantle, part of the spoils usurped from his murdered master. He now confessed, ‘ That ‘ the gods are present to punish treason :’ he added, ‘ That they were not unjust to Darius, ‘ whom they thus avenged ; though they were ‘ propitious to Alexander, whose conquests

'were always promoted by his enemies.' It is doubtful whether the mass of the Barbarians would not have rescued Bessus, had not the conspirators awed the wavering, by the pretence that they acted under Alexander's orders. Placed on horseback, they carry him off in progress to deliver him up to Alexander.

Meanwhile, the king separated nine hundred soldiers, whose dismissal was fully due. To the trooper he gave two talents; to the foot-soldier, three thousand denarii: Having exhorted the discharged to become the fathers of families, he sent them home. The rest, promising their hearty services to finish the achievements of the war, obtain his thanks. *

21. He is now near an inconsiderable city, inhabited by the Branchidæ. Their ancestors had betrayed to Xerxes, retiring from Greece, the treasures under their charge, as priests of the Didymean Apollo; and by him had been transplanted from Miletus to this settlement. The Branchidæ had not forsaken the customs, though they had degenerated from the language of their original country, gradually mingling with it a foreign dialect. With extreme joy, they meet the king, and, with themselves, surrender their city.

Alexander convened all the Milesians in his army. The Milesians inherited the ancient

feud against the race of the Branchidæ. Nevertheless, empowered by their liberator to decide, whether the crime of the ancestors, or the Grecian blood of the descendants, should now be remembered, they could not agree in opinion. He then declared, that he would advise with himself. When the parties met the next day, he commanded them to proceed with him to the town. He entered one gate with a light division, ordering the phalanx to surround the place, and, at a signal, to pillage that receptacle of traitors, and slay the race to an individual. In all directions, unarmed people are butchered; nor can similarity of language, nor the veils held up by kneeling suppliants, nor the prayer "Have mercy!" stop one inhuman sword. The walls are dug up from the foundations, that not a trace of the city might remain. Nor yet allayed,—vindictive fury, after felling the consecrated groves, unbeds their roots, that nothing may be left but a barren solitude. Had such cruel extermination been exercised on the perpetrators of the treason, it might have been deemed just vengeance: but here the guilt of the forefathers was expiated by a remote generation, who had never seen Miletus, so far from having betrayed it to Xerxes.

22. Hence Alexander moved toward the Jaxartes. Bessus is now presented, despoiled

of his robes, and bound. Spitamenes led him by a chain affixed to his neck; a sight not less welcome to the Persians than to the Macedonians. "You, sire! and Darius," said Spitamenes, "both my sovereigns, I have avenged. I deliver up to you the assassin of his king, seized in the manner of which he furnished the example. O that Darius could open his eyes to this spectacle! could rise from the shades, as far from deserving that catastrophe, as he greatly merits this consolation." Alexander, having highly applauded Spitamenes, turning to Bessus, cried: "What brutish frenzy instigated thee, first to bind, and then to murder, a prince who merited the best services from thee? But thou hast paid thyself for the enormity, by the title of king." Bessus, not daring to deny his crime, said, 'That he had assumed the regal dignity, to preserve his own country for Alexander: if he had neglected, some one else would have seized the kingdom.'

Alexander called out for Oxathres, Darius' brother, who was among the body-guards. To him he consigned Bessus, to be bereft of his nose and ears, and, pinioned on a cross, to serve as a target to the Barbarian archers, who were also to guard his carcase from the depredations of the birds. All the rest Oxathres undertook

to superintend. The birds, he affirmed, could be kept off only by Catenes, desirous to display his matchless dexterity. Catenes drew at an object with such precision, that the arrow uniformly surprised the flying bird: And notwithstanding his superior management of the bow must have appeared the less admirable, because the weapon is common; yet his performance astonished the spectators, and won him great respect.

Alexander made presents to all those concerned in bringing Bessus: but postponed his execution till they should come to the place where he had killed Darius.



CHAP. VI.

The king is wounded by the Mountaineers. Occupies Maracanda. Embassy from the Abian Scythians. Revolt of Sogdiana and Bactriana, fomented by Spitamenes.

23. MEANWHILE, as Macedonian parties were foraging, careless of military order,—unreduced hordes came down from the neighbouring mountains, and enclosed them. The Barba-

rians having taken prisoners a greater number than they killed, driving their captives before them, returned to the ridge. Twenty thousand, lurking here, lived by plunder: their arms were slings and bows. Alexander besieged them. Fighting among the boldest, he is struck with an arrow, which leaves its barb in the middle of his leg. The afflicted Macedonians bear him back to the camp. Nor were the Barbarians ignorant that the king had been carried from the field, over which they had a commanding view from the height. They sent, therefore, on the following day, deputies to Alexander. He gave them an immediate audience; and, having taken off the bandage to dissemble the severity of the wound, appeared with his leg bare. When commanded to sit down, they said, 'That the Macedonians could not be more afflicted than they were when they knew that he was wounded; and if they could discover who had shot the arrow, they would deliver him up, for only the sacrilegious fight against the gods. That all their nation, overcome by his virtue, submitted to him.' The king accepted the restored captives, and took the tribe under his protection.

24. Decamping, he was conveyed on a military litter, which the troopers and foot soldiers contended for the honour of bearing. The

cavalry claimed it, because the king usually fought at their head; the infantry alleged, that, as it was their office to carry their wounded fellow-soldiers, it was unjust to deprive them of it in the case of the king. Alexander, sensible that it was difficult to decide on their pretensions, and that a preference would be regarded by the rejected party as an injury, directed that they should carry him alternately.

On the fourth day he reached the city Maracanda: the wall is seventy stadia in circumference; the citadel is not surrounded by any outwork*. Having left a garrison in the place, he pillaged and burnt the neighbouring villages.

Deputies arriving from the Abii†, a Scythian community which had been independent

* *Arx nullo cingitur muro.*—CURTIUS. The citadels of Persian walled towns are called by the name of "*Argh*," or "*Ark*." They are generally square, with very high walls, which are flanked by lofty turrets.—MALCOLM'S *Persia*, vol. ii. p. 269, *note*.

Arg (اِڤ) signifies a small castle constructed within a large fortress.—*Berhan Katea*. And Curtius seems to notice the circumstance of the citadel standing by itself as an exception to the general mode.

† The *Αἰίοι* of Homer, *Iliad*, lib. xiii. 6. lost in the lines:—

On milk sustained, and blest with length of days,

The Hippemolgi, justest of mankind.

COWPER.

Pope's Version had likewise treated as an epithet, that word which Strabo and Ammianus Marcellinus, as Warburton's note acknowledges, construed into the proper name of a people. The more correct interpreters of the *Iliad* reduce *πινυμολοι* to an epithet; and when so construed, its import, the *mare-milking race*, is peculiarly characteristic of Scythian manners.

since Cyrus' death, declare their readiness to obey Alexander. They, it is attested, were the most just people among the Barbarians; abstaining from war, unless they were injured; under their attempered and impartial use of liberty, the chiefs, and the humbler ranks, were equals in immunity from wrong. Having promised these his paternal favour, he sent Berdes, of the band of friends, to prohibit the Scythians, dwelling in Europe*, from passing the Tanais, without his orders. He instructed him to survey the situation of their encamping-places, and to visit the Scythians, on the coast of the Cimmerian Bosphorus.

25. Alexander had selected, on the bank of the Tanais, [Jaxartes†] an area, on which he intended to found a city, as a fortified barrier between the tribes recently subdued, and those which he proposed to invade. But this design is suspended by the revolt of the Sogdians, which was followed by that of the Bactrians. There were seven thousand cavalry, by whose

* It is likely that, during this mission, the wall was built at the streits of the Caspian, on its western shore, which tradition attributes to Alexander. The Translator does not consider that Alexander at any time in person, penetrated to the *pass of Derbend*; his progress in Hyrcania, when he was moving in that direction, is described above, *lib. VI. cap. iv. 7. et cap. v.*

† The introduction of the *Tanais*, which was right in the last section, is wrong in this. The conversion of the *Jaxartes* into the *Tanais* by the Greek authors who accompanied Alexander is accounted for in the ADDITIONAL NOTE (O).

authority the others were influenced. Alexander dispatched messengers to Spitamenes and Catenes, who had delivered up Bessus, not doubting that by their services the agitators of the insurrection might be repressed and secured. But they, the secret movers of it, circulated a report, ' That the Bactrian cavalry ' were sent for to be slaughtered; that this ' was their commission, but they were incapable of consummating such an unpardonable ' crime against their countrymen; for they abhorred Alexander's cruelty not less than Bessus' parricide.' The Bactrians, previously inclined, now goaded by the fear of destruction, were without difficulty persuaded to arm.

Informed of the defection of these renegades, the king directed Craterus to invest Cyropolis. He, in person, by the operations of a *military circle*, took another city in the same province: At a signal, the storming parties killed every full-grown male, reserving the other inhabitants as booty: The town was demolished, as an example.

The Memaceni, a powerful community, resolved to sustain a siege, as not only the more honourable, but the safer course. To move their pertinacity; Alexander sent forward fifty horsemen, who were instructed to blazon his clemency towards such as submitted, and his inexorable rage towards such as he was obliged

to conquer. The Memaceni replied, that they doubted, neither of the king's honour, nor of his power. They required the troopers to encamp outside the walls, where they entertained them hospitably. At midnight they assaulted and slew their guests, oppressed with banqueting and sleep.

26. Alexander, whose indignation corresponded to this enormity, surrounded their city by a *military circle*: but it was too successfully fortified to be taken at the first assault. He therefore committed the siege to Meleager and Perdicas; and proceeded with a division to join Craterus, whom we left investing Cyropolis.

This city Alexander had determined to spare altogether. Of Cyrus, its founder, no less than of Semiramis, from contemplation of their magnanimity and effulgent actions, he had imbibed a veneration rising far above his estimate of any other sovereign of the East. The contumacy of the citizens, however, enraged him; therefore, when he had taken, he ordered a chosen party to pillage, Cyropolis; and the Macedonians were, not without cause, severely inclined.

He then returned to Meleager and Perdicas. No garrison made a more vigorous defence than the Memaceni. The bravest of Alexander's soldiers fall: He is personally in

consummate danger, a massy stone strikes his neck; suffused with dimness, his eyes, unconscious, become sealed; his reason sinks under delirium. The army, filled with grief, supposed him to be killed. But, invincible against those occurrences which repel others, without waiting till his wound was cured, he more vigorously pressed the siege, anger promoting his natural celerity. Having made a considerable breach, by mines extended under the wall, he carried the city by storm. Then he caused it to be demolished.

27. He detached Menedemus, with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse, to the city Maracanda, whence Spitamenès had driven the Macedonian garrison. That renegade took refuge within the walls: the inhabitants, without approving, appeared to concur in the revolt, unable to oppose him.

Meanwhile Alexander returned to the bank of the Jaxartes: he there enclosed as much ground as his camp had occupied, in circumference sixty stadia, within a trench, as the foundation of a city. This also he denominated Alexandria. With such expedition the work proceeded, that in seventeen days the fortifications were raised, and the habitations roofed in. The labour had been apportioned to the soldiers, among whom prevailed an emulation, who

should soonest perform his task. Alexander peopled the new city with liberated captives, whose ransoms he paid to their respective owners. And, although ages have since elapsed, their posterity are not yet excluded from consideration, supported by Alexander's memory.

CHAP. VII.

The new city excites the hostility of the Scythians.

The detachment under Menedemus cut off by the revolting Bactrians.

THE chieftain of the Scythians, whose dominion lay beyond the Tanais, regarding the city, newly erected by the Macedonians, as a yoke upon their own necks, sent his brother Cartusis, with an army of horse, to demolish it, and to drive the Macedonian forces to a distance from the river.

28. The Tanais divides the Bactrian Scythians* from the European Scythians, flowing

* Bactrianos Tanais ab Scythis quos Europæos vocant dividit.—CURTIUS. The Translator construes this passage as condensed by an ellipsis, to be thus supplied: *Scythos quos Bactrianos vocant Tanais ab Scythis quos Europæos vocant dividit.* Curtius has said, *supra*, lib. V. cap. x., that Bactriana influenced the third part of Asia; and the "Bactrian Scythians" of the translation may find some countenance in its analogy to the modern compounds "Chinese"—and—"Russian Tartary."

as a boundary between Asia and Europe. From the vicinity of Thrace, one seat of the Scythian nations diffuses itself in a north-westward direction; not bordering on, as some have viewed it, but a part of Sarmatia. Another division of Scythia, extending on one side still farther toward the North, commences from the country of the Alauni situate beyond the Ister, and, sweeping eastward along by Bactriana, reaches to the extremity of Asia. In the remote interior are impenetrable forests and boundless deserts: on the contrary, the banks of the Tanais, and those tracts which look toward Bactriana, are not dissimilar, in their features, from other inhabited countries.

Alexander, on the point of an unforeseen war with these people, when he perceived their horsemen insolently parade in his sight, although he was not recovered from the wound in his neck, and his voice was excessively weakened by the effects of pain, and a low regimen, summoned his friends to council. Not the enemy, but the adverse coincidences of the crisis, alarmed him. "The Bactrians were in rebellion; the Scythians insulted him, when he could neither support himself on foot, nor sit his horse, nor marshal and exhort his troops. In this twofold emergency, he complained to the gods, ' That he was lying inactive, whose expedition heretofore none could escape: his

own soldiers were ready to regard his illness as dissembled.'

Since Darius' overthrow, Alexander had not consulted the magicians, nor the other interpreters of futurity. Returning to a superstition, ridiculous to enlightened minds, he commanded Aristander, whom his credulity invested with precedence, to explore the result of affairs by suitable sacrifices.

29. It was the custom of the diviners to inspect the lobes of the victim apart from the king, and to make a report of their prognostications. While these were reading in the inwards of a ram secret events,—Alexander ordered his friends to draw nearer to him, lest, by the exertion of speaking, he should break the cicatrice, not yet firmly knit. Hephæstion, Craterus, and Erigyius, with his body-guards, had been introduced into his tent. "New hostilities," he began, "engage us at a time more convenient to our enemies than to us: but necessity controuls reason; especially in war, rarely permitting the selection of opportunities. The Bactrians have revolted, while we were affixing the yoke to their necks: and to assay the reality of our courage, they foment another war. Leaving the Scythians, who have come to fight us, we shall be despised by the rebels to whom we return: but if we pass the Tanais [Jaxartes],

“ and show ourselves invincible by the defeat
“ and slaughter of the Scythians, who can doubt
“ that this part of Europe* also will be opened
“ to our victories? He miscalculates, who mea-
“ sures our glory by the space to be traversed.
“ By passing a single river, we carry our arms
“ into Europe. What perfection of honour,
“ while we are subduing Asia, to set up trophies
“ in a new world as it appears! and to connect
“ suddenly by one victory, regions which, for
“ so long a time, nature seems to have kept di-
“ vided! But if we venture on a short delay,
“ the Scythians will harass our rear. Can we
“ alone effect the passage of rivers? Many ex-
“ pedients, through which we have hitherto
“ conquered, will be converted to our annoy-
“ ance. Fortune is teaching the vanquished
“ the art of war. We have recently shown
“ how a river may be passed on skins†; which,
“ if the Scythians do not know, the Bactrians

* As though Scythia were an elongation of Europe, rather than a portion of Asia. The geographical science of the Moderns enables them to correct many errors of the Ancients: but of Independent Tartary, or Central Asia, our knowledge is at this day only comparative; and the travels of Marco Polo, performed towards the close of the thirteenth century, furnish the basis of the delineations of D’Anville. The notes of MARSDEN add greatly to the value of his able translation of MARCO POLO.

† We also saw many persons crossing, or floating down the river [the Indus], on the skins of oxen inflated, on which they rode astride, with most of their bodies in the water. ELPHINSTONE’S *Cabul*, p. 73.

“ will soon teach them. Besides, one army
“ only of Scythians now presents itself; others
“ are expected; so that we nurture the war,
“ by declining it, and such a shock as we may
“ give, we shall, if we pause, have to sustain.
“ The reason of my intention is evident: but
“ whether the Macedonians will permit me to
“ execute my decision, I am in doubt, because
“ they know, that, since this wound, I have
“ been unequal to the exertion of riding on
“ horseback, or of walking. Friends! if you
“ are willing to follow me, I am well. I have
“ strength sufficient to support the fatigue:
“ or, if the term of my life be arrived, in what
“ greater undertaking can I die engaged?”

30. Alexander had been speaking in a voice so low and tremulous, that those nearest with difficulty heard: wherefore, all present endeavoured to divert him from so precipitate an enterprise, and especially Erigyius. This officer, finding argument unavailing against an obdurate purpose, had recourse to superstition, to the influence of which the king was not superior. He affirmed, ‘ That the gods opposed the design, and that extraordinary danger was portended, if the river should be passed.’ Erigyius said this, on the authority of Aristander, who had met him at the entrance of the tent, and told him that the viscera appeared inauspi-

cious. Alexander silenced him ; and, reddening with anger, mingled with shame, because his covert superstition was divulged, ordered that Aristander should be called in. Looking at him, “ No longer a sovereign,” said he, “ I have lost all authority. You received a command from me to offer sacrifice. Why did you disclose to any other than myself what it portended? You have betrayed my secrets to Erigyius, who, I am certain, has employed his own fear to interpret the appearances. As far as a monarch can command, I enjoin you to state truly what you discovered from the victims, that you may not deny what you shall have said.” As a thunder-bolt had fallen near, pale and speechless through terror, stood Aristander :—at length, fear itself prompting him, lest he should farther provoke the king waiting for his reply, he spoke : “ I foretold to be impending, a war difficult, but not unfortunate. Not any discovery from my art, but loyal friendship fills me with concern. I see that your returning strength is not confirmed ; and I am sensible how much depends on you personally. I fear that you cannot support the fatigues which your present fortune annexes to the expedition.” Alexander sent him back to make a second sacrifice, bidding him confide in his happiness ; ‘ For the gods

‘ would vouchsafe other indications, pointing
‘ to glory.’ While the resumed council was
exercised upon the manner of passing the river,
Aristander returned, and reported, ‘ the mani-
‘ festations from the inwards, far different from
‘ the former, to be unequivocally favourable:
‘ then, there was some ground for anxiety;
‘ now, all was eminently propitious.’

31. News, however, immediately afterwards reaches Alexander, of an interruption to his military successes. Menedemus, as above mentioned, had been detached to besiege Spitamenes, the instigator of the Bactrian revolt. Spitamenes, on advice of the enemy’s approach, to avoid being confined within the walls of a town, and expecting to circumvent him, took a station in ambuscade on the way which he knew Menedemus was to come. It lay through a wood adapted to the design. Here he placed the Dahæ: their horses carry each two men completely armed, who alternately dismount; they break the lines of cavalry; the swiftness of the men equals that of the horses.

Spitamenes ordered these troops to spread themselves in a circle through the wood, and at a signal to attack the enemy in front, on the flanks, and in rear. Menedemus, enclosed on every side by superior numbers, maintained a persevering conflict; calling out to his men,

‘ That nothing could have overcome them but
‘ the treacherous adversities of the ground ;
‘ their consolation must be, to die heroically
‘ and amply avenged.’ Mounted on a powerful horse, charging under a loose rein, he had repeatedly broken the wedges of Barbarians with great slaughter. But become the common object of the pressing enemy, and almost drained of blood by numerous wounds, he recommended Hypsides, one of his friends, to take his horse, and save himself by flight. He expired while resigning the animal, from which his corse rolled upon the ground. Hypsides could have effected his escape : but, having lost his friend, he chose to fall. His only care was to make his death expensive to the Barbarians. Spurring his steed, he drove into the midst of the enemy, and, in a combat worthy of emphatic memorial, was killed by a shower of darts. The surviving Macedonians took post on a woody knoll, which was a little higher than the other barrows near : but, blockaded by Spitamenes, famine forced them to surrender. In this action there perished two thousand foot, and three hundred horse ; a loss which Alexander assiduously concealed ; restraining, by the penalty of death, those from divulging it, who returned from the defeat.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander prepares to cross the Jaxartes. Embassy from the Scythians.

32. **BUT** as Alexander could not command his countenance to dissemble, he retired to a tent which he had directed to be pitched on the river's bank. There alone, throughout the night denying himself sleep, he weighed the projects springing in his mind: frequently were the skins of his tent lifted up, that, from the enemies' fires, he might calculate the extent of their multitude.

As soon as the light dawned, he put on his corslet for the first time since the wound in his neck, and showed himself to the troops. Such was their veneration for their king; that his presence dispelled every fearful rumination. They salute him with tears of joy; and demand, with animation, to be led on the expedition from which they had recoiled. He said, that the cavalry and the phalanx must prepare to transport themselves on rafts; and the light-armed, to swim over on skins. It was not necessary to utter more, nor could he in his convalescent state.

With such alacrity the soldiers framed rafts, that in three days they had completed twelve

thousand. Every thing was in readiness for the passage ; when twenty Scythian ambassadors, according to their national usage, riding through the camp, desired that the king might be informed they had a message to him. Introduced, and bidden to sit down, they fixed their eyes earnestly on the king ; I suppose, as they were accustomed to estimate the mind by the dimensions of the body, he seemed little, in their view, to correspond with his fame.

With the Scythians, however, the understanding is not, as with the rest of the Barbarians, left rugged and unformed : some of them are represented to acquire as much knowledge, as can be gained by a people constantly in arms. Tradition states that they thus addressed the king : — Their notions may be repugnant to our minds, familiar with manners and times more cultivated : yet we shall deliver their speech, purely as it has been handed down* ; so that should their eloquence be despised, our fidelity will be unimpeachable : — The eldest of them spoke : —

33. “ If the gods had willed you a body corresponding to your ambition, the world had not contained you : You would have touched the East with one hand, and the West with the

* The Translator has substituted *Jaxartes* for *Tanais* in three places.

“ other; and, reaching beyond the West, you
 “ would have discovered whither the light
 “ of the deity withdraws. As you are, you
 “ covet what you cannot grasp. From Europe
 “ you strike into Asia; and from Asia you pass
 “ to Europe; and when you have vanquished
 “ all the human race, you will make war
 “ on woods, drifts of snow, rivers, and wild
 “ beasts. What! do you not know that lofty
 “ trees take a long while to grow, and may be
 “ cut down in an hour? He is a fool who looks
 “ up at the fruit, without measuring the height:
 “ take care, while endeavouring to climb to
 “ the top, that you do not fall with the branches
 “ in your hands:

“ A lion is sometimes the prey of the small-
 “ est birds: and rust can eat away iron. Nor is
 “ there any thing so strong, as not to be in dan-
 “ ger from something weaker.

“ What have you to do with us? we never
 “ set foot in your country. Ranging in forests,
 “ may we not remain ignorant who you are,
 “ and whence you come? We will not set; ;
 “ we desire not to command.

“ Heaven has given us goods: (that you
 “ may judge of the Scythian nation :) a yoke of
 “ oxen, a plough, an arrow, and a bowl. We
 “ use these, with our friends, and against our
 “ enemies: In common with our friends, we

“ eat the corn obtained by the labour of the
“ oxen ; and, out of the bowl, offer wine to the
“ gods. Our arrows we send to our enemies.
“ For close fight, we have spears. With these,
“ we overthrew the king of Assyria, the king
“ of the Medes, and of Persia ; and opened to
“ ourselves a passage even into Egypt.

“ You, who vaunt that you come to punish
“ plunderers, are the plunderer of every coun-
“ try. You seized Lydia, and Syria ; you hold
“ Persia, and Bactriana ; and you have struck
“ at India. Now, your insatiable and restless
“ hands extend to grasp our flocks. Of what
“ service are riches to you, whose ravening
“ they provoke ; the first, whose hunger is shar-
“ pened by fulness ; as though the more you
“ have the more fiercely you hanker after what
“ you have not.

“ Is it gone out of your mind, how long
“ Bactra detained you ? While you were reducing
“ it, the Sogdians commenced hostilities. With
“ you, each victory is the parent of a fresh war.
“ Although you may be greater and stronger
“ than any, yet no one will long endure an
“ alien master.

“ Pass now the Jaxartes, and you will know
“ how wide the Scythian plains are : never will
“ you overtake the people. Our poverty will
“ be swifter than your army, which carries the

“ spoil of so many nations. Again ; when you
“ imagine us at the greatest distance, you will
“ see us in your camp. With the same rapidity
“ as we fly, we pursue.

“ I am told, that the Scythian deserts are
“ proverbially derided by the Greeks. But we
“ seek unpeopled and uncultivated tracts, in
“ preference to cities and rich provinces.

“ Henceforth hold Fortune with clenched
“ hands ; for she is slippery. Nor will she be
“ detained against her will. Sound advice ap-
“ pears better afterwards, than when it is given.
“ Put a curb on your prosperity ; and it will be
“ guided with less trouble. Our fathers teach
“ us, that Fortune has no feet to stand upon :
“ she has hands and wings : when she stretches
“ out her hands, she suffers not her wings to be
“ confined.

“ If you are a god, you ought to be benefi-
“ cent to mortals, and not take away their pos-
“ sessions. But if you are a man, constantly
“ think on what you are. It is weak, to re-
“ member those things which make you forget
“ yourself.

“ You may employ as faithful friends those
“ whom you shall not invade ; for the firmest
“ friendship is between equals ; and those seem
“ equal who have not tried their strength against
“ each other. Beware of relying on those whom

“ you conquer as on friends : between the despôt
“ and the slave there can be no friendship :
“ even in peace, one is disposed to oppress, and
“ the other to rebel.

“ The Scythians do not ratify an alliance by
“ oaths ; they substitute integrity for swearing.
“ The Greeks, as an assurance, seal treaties and
“ invoke the gods : we show our religion by
“ observing our promises. They who have no
“ respect for men, will engage falsly to the
“ gods. Nor have you need of an ally, of whose
“ good-will you can doubt.

“ In us, you will have centinels guarding
“ both Asia and Europe. Only the Jaxartes
“ separates Bactriana* and Scythia. Beyond
“ the Jaxartes, we occupy regions as far as
“ Thrace ; and Thrace is rumoured to border
“ on Macedonia. Neighbours to both your
• “ empires, consider whether you will have us
“ for friends or enemies.” Thus, the Barbarian.

* Considered as including Sogdiana.

CHAP. IX.

Alexander passes the river, and defeats the Scythians. Receives the submission of the Sacæ. Returns, and divides his army into brigades to chastise the revolters.

34. THE king answered, ‘ That he should be
 ‘ guided by his fortune, and the counsel of his
 ‘ friends; by his fortune, because he had con-
 ‘ fidence in it; and by the counsel of his friends,
 ‘ that he might not do any thing rashly.’ The
 ambassadors dismissed, he embarked his army
 on the floats prepared. In the prows, he sta-
 tioned targeteers, in a kneeling *Olymp. cxii. 4.*
 position, that they might be less *A. C. 328.*
 exposed to the enemy’s arrows. *Ætat. Alex. 28.*
 Next to these, stood such as had *Reg. 9.*
 to work the military engines; *Imp. 3.*
 enclosed, on each side and in front, by men
 completely armed. Posted behind the engines,
 the rest, by a tortoise of shields, protected the
 rowers, who wore armour. The same order
 prevailed in the rafts which transported the
 cavalry: the major part drew along, by the
 bridle, their horses swimming at the stern.
 Those who were buoyed over on skins
 stuffed with straw, were sheltered behind the
 rafts:

With chosen attendants, the king was the first to unmoor his float. He ordered a movement to the opposite bank. The Scythian advanced lines of horse stood at the water's edge, to prevent the rafts from being laid on the beach. Besides an army in array guarding the bank, a serious consternation assailed the floating forces; for the steersmen could not direct the course of the rafts, impelled obliquely by the stream,—and the soldiers, staggering, apprehensive that they should be shaken off, disturbed the rowers. Nor could they launch their javelins with a spring, more solicitous to stand securely, than to annoy the enemy. They were preserved by their military engines, bolts from which were shot with effect upon the Barbarians, crowded together, and rashly exposing themselves. On their part, the Barbarians discharged clouds of arrows on the rafts; so that there was scarcely a shield unpierced with multiplied barbs.

35. At length the rafts begin to lean on the shore; when the front men, with shields, rising together, cast their javelins with a more certain aim and a freer spring. The Scythian horse treading backward in terror,—the Macedonians, encouraging each other, leap with alacrity on land; and press, with a quick step, upon the confused enemy. Such troops of horsemen, then, as had their chargers bridled, broke the Barbarian line. Meanwhile, the rest of the

army, covered by those who were engaged, prepared for action.

Alexander, whose neck was not yet well cicatrized, compensated by energy of mind, for deficiency in bodily vigour. While his languid voice was wasting exhortations in the air unheard, all could see how gallantly he fought: All, therefore, discharged the general's part; and one animating the other, reckless of personal safety, rushed upon the enemy. The Scythians, hereupon, unable to sustain the aspect, shouts, and weapons of the Macedonian army, took to flight, at full gallop, for their whole line was cavalry. The king, although his enfeebled frame unfitted him for great exertion, pursued them in person eighty stadia. Becoming now faint, he ordered his men to continue the pursuit while day-light lasted. Having quite exhausted his spirits, he recovered himself in the camp, where he halted a remnant [of soldiers left in the rear].

The troops had already passed the bounds of Bacchus; of which the monuments were—piles of stone, thickly scattered at irregular intervals*; and lofty trees, around whose trunks twined the ivy. Rage impelled the Macedonians farther; so that when they returned into camp, it was near midnight. They had killed

* These monuments apparently resembled the Druidical remains at Stonehenge.

many, taken prisoners more, and brought away eighteen hundred horses. But of the Macedonians there fell sixty troopers, and a hundred infantry, and a thousand were wounded.

36. This expedition, the fame of so opportune a victory, disarmed and restrained a great portion of the Asiatics, who were revolting, or meditating revolt; for, having regarded the Scythians as invincible, they now acknowledged that no nation could withstand the Macedonian arms.

The Sacæ, hereupón, sent an embassy to Alexander, undertaking to obey his mandates. These were moved, not more by the king's bravery, than by his clemency towards the Scythæ, to whom he had returned all their prisoners without ransom, that the fiercest of the Barbarian tribes might know, that he had not fought from animosity, but to vindicate his reputation. Alexander, having received the Sacæan ambassadors as friends, gave them, out of his train, as a companion home, Excipinus, a young man in the bloom of life, who equalled Hephæstion in a handsome exterior, but by no means in manly wit.

The major part of the army left under Craterus, whom he commanded to follow by easy marches,—the leader of the Greeks and Macedonians arrives at Maracanda. Spitamenes, apprised of his coming, had fled to Bactra. The

king had traversed an extended distance in four days, reaching the place where Menedemus had been cut off, with two thousand foot and three hundred horse: their collected bones he interred in a mound; and to their manes offered sacrifices according to the national rites.

Craterus, with the phalanx, now joined. The king, in order to crush simultaneously all who had revolted, divided his army into brigades, which he ordered to burn the country, and kill the males of an age to bear arms.

CHAP. X.

Alexander pardons thirty Sogdian nobles. Is reinforced. Founds six cities in Bactriana Latior.

37. SOGDIANA is, for the greater part, uninhabited; the barren wastes extending nearly eight hundred stadia in breadth. Its length is disproportionately greater than its width. Through it, rolls a rapid river, called by the inhabitants the Polytimetus. Its approaching banks confine it in a narrow channel. At length, received into a cavern*, the subterra-

* Strabo, lib. 11; and Arrian, lib. 4, make the river to enter the deserts, and to be absorbed among the sands.

nean torrent rushes on with a noise indicating its course, although there is no evaporation from the ground under which this considerable volume of water flows.

Among the captive Sogdians brought before the king, were thirty nobles, endowed with uncommon bodily strength. Understanding, by an interpreter, that the fiat for their execution was pronounced, they began by singing, dancing, and unrestrained gesticulations, to express delight. Alexander, astonished at their hardihood, ordered them to be brought back. To his inquiry respecting the motive to such extravagant mirth, with death before their eyes, they answered, ' That the fatal doom from any other would have oppressed them : but to be dismissed to their ancestors by the great conqueror of the world, was an honourable death, which brave men might devoutly desire ; and they were celebrating it with hymns of joy.' " Then I demand," rejoined the king, " whether ye will act as my friends, in return for the boon of life?" Hereupon, they affirmed, ' That they had never been his enemies : they had resisted invasion. If any one would try them by good offices instead of injuries, they were ready for the generous contest, and anxious not to yield.' — " What pledge," said Alexander, " will you deposit for your fidelity?" —

“ That life,” exclaimed they, “ which we receive, shall be the pledge: we will render it when you require.” Nor did they violate their promise; for the individuals sent home, retained the natives in allegiance to Alexander; and the four, received into the body guards, were below none of the Macedonians in sincere loyalty.

38. Having stationed Peucolaus in Sogdiana, with three thousand men, for a greater garrison was not requisite, — Alexander proceeded to Bactra. He commanded that Bessus should be conveyed thence to Ecbatana, there to suffer death for the murder of Darius.

About this time, Ptolemy and Menidas brought a subsidiary force of three thousand foot, and one thousand horse. Alexander also arrived with the same number of foot, and five hundred horse from Lycia. A similar reinforcement was conducted by Asclepiodorus from Syria. Antipater had sent eight thousand Greeks, including five hundred cavalry.

With his augmented army, the king proceeded to restore order in the revolted provinces; and, having punished with death the leaders of the commotions, he, in four days, regained the banks of the Oxus*. This river bears along so much slime, that its water,

* Arrian places the time of these transactions just after mid-winter.

always turbid, is unwholesome to drink. The soldiers, therefore, began to sink wells: but, although they had pierced to a great depth, could not find a spring. At length, a spring was perceived in the royal tent: Because it had not been immediately noticed, the discoverers imagined that it was risen up on a sudden; and Alexander was willing to have it contemplated as a present from heaven*.

Having passed the Ochus as well as the Oxus†, he came to the city Marginia. In its vicinity, he selected areas for constructing six new cities; two seated toward the South, and four toward the East; at moderate intervals, that the garrisons might not have far to go for mutual aid; on lofty eminences, that they might awe the conquered. Now, their origin forgotten, these cities obey whom they governed‡.

* Arrian, and Eustathius *ad Dionys. v: 747*, with Plutarch *in Alex.* and Strabo, lib. 11, overwhelm us with the marvellous. The two latter give us a fountain of oil; the two former, a spring of oil and water.

† *Superatis deinde omnibus Ocho et Oxo.* — CURTIUS. By a retrospective turn, the river which was last crossed, is the first mentioned.

‡ The Greek dynasty of Bactrian kings had extended their conquests in India beyond Alexander's, during the next century. Then a powerful horde of Tartars, pushed by a more numerous body from their native seats near China, overwhelmed the dominions of the Greeks in Bactriana, after it had subsisted, during six successive reigns, near 130 years. — *Robertson's Disquisition concerning India*, edit. 1804, p. 36, 37.

CHAP. XI.

Escalade of a rock.

39. AFTER the other places had submitted, Arimazes, a Sogdian, with thirty thousand men, kept possession of a rock, in which were laid up two years' provisions. The acclivity of the rock is thirty stadia; and the circumference, one hundred and fifty: on every side craggy and shelving, it can be ascended only by a narrow path. Midway up, is a cavern, which a contracted entrance renders dark; the interior gradually expands, and terminates in deep recesses. The cavern is full of springs, whose united waters rush, a river, down the declivity of the mountain.

A survey of the local difficulties had determined the king to leave this rock unattempted: he was, afterwards, seized by a desire to reduce a hold fortified by nature. Previously to undertaking the siege, he however sent Cophas, a son of Artabazus, to move the Barbarians to surrender. Arimazes, confiding in the strength of the place, treated the application haughtily; and at length asked, 'If Alexander could fly?'

Communicated to the king, this incensed

him. In council, having mentioned the sarcasm of the Barbarian, "By to-morrow night," said he, "I will convince the enemy that the Macedonians can even fly. Bring me, selected from your respective battalions, three hundred of the most agile young soldiers, such as, at home, have been accustomed to drive sheep along almost impassable ways over rocks."

40. They promptly brought him men excelling in lightness of form and ardour of mind. Viewing them, "Generous youths," said the king, "my equals in courage, with you I have forced towns till then impregnable, have traversed mountain-ridges encrusted with perpetual snow, have penetrated the defile of Cilicia, and have endured without shrinking the virulent frosts of India*. I have given you proof of myself; I have had proof of you. The rock, as you perceive, has a single approach, which the Barbarians guard: the other sides of it they neglect; keeping watch only toward our camp. If you explore the crags with skill, you will find passages leading to the top. Nature has constructed nothing too high for you to climb. By undertaking what others despaired of, we have become masters

* Curtius announces to India, the ridges of the Parapamisus, the country of Arachosia, and other tracts bordering on India, but on this side the Indus.

“of Asia. Work up to the peak; and wave
“thence white streamers, as a signal to me that
“you have gained it. My advancing forces
“shall then draw the enemy’s attention from
“you to us. The reward of the first who as-
“cends to the summit, shall be ten talents; of
“the second, a talent less; diminishing in this
“proportion to the tenth. I am confident, that
“my intimated wish will influence you more
“than my liberality.”

They listened to the king, as though they stood already exulting on the peak. Dismissed, they furnished themselves with iron pins to wedge between the fissures of the stone, and with strong ropes. The king rode round to that part of the rock, which appeared most practicable; and, at the second watch, ordered them to enter on the attempt, and committed them to the protection of the gods.

41. Carrying two days’ provision, and armed only with their swords and spears, they began to step up the ascent. When they came to the rougher acclivities,—some, by their hands grasping the jutting stones, hoisted themselves up; assisted by ropes with sliding knots, others climbed, having fixed iron pins in the clefts *

* By driving the iron pins into congealed snow, and then fastening to them the ropes, they gradually hoisted themselves up the mountain. *Arrian*, lib. iii.—This appears less comprehensible, and less probable.

for occasional footing. The day-light was consumed in fear and labour. The more arduous steeps surmounted, the adventurers took breath; and the rock seemed to grow in height. It was a heart-rending spectacle, when some, whose feet loose crags deceived, tumbled headlong down the precipice; showing to others what fate they were presently to meet. Overcoming every difficulty, the greater part struggled to the top. Of these, all were sorely fatigued by protracted exertion, and several were bruised and maimed: but night and sleep surprised the latter, equally with their companions. Stretching themselves, here and there, on the rough shelving stones, oblivious of the awful peril of their stations, they reposed till morning.

At length, awaking from their profound sleep, they surveyed vallies hidden from the world below, ignorant in what part of the rock the great force of the enemy could lie concealed, till the smoke, rolling out underneath, discovered their caverned dwellings. The bold adventurers displayed on their spears the concerted signal; and found, that of their full number thirty-two were missing.

* Collins has an image of corresponding terror, in his *Ode to Fear* :

Or lays him, on the ridgy steep
Of some loose hanging rock, to sleep.

The king, not more impatient to reduce the place, than anxious respecting the condition of those whom he had exposed to manifest danger, had, during the whole day, watched the pinnacles of the mountain, departing to take refreshment, only when night prevented the inquiry of his eyes.

42. Next morning, he was the first to descry the flying signals, that his men had ascended to the peak. But the varying complexion of the sky, now brightened with the solar blaze, and now clouded, made him suspect the accuracy of his sight, till the clearer day dispelled all doubt. Cophas, by whom he had before assailed the resolution of the Barbarians, he dispatched—To admonish them, now at least to take a safer course: if they still relied on their impregnable recess, to show them the soldiers, who had seized the principal height in their rear. In an interview with Arimazes, Cophas urged him to surrender: ‘He would acquire Alexander’s favour, if he did not detain him from proceeding to nobler objects, by the siege of a single rock.’

The Barbarian, more fiert and insolent than before, commanded Cophas to be gone. But Cophas, taking Arimazes by the hand, prevailed on him to step out of the cave: he pointed to the detachment occupying the top of the rock, and told him, a retort not undeserved, that Alexan-

der's soldiers had wings. In the camp of the Macedonians, at this moment, the trumpets sounded, and the army sent up joyous acclamations. This (frequently, in war, vapouring demonstrations have great influence) induced the Barbarians to surrender: Seized with terror, they could not estimate the trivial force looking down on their rear. Cophas, whom they had quitted, they called back with trembling haste. Accompanying him, they send thirty chiefs to deliver up the rock, under the stipulation that they might retire unhurt.

Notwithstanding, Alexander was not unapprehensive, that the Barbarians, discovering the small number of his men, might hurl them down from the precipice; yet incensed at Arimazes' arrogant answers, and confiding in his fortune, he refused to grant conditions. Arimazes, despairing of his situation before it was lost, descended into the camp, with his relatives, and nobles: all whom Alexander caused to be whipped, and crucified at the foot of the rock. The multitude, with the money taken, were given to the inhabitants of the new cities. Artabazus was nominated to guard the rock, and the adjacent tracts.

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK VIII.

DEATH OF CLITUS. ALEXANDER'S MARRIAGE WITH
ROXANA. CONSPIRACY OF HERMOLAUS. BATTLE
WITH PORUS.

CHAP. I.

*Embassies from Scythian nations: New revolts
extinguished. Hunting match: Alexander
kills Clitus.*

1. ALEXANDER added to the extent, rather than to the lustre, of his fame, by the reduction of the rock. As the scattered enemy required his forces to be diffused, he divided his army into three bodies: One was commanded by Hephæstion; one by Cænos; and one he led in person. Of the Barbarians, some were compelled to submission by defeat; the majority surrendered without an engagement: to the latter, he distributed the towns and lands of such as had persisted in rebellion. But the exiled Bactrians,

with eight hundred Massagetæan horse, ravaged the neighbouring villages. To repress these disorders, Attinas, governor of the province, marched with three hundred horse, ignorant of the ambuscade concerted for him. In thickets skirting the plain, the enemy had concealed troops; a few men in view, driving cattle, were to allure Attinas into the snare. These the Macedonian officer followed, in disorder, plundering. When he had passed the wood, the ambuscade, making an unexpected assault, cut him off with all his men. The disaster was speedily reported to Craterus, who repaired to the scene of it with his whole cavalry: the Massagetæ had already fled; but he slew a thousand of the Dahæ, and thereby terminated the revolt throughout the province.

Alexander, in like manner, having again reduced the Sogdians, returned to Maracanda.

2. Here Berdes, whom he had sent to the Scythians inhabiting the banks of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, met him with the ambassadors from that nation. These requested Alexander, 'To accept in marriage the daughter of their king; or, should he reject that alliance, to permit the Macedonian nobility to intermarry with the chief Scythian families. They assured him, that their king would in person visit him.' At the same time, Phrataphernes,

governor over the Chorasmii, who bordered on the Massagetæ and the Dahæ, by messengers, acknowledged Alexander's sovereignty. Both embassies were received courteously.

The king remained encamped, waiting for Hephæstion and Artabazus: when these had joined, he marched into a district called Bazaría.

Of the barbarous splendour prevailing in these parts, there are no stronger marks, than the extensive forests, in which are shut up untamed beasts of the grandest kind. A spacious wood, in which numerous unfailing springs give cheerfulness to the scenery, is selected, encompassed with a wall, and interspersed with towers for the reception of the hunters. In one park, it was said, the game had remained undisturbed during four generations*. Alexander, entering it with

* *Ætatibus*. CURTIUS.—The ancient Greeks limited an *age* to thirty years, as appears from Porphyry in *quest. Homer.* and Eustathius, *ad Homer. Iliad.* i. 251, where three *ages* are ascribed to Nestor. Plutarch, in *Catone Majore*, appears to use *age* in the same sense. Herodotus, in *Euterpe*, compresses *three ages* into a hundred years. Similar is the computation of Clemens of Alexandria, *Strom.* lib. i. of Herodian, iii. 26. It would also appear, that, among the Greeks, the word *age* must sometimes bear a construction less definite than even *generation*; for Diodorus reckons, from Caranus the first king of Macedon to Alexander the Conqueror of Persia, *sixteen ages*, which cannot be understood otherwise than as the *successive reigns* of as many kings. It is true, indeed, that the Roman poets translated the “three ages” of Homer as *three secula*;

his whole army, commanded, that the beasts throughout it should be roused from their lairs. A lion of uncommon size was bounding toward the king: Lysimachus, who afterwards was a sovereign, happening to be next to Alexander, prepared with his hunting-spear to receive the animal. Alexander refused his assistance, and commanded him to stand aloof, adding, "I am as able, singly, to kill a lion as Lysimachus." Lysimachus had, by himself, formerly, at a chase in Syria, overcome a very large lion; but the beast endangered his life, and tore his left shoulder to the bone. The king, taunting him in allusion to this, acted more nobly than he spoke; for he not only parried the spring which the lion made, but dispatched him at one stroke. The fabulous story *, respecting Lysimachus being

and though *seculum* itself fluctuated in import from "twenty" to a "thousand years," yet Ovid, *Metam.* xii. has fixed his own conception of Homer's "ages" to be *centuries*;

Vixi

Annos bis centum; *nunc* tertia *vivitur* ætas.

Poets love to amplify. But as Curtius, deriving his materials from Greek sources, must be considered, with some qualifications, as a translator, I think that the construction-put upon his *ætas*, should be occasionally regulated rather by the usage of Greek than Latin writers.

* The representation which Curtius rejects as a fiction, briefly is—That Lysimachus, having saved Callisthenes from the torture, by giving him poison, was shut up in a den with a lion, by Alexander's order; the intended victim folded his hand in his robe, thrust it into

exposed to a lion, by command of Alexander, took its rise, I am inclined to believe, from the incident above related.

Although Alexander acquitted himself happily in his bold attempt, yet the Macedonians, in right of their national custom, decreed, That the king should not be permitted to hunt on foot, nor unattended by his chief nobility and friends.

Having speared four thousand wild animals, he gave a feast to his whole army in the forest.

3. Thence he returned to Maracanda. Artabazus' venerable excuse accepted, he transferred the province to Clitus. He it was, who, at the Granicus, when Alexander was fighting with his head bared, covered him with his shield, and struck off the hand of Rhæsaces, whose sword was descending on the king's head. A veteran under Philip, he had distinguished himself by many martial deeds. His sister Hellanice, who had nursed Alexander, was beloved by the king as a mother. For these causes, Alexander con-

the lion's mouth, and plucked out his tongue. When Alexander was informed of the exploit, his rage was turned into admiration of Lysimachus' intrepidity. This account, of which Pausanias, lib. i. gives the basis, is repeated with variations, or adverted to, as true, by Seneca, *De Ira*, lib. iii. et *De Clementia*, lib. i. by Pliny, viii. 16, by Justin, lib. xv. by Valerius Maximus, ix. 3, who, with Pausanias, alledge that it is confirmed by the coins of Lysimachus. See Lazius, p. 447.

fided to his guardianship the most warlike division of the empire.

Having ordered him to prepare for his charge on the following day, he invited him to a splendid banquet, at which the king, when he was heated with wine, began an unrestrained eulogy on his own actions, offensive even to such as were sensible that he recited truths. The elder guests, nevertheless, endured him in silence, till he began to disparage the achievements of Philip: "It was MY work"—he vaunted—"the noble victory of Chæronea: my father, from malevolence and envy, took to himself the glory: He, just before, in the sedition that arose between the Macedonians and mercenary Greeks, lay disabled by a wound in the tumult, to save himself, pretending to be dead: I protected him with my shield, and killed, with my own hand, enemy after enemy rushing on him. Which service he never candidly acknowledged, abhorring to owe his life to his son. Therefore, after the expedition which I conducted alone against the Illyrians *, I, the victor, wrote to him, *That the enemy were slain and routed, and Philip had never been present* †. The men worthy to be extolled,

* Vol. I. p. 53.

† To mark strongly a vein of fatuity, the effect of Circean intoxication, is the best apology for such a disgusting speech.

“ are not those who were prying into the Samo-
“ thracian mysteries, when they should have
“ been burning and ravaging Asia, but those
“ who, by the vastness of their exploits, sur-
“ pass belief.”

4. These, and similar sallies, titillated his young auditors: but the senior officers felt the affront to the memory of Philip, under whom had passed the greater part of their lives. Then Clitus, not himself firmly sober, turning to those who reclined below him, recited some verses from Euripides, in such a tone, that they might be rather heard than understood by the king. These lines *deplored the custom among the Greeks of inscribing on trophies the names only of their commanders, who thereby arrogated to themselves alone, the glory won by the blood of others.* The king, suspecting the words to be invidiously applied, inquired, of those nearest, what Clitus had said. They maintained a resolute silence: but Clitus, raising his voice, commemorated Philip's actions, and the wars in Greece, extolling them above any present successes.

This caused a dispute between the younger warriors and the veterans. During which, the king, as though he patiently heard the comparisons by which Clitus was derogating from his honours, let his fearful rage burn inwardly. He

appeared ready to practise self-controul, if Clitus would discontinue his insolent discourse : but it proceeded, tempered in nothing ; and he became more highly incensed.

5. Now, Clitus even presumed to vindicate Parmenio ; and, impelled by a sullen spirit of contention, as well as by inebriety, eulogized Philip's victory over the Athenians as a brighter exploit than the destruction of Thebes. At length, addressing himself directly to Alexander—" When it is requisite to risk life for you, " Clitus is permitted to stand first : But when " you distribute the fruits of victory, they bear " away the chief rewards, who most contempt- " tuously insult your father's memory. On me " you confer the province of Sogdiana, so re- " peatedly rebelling, at this hour unreduced, " and which never can be subdued. My last " days are consigned to wild animals, whom " nature disposes to turbulence—But I wave " whatever relates to myself. You traduce all " the soldiers of Philip ; forgetting, that had " not Atharias, here present, rallied the junior " bands, who were stealing from the field, we " might have been sitting now before Halicar- " nassus. How then have you conquered Asia " with these youngsters ? I believe, that your " uncle in Italy said truly, that he met with " men, and you with women."

Of all the unadvised random-strokes of Clitus, nothing more provoked Alexander than the honorary introduction of Parmenio's name. Yet the king suppressed his resentment, satisfied with commanding him to quit the company: Nor added any thing farther than—"I suppose, had he continued to talk on, he would have reproached me with my life saved by his means, the frequent subject of his arrogant boasting."

But as Clitus delayed to rise, the guests on the next couches sprung to hand him up; and, remonstrating with him on his duty, endeavoured to lead him out. When he felt compulsion used, anger augmenting his former violence, he cried aloud: "His back was sheltered by MY breast! but the time when so great a service was rendered is past, even the recollection of it is odious!" Clitus then upbraided Alexander with the death of Attalus. Further, deriding the oracle of the Egyptian Jupiter, whose son Alexander had proclaimed himself, he said: "I make you truer responses than your father."

6. Now the king was stung by such an accretion of ire, as it had been difficult to repress, had his reason, overpowered, not been affected, by the phrenzy of the grape. He leaped from his couch. His friends, in amaze, not setting

down their goblets, but throwing them away, started up, watching the result of his impetuous deportment. Having snatched the javelin of a lance-bearer, he aimed it at Clitus, who was pouring out an unabated flow of intemperate language: the king's arm was arrested by Ptolemy and Perdiccas, who clasped and detained him, persisting to struggle with them, till Lysimachus and Leonnatus had taken the weapon from him. Alexander invoked the fidelity of his soldiers, and exclaimed: "I am seized, as Darius was, by intimate friends! By sound of trumpet, call my troops armed to the place!" Then Ptolemy and Perdiccas, kneeling at his feet, entreated 'Him not to proceed with precipitate anger, but allow himself time to reflect: in the morning, he might decide and execute with more justice.' But he could listen only to revenge. Infuriated, he flew to the vestibule of the pavilion, took a spear from a centinel, and placed himself at the portal through which those who had supped with him were obliged to pass. The rest departed; Clitus was coming last, without a light. The king asked, 'who he was?' in a tone manifesting his fell purpose. Clitus, his own passion now having subsided, mindful only of the king's, answered, "It is Clitus retiring from the banquet." At these words, Alexander pierced

him through; and, bedewed with the blood of his dying friend, said: "Go thou, now, to Philip, Parmenio, and Attalus."

CHAP. II.

Alexander repents of the murder of Clitus. Marches into Xenippa. Engagement with the exiled Bactrians. Surrender of the rock of Sysimithres in Naura. Memorable death of Philip.

7. THE human mind is unhappily endowed in this,—We, for the most part, neglect to weigh consequences till we have acted. Thus the king, when his anger had subsided, and the madness of intoxication past, too late estimated the enormity of his crime. His reflections were bitter—I have killed an associate, whose last conversation abused the licenses of a feast, but who was a consummate soldier, and, but I have been ashamed to acknowledge it, the saviour of my life:—I have degraded the king, by invading the odious province of the executioner:—a few intemperate words ascribable to wine, I have chastised by a foul murder; have stained

the entry of my tent, by the blood of a friend whom I invited to supper.

The centinels, petrified with horror and astonishment, stood aloof; and the still solitude in which the king was left, invigorated his remorse. The spear, drawn out of the extended corse, he pointed toward his own body; he was advancing it to his breast, when the guards fly up, and wrest it from his hands. Soothing, they bore him into the pavilion.

He there flung himself on the ground, and the royal quarters resounded with his audible grief. He lacerated his face with his nails; and implored his attendants not to let him survive a deed so dishonourable:—in such entreaties he consumed the whole night.

Meditating, whether the displeasure of the gods might not have impelled him to the crime, he recollected, that he had not offered the anniversary sacrifice to Bacchus; and his perpetration of murder in an hour of festivity, he concluded to be an indication of the wrath of that deity.

8. Above all, he was grieved to see the stupefaction of his friends; fearing no one would in future venture to converse with him, and that he should live, insulated, as the wild beasts, which, alternately, are scaring passengers, and shrinking under fright.

As soon as it was day, he ordered the gory corse to be brought into his tent. When it was placed before him, "This grateful return," he said, with tears, "I make my nurse, whose two sons sacrificed their lives for my glory at Miletus. To their bereaved parent, this brother was the only comfort—I have murdered him at my own table. How will this unhappy woman support herself? Of all belonging to her, I alone survive; me she will not be able to behold without horror. Can I, the assassin of those who preserved my life, return to my country; where, if I stretch out my right hand to my nurse, it will call to mind her calamity?"

As his expressions of sorrow appeared interminable, his friends caused the body to be taken away.

Secluded, the king lay three days. At length, the lance-bearers and guards of the presence, perceiving that he was obstinate in courting dissolution, broke all at once into his chamber. By continued entreaties, they overcame his reluctance to take food.

The Macedonians, in order to diminish the confusion of the king, voted that Clitus had been justly killed, and would have deprived the corse of sepulture, had not the king ordered it to be buried.

11 He remained ten days at Maracanda, chiefly to recover his countenance. The province which he had destined for Clitus, he, then, gave to Amyntas [the son of Nicolaus]; sent a detachment under Hephæstion into Bactriana, to provide victualling stores against the winter; and marched in person into Xenippa.

9. This district borders on Scythia, and contains a great many well-peopled villages. Its fertility not only cherishes the children of the soil, but attracts strangers to settle there.

The Bactrians who had revolted from Alexander, in exile, had retired thither. But, on intelligence of his approach, expelled by the inhabitants, two thousand two hundred of them collected in a body. They were all cavalry, accustomed even in peace to subsist by depredation; a state of war, and despair of pardon, aggravated their natural ferocity. They therefore unexpectedly attacked Amyntas, Alexander's administrator: The conflict was long doubtful: At length, having lost seven hundred men, of whom three hundred were prisoners, they took to flight. Not unrevenged, they had killed eighty Macedonians—and wounded three hundred and fifty. Notwithstanding this was not their first insurrection, they obtained an amnesty, and were received into allegiance.

The king, with his whole army, came now to a district denominated Naura. Its satrap, Sysimithres, had two sons by his own mother; for, in these regions, the imperfect law does not forbid parents from intermarrying with their children*. Where the streits, leading into the country, converge to a point, two thousand militia had thrown up a strong bulwark: in its front flowed a rapid river: the rear was barred by a rock, through which the manual labour of the inhabitants had excavated an avenue;—at its aperture penetrated by the splendour of day, dark in the interior unless the traveller carry a light, this continuous tunnel opens, to the plains, a passage known only to the natives.

Notwithstanding this defile, naturally strong, was guarded by the Barbarians,—Alexander levelled, with his battering-rams, the mounds which they had added; and, with slings and bows precipitated numbers of combatants from the heights, or, wherever distributed, caused them to fly. Over the ruined works, he then advanced his army to the rock.

10. The intervening river was a collection of streams, descending from the lofty peak into

* These nations had not been civilized, had they not been vanquished by Alexander. He taught marriage to the Hyrcanians, and agriculture to the Arachosii: he instructed the Sogdians to maintain, and not to kill, their parents; the Persians to respect, and not to marry, their mothers; the Scythians to bury, and not to eat, their dead. *Gillies after Plutarch.*

the valley. It appeared a great undertaking, to fill up so deep a ravine. Alexander, however, ordered trees to be felled, and massy stones to be piled. The Barbarians, unacquainted with such works, were panic-struck, as they beheld the pier rapidly ascend. The king, hence expecting that their trepidation might induce them to surrender, sent Oxartes, of the same nation, but under his protection, to persuade the governor to deliver up the rock. Meanwhile, to augment their terrors, he presented his turrets, and shot up javelins from his engines. They hereupon, distrusting every other fastness as untenable, went up to the summit of the rock.

Oxartes pressed Sysimithres, who was trembling over his affairs, ‘ Rather to make trial of the good faith of the Macedonians, than their power, nor impede the career of a victorious army, stretching into India; which, whoever should oppose, would bring on his own head the ruin designed for another.’

Sysimithres, on his part, consented to surrender: but his mother, who was also his wife, declaring that she would die before she would come into the power of any enemy,—he veered round to measures honourable rather than safe, ashamed that liberty should be prized more highly by women than by men. The herald of peace he therefore dismissed, resolving to sustain the

siege. But, weighing the strength of the enemy against his own, he repented of having adopted a woman's proposition, which appeared unnecessarily violent. Having in haste called back Oxartes, he said: "I commit myself to the king's decree." He requested the mediator, 'To forbear any report of the counsel given by his mother, that her pardon might be more easily obtained.' Oxartes sent forward, Sysimithres followed with his mother, children, and a crowd of other kindred, not staying for the security from the king which his messenger had promised.

11. Alexander despatched, by a horseman, orders that they should return, and wait his arrival. After sacrifices to Minerva and Victory, he confirmed Sysimithres in his authority, and encouraged him to expect a larger province, if he cemented their friendship by fidelity. Sysimithres delivered his two sons to the king, who ordered them to military stations in his train.

Leaving the phalanx, Alexander proceeded with the cavalry to subdue the remaining insurgents. The road, uphill and stony, the troops bore with at first; but the hoofs of the harassed horses wearing away, the greater part failed to keep up. As the column advanced, successive vacancies thinned it more, for the immoderate

fatigue of the men vanquished shame. The king, however, repeatedly changing horses, pressed without intermission after the flying enemy. The young noblemen, accustomed to attend him, all yielded, except Philip, the brother of Lysimachus. He was in the blossom of manhood, and, it is evident, animated by no common spirit. Incredible to relate, on foot, he kept up with the king, who was mounted, five hundred stadia. Lysimachus repeatedly offered him his horse: nor yet could he be induced to quit his royal master, though loaded with his breast-plate and other armour. Afterwards, in a wood where the enemy had concealed themselves, he displayed eminent gallantry, and protected the king, who was closely engaged. When the Barbarians were driven from the coverts, that soul which had supported his frame in the heat of the conflict, fainted; a morbid sweat suffused his limbs; he leaned against a tree; unable to stand, received into the arms of the king, he there expired.

Another melancholy incident added to the affliction of Alexander. Returning to camp, he was informed of the death of Erigyius, one of his most illustrious generals. The funerals of both were solemnized with the highest pageants and honours.

CHAP. III.

Spitamenes slain by his wife. The Dahæ surrender. Alexander replaces several satraps.

12. HE had designed to march against the Dahæ, among whom, he understood, was Spitamenes. But fortune, indefatigable in good offices to him, effected, in his absence, as on many other occasions, the object of his meditated expedition. Spitamenes had a wife whom he loved extravagantly : but she ill endured to be carried about, his companion in every danger, in search of refuge in ever-changing exile. Employing all her blandishments, she importuned him to terminate his flight, and to appease, by submission, the victor, whose clemency he had once experienced, and whose pursuit he could not evade. Her three children by him, in blooming adolescence, she brought, and caused them to hang upon the father ; imploring him at least to pity THEM, and to enforce this appeal, exclaiming that Alexander was not far distant. Spitamenes conceiving that he was not counselled, but betrayed, and that confidence in her beauty made her impatient to fall into Alexander's

power, unsheathed his sabre, and, had not her brothers interposed, had killed her. He, however, commanded her to quit his presence, menacing her with death, if she again met his sight. That he might be less sensible of her absence, he passed the nights with his concubines. But inextinguishable love for her was inflamed by distaste for their company. He, therefore, devoted himself, again, to her alone: but he conjured her, ‘Not to repeat her advice, but willingly endure with him whatever lot fortune should present. To him death was more tolerable than submission.’ She apologized: “If I have talked like a woman, in proposing what I thought beneficial, fidelity directed my intention: in future, I will implicitly adopt your pleasure.”

13. Spitamenes, delighted by her compliance, celebrated their reconciliation with a feast, and, oppressed with luxuries and wine, was conveyed, half asleep, into her apartment. As soon as he was in a deep sleep, his wife, with a sword which she had concealed under her robe, struck off his head, which she gave, bleeding, to a man slave, who was a confidant of her treason. With this attendant, imbrued as her apparel was, she went to the Macedonian camp. She announced, that she had news for Alexan-

der, which it behoved him to hear from herself. Having caused her to be immediately introduced, the king, observing on her spots of gore, imagined that she was come to bewail some dishonour. He commanded her to speak freely. But she requested, that the slave, whom she had bidden to wait at the entrance, might be admitted.

The slave, who had the head covered up under his cloak, exciting suspicion, had shown to the guards, when they began to search him, what he wished to conceal*. But pallor had disfigured the blood-drained visage; nor could it be fully identified.

Alexander, informed that the attendant had brought a human head, stepped out of the tent, and inquiring into the affair, heard the narrative of the slave. The king's mind was now the seat of perplexing debate:—That a renegade and traitor was taken off, whose life would have retarded his august plans, he estimated as a momentous benefit: On the other hand, a transcendent enormity roused his abhorrence,—the female Barbarian had perfidiously murdered a husband, who from HER deserved most highly, and with whom she shared parental joys. The

* *Quid oculeret.* Read as *Quid occuleret*,

foulness of the crime surpassed the gratefulness of the service. He caused to be proclaimed to her: "Depart from the camp, lest the more clement minds and manners of the Greek soldiers should be depraved by entertaining a pattern of savage licentiousness."

The Dahæ, knowing that Spitamenes was slain, brought Dataphernes, his confederate, in chains, to Alexander, and made their submission.

The king, relieved, in great part, from ascendant cares, turned his attention to avenge such subjects, as had suffered by the rapacity, or tyranny, of his provincial governors. The satrapy over the Mardians and Tapurians*, he therefore bestowed on Phrataphernes, with orders to send Phradates, his predecessor, in custody to the king. Stasanor was substituted in place of Arsanes, lieutenant over the Drangæ. Into Media, Arsaces was detached, that Oxydates might retire. Babylon was confided to Deditamenes, Mazæus being dead.

* Book vi. s. 9, 12, p. 89, 94, ante.

CHAP. IV.

Storm on the march to Gabaza. The king's graceful treatment of a private soldier. He pillages the country of the Sacæ. Proceeds to a province under Cohortanus; and marries Roxana.

14. THESE regulations effected, Alexander broke up the army, which had lain in winter-quarters exceeding two months, and proceeded toward a tract called Gabaza. The first day, calm, was favourable to marching; the next, not indeed vexatious and stormy, but less bright, closed with menaces of approaching mischief. On the third morning, lightning darted from every part of the sky; dazzling flashes filled the soldiers with apprehensions for their eyesight; recurring gloom, oppressed them with horror. The crash of the elements had few pauses; the appearance of falling thunderbolts was seen in every direction: the army, aghast, hesitated under their terrible effect. Now burst down a torrent of rain and hail. The troops sheltered themselves under their bucklers, till their benumbed hands, glazed with ice, could no longer support that covering. Not knowing

what course to attempt, since whithersoever they turned to avoid the tempest, it met them with increased violence, they broke their ranks, and wandered over all the wood. Many, exhausted with affright rather than fatigue, laid themselves on the ground, although the fallen rain was frozen. Others leaned against trunks of trees, to many a shelter as well as a support: nor were these ignorant that they chose a place to die in, since vital heat would desert the motionless; but the growing lethargy was grateful to the harassed, nor did they refuse to die at rest. The storm was not only furious, but persevering; and the density of the wood concurred with the night-like blackness of the clouds, to exclude the genial consolation of light.

15. Alexander, alone able to meet these ills, perambulating among the forces, rallied the dispersed, and assisted the prostrate to rise: Pointing to smoke curling out of distant cottages, he encouraged them to embrace whatever refuge presented itself. Nothing conduced more to their safety, than shame to abandon the king, whom they saw, with redoubling exertions, warding off the miseries under which they had cowered. At length, necessity more availing in adversity than reason, found a remedy against the cold: they assailed the groves with axes, and every where fired stacks of wood. In pro-

spect, the forest must have presented one continued conflagration; for, between the blazing piles, room was barely left for the companies to stand. The heat awakened their torpid limbs; and by degrees the animal spirits, which gelation had obstructed, circulated freely. Some entered the huts of the Barbarians, which, embowered in remote thickets, exigency had explored; others pitched their tents upon damp ground indeed, but now the sky was hospitable.

Of soldiers, labourers, and menials, these conspiring inclemencies swept off a thousand. Tradition represents, that some of the men frozen to death, resting against the trees, looked as though they were alive and in conversation, stiff in the attitudes in which death surprised them*. Among other incidents,—a private soldier, holding out to carry his armour, at length gained the camp. The king, who was warming himself at a fire, on perceiving him, sprung from his seat, and having assisted the soldier, stricken with frost, and nearly insensible, to take off his

* For a delineation of many examples of men frozen to death, remaining in their last attitude like statues, see any of the authenticated *Narratives of Buonaparte's Campaign in Russia*. Speaking of the memorable retreat from Moscow, and describing the extraordinary figures and groupes presented by men whom death had surprised in the midst of vital energy,—one writer says: “None seemed to have been frozen in a composed state; each was fixed in the last action of his life. Even the eyes retained the last expression of anger, pain, or entreaty.”

armour, desired him to sit down in his place. This man, for some time, knew neither where he was, nor by whom entertained. At length his vital heat was restored, he saw the royal chair and the king, and rose up in affright. Alexander, observing this, said: "Are you ignorant, fellow-soldier, how much happier the Macedonians live under their king, than the Persians? To these it were death to sit in the king's seat: it has preserved your life."

Next day, he directed his convened friends and generals to proclaim, that he would compensate for whatever losses had occurred. He amply fulfilled the promise; for Sysimithres, having brought a multitude of horses, two thousand camels, with divers herds and flocks*, — Alexander, by a distribution of these among the troops, at once indemnified them, and delivered them from famine. Having honoured, with public commendation, the grateful proceeding of Sysimithres, — he caused the forces to take with them cooked provisions for six days, and marched against the Sacæ. Of the spoil gained by ravaging their whole country, he presented thirty thousand head of cattle to Sysimithres.

16. Hence he passed into the district [of Gabaza,] over which was satrap Cohortanus, a nobleman; who surrendering, claimed the king's protection. Alexander reinstated him in his

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (P).

government, exacting nothing more from him than the military service of two of his three sons. The satrap delivered the third also, which the king had allowed him to retain.

[Alexander now visited the hill-fort of Sysimithres. Oxartes, the friend of Sysimithres, had himself a palace situate on this asylum*.] The banquet with which he entertained Alexander, he had arrayed with Barbarian magnificence. That the highest courtesies might adorn the day, he caused thirty noble virgins to be introduced, among whom was Roxana his own daughter. To symmetry of form, she added a grace of manner, rare in those countries. Though in the midst of chosen beauties, she attracted the gaze of all the company, especially of the king, whose empire over his desires was now undermined by the indulgences of fortune, against which man does not fortify himself with sufficient vigilance. Him, therefore; who had regarded, with emotions no intenser than a father's, the wife and daughters of Darius, with whose charms none but Roxana's could support competition, — a transport of love, for a maid whose extraction, contrasted with the royal pedigree, was mean, impelled thus to speak: "To fix the

* That a member of this part of the narrative has been lost, is evident from book x. ch. iii. s. 10, where Roxana is expressly stated to be the daughter of Oxartes. And Strabo, lib. xi., records, that the nuptials, which Curtius is proceeding to relate, were solemnized at the rock of Sysimithres.

“ foundations of our empire, it is requisite that
 “ the Persians and Macedonians should inter-
 “ marry. By this expedient alone, can the shame
 “ of the vanquished, and the pride of the con-
 “ querors, be extinguished. Thus my ancestor
 “ Achilles wedded a captive. Let none deem
 “ that a corrupt example is to be introduced :
 “ truly, I will have solemnized a lawful union
 “ with Roxana.” A joy which he had not hoped,

Olymp. cxiii. 1. ravished the father as he heard this
A. C. 327. speech: and the king, in the warmth
Ætat. Alex. 29. of his passion, ordered that bread
Reg. 9. should be brought. This was the
Imp. 3. most sacred symbol of a bridal en-
 gagement among the Macedonians: the bread,
 cut in two with a sword, is tasted by each of the
 parties. By food so plain and easily procured,
 the founders of the custom, I conjecture, in-
 tended to signify, to the pair joining their lots,
 with how little they ought to be contented.
 Thus, the king of Asia and Europe married a
 lady introduced at an entertainment; designing,
 by offspring from a captive, to furnish the vic-
 tors with a sovereign. His friends felt inward
 shame, that he should, amid the blandishments
 of the table, choose a father-in-law from among
 his vassals. But, liberty of speech having been
 taken away since Clitus' death, their faces smiled
 assent. In dressing the face, the service of a
 despot chiefly lies.—See ADDITIONAL NOTES (Q).

CHAP. V.

Preparations for the Indian war. Catenes slain in battle. Bubacene reduced. Alexander, arrogating divine honours, is opposed by the Macedonians: Speech of Callisthenes.

17. INTENDING to proceed to India, and thence to the Ocean, Alexander, that no commotion might start up in his rear to embarrass his plans, directed that thirty thousand young men should be picked out of all the provinces, armed, and sent to his standard, to serve at once as hostages and soldiers. Yet further, he detached Craterus [into Parætacene*] to pursue Haustanes and Catenes, who had revolted: Haustanes, in consequence, was taken prisoner, and Catenes fell in battle. Polysperchon, likewise, subdued the district called Bubacene.

Having established all his governments, Alexander turned his consideration to the expedition against India. This country was esteemed rich, not in gold only, but in gems and pearls, which were applied to excessive decoration ra-

* The name of the place is introduced from Arrian.

ther than magnificence. The soldiers' shields were said to glitter with gold and ivory.

That he might not, excelling others, be surpassed by the Indians, he plated the targets of his warriors with silver, and furnished the horses with golden bits; the cuirasses he embellished, some with silver, and some with gold. One hundred and twenty thousand men followed the king to this war: for which, every thing was now prepared.

Deeming the conjuncture favourable to an object which his corrupted mind had long cherished, he began to concert in what manner he should take upon him celestial honours. Not satisfied to be styled, he was desirous that mankind should believe that he was Jupiter's son; as though he had the same authority over their minds, as over their tongues. He required the Macedonians, therefore, to salute him as worshippers, prostrating themselves on the ground, in the manner of the Persians. To stimulate his prurient pride, adulation was not wanting, the perpetual bane of kings, which ruins more than the fiercest hostility. The Macedonians are to be exculpated, for none of them could endure to swerve from their national customs; but the Greeks in the king's train, sullied the profession of the liberal arts by corrupt manners.

18. One Agis, an Argive, the most contemp-

tible of poets, next to Chœrilus; and Cleo, a Sicilian, from the vice of his nation, and from disposition, a profligate flatterer; with other offal from various cities;—These could gain access to Alexander, before his relatives or generals. These opened heaven to him, and cried, that Hercules and Bacchus, with Castor and Pollux, would give way to the new deity.

On a festival, the king, therefore, had a banquet prepared with every gorgeous display: to which were invited the chief of his friends, Macedonians and Greeks, with his nobles. After having occupied a couch, confestive with them a short hour, he withdrew. Then Cleo, as it had been contrived, began, in the tone of admiration, a discourse on the king's exploits. 'He recounted favours conferred on the people by Alexander, for which there was a grateful return in their power,—to acknowledge him as a god whom they might perceive to be one, repaying mighty favours with a little frankincense. The Persians acted not only with piety, but with prudence, in adoring their monarchs as gods, for the majesty of empire was its protection. Hercules and Bacchus, indeed, were not deified, before they had overcome the envy of contemporaries*. The

* The inconsequential, and even stupid, tenor of the arguments, is in character, with the speaker. And, correspondently, amidst both

‘ faith of after-ages is regulated by what a
‘ coeval generation attests. However others
‘ might hesitate, he intended to prostrate his
‘ body, at the king’s reappearance in the ban-
‘ quet. It concerned the rest to take the same
‘ course, especially those endowed with wis-
‘ dom; such ought, indeed, to lead the way in
‘ worshipping the king.’

19. Against Callisthenes, whose severity and bold freedom were odious to the king, this speech was, not ambiguously, pointed; as though the Macedonians were ready to pay the required honour, and he alone prevented it.

Callisthenes, on whom all eyes were turned, silence having been made, thus began: “ If the
“ king had heard thy oration, not a word from
“ us had been necessary in reply; for he would
“ have required thee, not to instigate him to
“ degenerate into foreign manners, and to for-
“ bear from disturbing our complacent admira-
“ tion of his acts, by thy foul adulation. But
“ since he is absent, I will answer thee for him.

solid and artful reasoning, the dangerous talent of wit sparkles in the defence of Philotas. Shall we not attribute the ever-varying, appropriate traits in the speeches, to a higher quality, in the historian, than invention? A habit of measuring ancient manners by a modern scale, has made it common to speak of the orations, which fill a prominent place in ancient chapters, as, for the most part, embellishments of the writers. But scepticism often discriminates as feebly as credulity.

“ No untimely fruit is lasting. So far from
“ conferring divine honours on the king, thou
“ robbest him of them. For before the demi-
“ god will win belief, time must intervene; it
“ is posterity that gives this reward to heroes.
“ My own prayer is,—Late be the king received
“ among the celestials; may his life be pro-
“ tracted; his majesty, eternal. An apotheosis
“ is, sometimes, yielded to the departed—ne-
“ ver, to the living.

“ Thy adduced examples of immortals by
“ consecration, are Hercules and Bacchus.
“ Dost thou think, that they were made gods
“ by the decree of a convivial circle? Their
“ mortal nature was removed from view, before
“ fame carried them into heaven.

“ Thou and I, Cleo, are, forsooth, forming
“ gods! The king will receive authority for his
“ divinity from us! Try thy power: make one
“ of us into a king, if thou mould the king into
“ a god; it is easier to bestow an empire, than
“ heaven.

“ May the propitious gods, unprovoked by
“ the sacrilegious words of Cleo, suffer our af-
“ fairs to go on in a successful course, and grant
“ us to be content with our tried customs. I am
“ not ashamed of my country, nor desirous to
“ be taught by the Persians in what manner I
“ am to pay homage to my king. They, in-

“ deed, are the conquerors, if from them we
“ receive laws.”

20. Callisthenes was heard with unwavering attention, as the assertor of the public liberty. Nor did he obtain silent approbation merely, but loud support, particularly from the elders, who were aggrieved by an alien innovation on their ancient usages.

The king was not a stranger to what passed between the different speakers; for he stood behind the arras which skreened the range of couches. He, therefore, sent an intimation to Agis and Cleo, to let the discussion cease, and to be content, that the Barbarians only, at his return, should fall down before him.

Soon afterwards, as though he had been transacting affairs of moment, he rejoined his guests. While the Persians were worshipping him, Polysperchon, who sat above the king, recommended one of them, who touched the floor with his chin, ‘ To hit it harder against the ‘ ground.’ This jest elicited the ire of Alexander, who said to him : “ Thou wilt not then
“ reverence me? Do we seem to thee, alone,
“ worthy of mockery?” Polysperchon replied,
‘ That he deemed neither the king to deserve
‘ derision, nor himself contempt.’ Then Alexander dragged him from the couch, and flung him on the ground, and, as he lay prostrate,

said : " Thou art doing, dost thou see, the same
" thing that thou wast ridiculing in another !"
Having ordered him into custody, he dismissed
the assembly. After a long confinement, he
pardoned Polysperchon.

CHAP. VI.

*Conspiracy of Hermolaus, Sostratus, and others.
Callisthenes arrested with them.*

CALLISTHENES, whom he had long suspected of pertinacious opposition, was the object of his deeper resentment : for wreaking it, an opportunity speedily occurred.

21. With the Macedonian nobility, it was the custom, as already * noticed, to deliver their adult sons to the king, for offices not far different from menial : They watched, alternately, by night at the king's chamber-door ; they introduced the concubines by another entrance than that before which the soldiers kept guard ; from the grooms they received, and brought to the king, horses prepared for him to mount ; they

* Pages 11 and 12, ante.

attended him at the chase, and in battle. They were educated in all the liberal arts and sciences. Their chief distinctions—they were allowed to sit at table with the king, and no one had power to chastise them but himself. This band served as a seminary of generals and sub-governors. Hence, posterity received their kings, whose respective lines, after many *reigns*, were deprived of their dominions by the Romans.

Hermolaus, a young nobleman in this royal band, having tossed his spear at a wild boar, which the king had intended to strike, was severely flogged, by his order. Aggrieved by this ignominious treatment, Hermolaus complained of it to Sostratus, a colleague zealously attached to him. Sostratus, sympathizing with his lacerated friend, and perhaps ill-affected toward the king on some personal account, stimulated the incensed youth to conspire to assassinate the king. They bound themselves to mutual fidelity. They did not proceed to the heinous deed with puerile impatience; but artfully gained select confederates, Nicostratus, Antipater the son of Asclepiodorus, and Philotas; and by these were associated Anticles, Elaptonius, and Epimenes.

22. Nevertheless, no easy way lay open to effect the catastrophe: it was necessary for them all to be on duty together, that they might not

be obstructed by comrades unacquainted with the plot: it happened, however, that one was on guard one night, and another another. Two and thirty days were consumed in changing their turns of attendance, and in other preparative arrangements.

It was now the night, that the conspirators formed the guard, congratulating their mutual fidelity, which had survived the trial of so many days. Neither fear nor hope had changed them, so strong was their resentment against the king, or their constancy to each other.

At the door of the apartment in which the king was banqueting, they waited to conduct him into his bed-chamber, when he should rise from table. But, in unison with his fortune, conviviality urged him and his guests to drink yet more deeply: and entertaining interludes * prolonged the time. With this, the conspirators were, alternately pleased, because they should have a man nodding with insensibility to fall upon; and alternately alarmed, lest the festivity should be protracted till morning,—for at dawn they were to be relieved, seven days must pass before their turn would recur, and they could not rely that, meanwhile, every accessory would remain faithful.

* Page 76, line 10, ante.

At the approach of day, however, the company dispersed. The conspirators, happy in an opportunity to execute their crime, were receiving the king:—When a woman, of melancholy habits, accustomed to haunt the palace, and supposed to utter predictions by inspiration, as he was going out, placed herself to obstruct him, and while her countenance and eyes expressed the commotion of her mind, advised him to return to festivity. He answered, in a jesting tone, ‘That the gods counselled well;’ and, having called back his friends, continued the entertainment till the second hour after sun-rise.

23. Now, others of the band had succeeded to the station before the bed-chamber door. The conspirators yet kept their post, though their duty was terminated: so obstinate is hope, when an ungoverned will absorbs the understanding.

Alexander addressed these more courteously than usual; and desired them to retire to rest, since they had watched all night; commending the zeal which detained them on guard after they had been relieved, he promised each a reward amounting to two talents and five minas.

Supremely disappointed, they went home. To the next night of attendance the rest impa-

tiently looked : but Epimenes, either suddenly changed by the king's urbanity to him and his accomplices, or persuaded that the gods opposed their undertaking, disclosed the affair to his brother Eurylochus.

The punishment of Philotas was painted on every memory. Eurylochus, therefore, instantly seized his brother, and carried him to the palace. He announced to the guards of the presence, that he brought intelligence which concerned the king's safety. The unseasonable hour, his visible perturbation, and the dejection of his companion, alarmed Ptolemy and Leonnatus, who guarded the chamber door. They therefore opened it, took in a light, and awakened the king, oppressed with wine and sleep. Having, by degrees, collected his mind, he asked, ' What was their business ? ' Before the intervention of a moment, Eurylochus said : " The
" gods have not entirely abandoned my family ;
" for although my brother dared to concur in
" an impious crime, he has repented, and
" employs me to make a most important discovery. On this last night, a treasonable
" contrivance was to have been executed, by
" parties whom your majesty would last suspect." Then Epimenes detailed the origin and progress of the plot, with the names of the conspirators.

24. Callisthenes, it is certain, was not named as a party to the treason,—but as wont to lend a ready ear to the youths pouring out invective and scandal against the king. Some writers add, that when Hermolaus complained to him of the king's having subjected him to the rod, Callisthenes answered, ‘ That they ought to remember that they were now ‘ men.’—It were doubtful, moreover, whether he said this to comfort him under his sufferings, or to aggravate his discontent.

The king, whose drowsiness was dispelled by a vivid image of the danger which he had escaped,—immediately directed, that Eurylochus should receive fifty talents, with the rich estate of one Tyridates. His brother he restored, before Eurylochus could solicit his pardon. But he ordered the rest of the conspirators, and with them Callisthenes, to be confined in irons. After these had been brought to the palace, he reposed all that day, and the following night, lethargic with drinking and sitting-up.

On the succeeding day, he summoned a general assembly, at which were present the fathers and relatives of the accused, exposed to vital peril themselves, inasmuch as the Macedonian customs consigned to death all who were allied by blood to traitors.

By his command, all the prisoners were brought in, except Callisthenes. They admitted the charges. While reprobation was bursting from a thousand tongues, the king asked them, ‘ For what offence of his, they had contrived so wicked a plot?’

CHAP. VII.

The Speech of Hermolaus.

25. “ YOU put the question, as if you were “ indeed ignorant of the cause:” *While stupor bound the rest in silence, Hermolaus replied:* “ We conspired your death, because you began “ to treat us, not like free-born men, but like “ slaves”— — *His father, Sopolis, starting up, cried:* ‘ Parricide of thy parent, as well as thy ‘ king!’ *and, laying his hand on his son’s mouth, said,* ‘ That a boy, whom guilt and wretchedness rendered insane, ought not to be suffered ‘ to say any more.’ *The king, silencing the father, commanded Hermolaus to speak what he had learned from his master Callisthenes.*

“ Availing myself of your favour,” *said Hermolaus,* “ I shall utter what the grievances “ of all have taught us. What number of Ma-

“cedonians survive your cruelty? how few,
“that are not of ignoble blood! Attalus, Phi-
“lotas, Parmenio, Alexander the Lyncestean,
“and Clitus, contending with the fierceness of
“the enemy, could live, could support the bat-
“tle, could cover you with their shields, re-
“ceiving wounds to purchase for you victory
“and glory. How illustrious your requital!
“The blood of one of them stains your table.
“Another had not, indeed, so easy a death.
“The conductors of your armies on the rack,
“were a gratifying spectacle to the Persians
“whom they had conquered. Parmenio, by
“whom you had destroyed Attalus, was slaugh-
“tered without being suffered to plead. Thus
“you employ the hands of the wretched in
“dark executions, and cause the instruments of
“your murders to be in their turn dispatched
“by others”— — *Now clamours against Her-
molaus swelled to uproar; and his father, with his
sword, drawn and raised, had struck him, unless
he had been restrained by the king, who ordered
Hermolaus to proceed, and desired the assembly
patiently to hear the criminal multiply causes
for his punishment.*

26. *Those with difficulty repressed, Hermo-
laus resumed:* “How liberally you permit
“youths, unskilled in oratory, to plead their
“cause! but the voice of Callisthenes is im-

“mured in prison, because he alone knows how
“to speak. Why is he not brought forth,
“while even avowed conspirators are heard?
“You shrink from the free speech of that in-
“nocent man; you could not bear his look.
“I strenuously maintain that he has done no-
“thing: Here they stand, who meditated with
“me the glorious stroke. Not one of us can
“alledge, that Callisthenes was privy to our
“design; however long he may have been de-
“voted to death by a most just and most for-
“giving king. Of the Macedonians, whose
“blood you waste as though it were super-
“fluous and worthless, these are the rewards.
“But you possess captured treasures, which are
“transported by thirty thousand mules, while
“your soldiers have nothing to take home but
“gratuitous scars. All these ills we could,
“however, endure, till you surrendered us to
“the Barbarians, and, by a new procedure,
“subjected the victorious to the yoke. The
“Persian garb and discipline delight you:
“your country’s manners you detest. It was,
“therefore, the king of the Persians, not of the
“Macedonians, that we would have killed; we
“arraign you as a deserter, by the rules of war.
“To THEE, thou hast required the Macedonians
“to kneel as to a god. You renounce your fa-
“ther Philip; and were any of the gods es-

“ teemed greater than the Thunderer, THOU
“ wouldst discard Jupiter. Is it strange that
“ the free-born cannot brook your arrogance?
“ In you what trust can be reposed by us,
“ who must either die innocent victims, or,
“ which were worse, live slaves? If, your
“ amendment be practicable, you are indebted
“ to me, since I have first dared to tell you
“ what free minds cannot submit to. I will
“ kneel to you to spare our parents: Oh! do
“ not load with torments disconsolate age, your
“ old soldiers bereaved of offspring. As for
“ ourselves, lead us to execution, that we may
“ obtain by our own death, the release from sla-
“ very which we proposed from yours.” Thus,
Hermolaus.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander's reply to Hermolaus.

27. “ HOW false,” said the king to the as-
sembly, “ are all the things which he has been
“ repeating after his master, appears from my
“ forbearance! For after he had pleaded guilty
“ to the highest enormity, I prevailed on you

“ to hear him as well as myself; although I
 “ was not ignorant that this assassin would
 “ vent the cur-like phrenzy which prompted
 “ him to kill me, whom he ought to have re-
 “ vered as a parent.

“ Lately, when he insolently forgot his sta-
 “ tion at the chase, I caused him to be correct-
 “ ed, agreeably to the national usage, and the
 “ practice of former kings of Macedon. This
 “ discipline is as necessary as that which pupils
 “ receive from their tutors, and wives from
 “ their husbands: nay, we even suffer our
 “ slaves to chastise boys of his age. This is
 “ my cruelty toward him, which he would re-
 “ venge by an impious murder. Toward his
 “ companions, who do not compel me to vio-
 “ late my disposition, how mild I am, you all
 “ know; to mention it was needless.

“ I am not surprised that Hermolaus can-
 “ not approve punishments inflicted on parri-
 “ cides, since he has incurred similar; so that
 “ when he justifies Parmenio and Philotas, he
 “ defends his own cause. Alexander the Lyn-
 “ cestan, however, charged by two witnesses
 “ with conspiring against my life, I twice par-
 “ doned. On a third information, I respite his
 “ trial three years*, till yourselves required that
 “ the criminal should satisfy the sentence due.

* Page 138, ante.

“ You all remember that Attalus invaded my
“ life before I was king. Clitus——I would
“ that he had not compelled me to an act of ac-
“ cumulated wrath : but his unadvised scurrili-
“ ties on me and yourselves, I bore longer, than
“ he would have borne the same expressions
“ from me. The clemency of kings and com-
“ manders does not depend exclusively on their
“ own dispositions, but equally on those of the
“ governed. Authority is conciliated by obe-
“ dience : but when respect is abjured, and the
“ highest are confounded with the lowest, we
“ are necessitated by violence to repel vio-
“ lence.

“ What wonder that he charges even cruelty
“ upon me, who has the effrontery to reproach
“ me with avarice ! I shall not appeal to you
“ individually, lest I should render my liberali-
“ ty invidious, and a burden on your modesty.
“ Survey the whole army : they who recently
“ had but military equipments, now recline on
“ beds of silver, their tables groan under vessels
“ of gold, trains of slaves attend them, their
“ riches won from the enemy they cannot well
“ transport.

“ But it is objected, that the Persians whom
“ we have subdued, enjoy princely honours un-
“ der me. If I do not domineer haughtily over
“ the conquered, what is that but an evidence
“ of my moderation ? I did not enter Asia, to

“exterminate whole nations, nor to make a desert of half the world,—but that the vanquished might not regret my victories. This stimulates them to fight in coöperation with you; and they whom severity would have made rebels, shed their blood to enlarge your empire. Acquisitions, kept by the sword, cannot be permanent; the obligation of benefits is eternal. If we propose to retain Asia, and not merely pass through it, our clemency must embrace the people, and their fidelity will confirm and perpetuate our dominion. Ourselves have more than we can use, and insatiable must be the avarice which would fill higher what already overflows.

“But, further, I am transferring the manners of Asia to the Macedonians! Truly, in some of its numerous nations, I can see traits which we need not blush to imitate. Not can so extended an empire be suitably governed, unless we communicate some customs; and adopt others.

“It had nearly excited my laughter, when the traitor required me to disown Jupiter, by whose oracle I am recognised. Do the answers of the gods depend on me? Hammon conferred on me the title of son. In our wars, our acknowledgment of it has not been unavailing. I wish that the Indians

“may also be persuaded that I am a god.
“ Success in arms depends greatly on fame;
“ and, many times, an accredited fiction has
“ obtained equal triumphs with truth.

“ Do you imagine that it was to pamper
“ luxury, that I adorned your arms with gold
“ and silver? To the Indians, with whom no-
“ thing is more common than those metals, I
“ would show, that the Macedonians, unequal-
“ led in other respects, are not to be surpassed
“ in opulence. Their eyes prepared to encoun-
“ ter invaders in poor and sordid array, I will
“ strike with glitter: they shall be taught that
“ we come, not to ravish their silver and gold,
“ but to finish the conquest of the whole world.
“ From this glory, thou, parricide! wouldst
“ have debarred us, and have sacrificed the Ma-
“ cedonians, destitute of a king, to the con-
“ quered nations.

“ Thou hast recommended thy parents to
“ my mercy! It were a violation of no duty,
“ not to inform thee how I shall dispose of
“ them, that thou mightest die touched more
“ acutely with remorse, if thou hast filial re-
“ membrance and affection;—But, long since,
“ I abrogated the custom of punishing the
“ innocent relatives of criminals; and I pro-
“ claim that they shall all retain their ho-
“ nours.

“ I know why thou willest me to introduce
“ thy Callisthenes, to whom alone thou seemest
“ a man, because thou art an assassin,—in
“ order that he might here repeat the same
“ scandalous things which thou, having fresh
“ learned, hast been reciting before this as-
“ sembly. Had he been a Macedonian, the
“ worthy tutor had been brought in with his
“ pupil: but an Olynthian is excluded from
“ the privilege.”

After this speech, Alexander dismissed the council; and caused the condemned to be delivered to the other members of the band,—who, to prove their allegiance, inflicted on the criminals a cruelly protracted execution. Callisthenes also died under torture: He was innocent of the conspiracy; but he was not fitted for a court by the disposition of a flatterer. No homicide excited in the Greeks stronger disaffection toward Alexander, inasmuch as Callisthenes possessed the highest probity and learning; by him, Alexander was reconciled to life, when, having slain Clitus, he would have destroyed himself by abstinence. The king did not simply kill the philosopher without a trial, but tortured him. His cruelty was succeeded too late by penitence.

CHAP. IX.

Commencement of the Indian expedition. Description of India. Philosophers. Manner of computing time.

28. **THAT** he might not pamper inactivity, the mother of rumours, Alexander advanced toward India; constantly acquiring more lustre by victories, than he maintained after them.

Almost the whole of India slopes eastward a spacious territory, not so much by running into breadth, as by its perpendicular extent*. Intercepting the South-wind, are tracts of elevated table-land: other districts are level, and many celebrated rivers, which have their sources in mount Caucasus†, maintain a placid tenor through the plains. The Indus is colder than the other streams; the complexion of its waters, is not greatly different from that of the

* The remarkable apology with which Strabo introduces his account of India, is an appeal for indulgence which all the ancient writers on the same subject require, and may, on similar grounds, claim. He professed to be entering on the account of a country very remote, and which few persons had visited; and of these many *having visited only a small part of the country*, had related things either from hearsay, or, at the best, from hasty remarks made as they passed along, on military service, or on a journey. He admits that few of the traders from the Arabian Gulf had reached the Ganges. *Strabo*, lib. xv.—See ADDITIONAL NOTES (R).

† The Hindoo Kos, or Indian Caucasus.

sea. The Ganges, a distinguished river, at its rise* flows southward, in a direct channel, along the ridge of the principal mountains†; afterwards, opposing crags give its course an eastward inclination, although it is ultimately received by the Erythræan sea. Riving its banks, it sweeps away many trees with extensive portions of soil. Obstructed by rocks, it often takes a returning direction; but where it finds a yielding bed, it oozes, and forms islands. The Acesines‡ augments it, just before its discharge into the ocean. Their collision is furious; for the Ganges meets the tributary stream in a narrow estuary, and the conflicting torrents repel each other||. The Dyardenes§ is the less mentioned in the reports of travellers, because it runs through the remote parts of India: but [in common with the other rivers of the country,] it not only cherishes crocodiles, like the Nile, but dolphins, and various aquatic mon-

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (S).

† We are informed, by Major Rennell, *Mem.* p. 233, that the Ganges wanders above eight hundred miles in a mountainous tract, before it escapes from it.

‡ The modern Burrampooter.—See ADDITIONAL NOTES (T).

|| Thus we have no mention of the Delta formed by the several mouths of the Ganges.

§ What river Curtius thus designates, it is unavailing to conjecture. But the Bain Gonga would correspond with the vague description: it was first discovered to Europeans by the late Colonel Camac: it penetrates vast teak forests, in a country in central Hindostan, singularly wild and little explored, inhabited by uncivilized people.

sters unknown in other regions. The Erymanthus * wantons in successive meanders ;—diverted by the inhabitants into canals for the purpose of irrigation, it loses its name before its diminished waters reach the sea. India is intersected by several other rivers, of comparatively little note, because their course is less extended.

29. The maritime parts are most scorched by the North winds, which, excluded by ridges of mountains, do not penetrate to the interior tracts : hence these are favourable to the production of fruits. Nevertheless, in this region the earth inverts the *times* of the seasons, so that while other countries are heated by the fervid influence of the sun, snows fall [or the local concomitants of winter are experienced] in India, — and when our fields are frozen, the heat is there intolerable ; nor has the cause of this variation been discovered †.

* This river may represent the modern Sarsooty (*Saraswati*).

† This difficult passage is rendered more comprehensible, by recollecting that the western coast of the majestic cape runs in a direction nearly from North to South ; so that intercepting heights might shelter the interior, without preventing the North winds from sweeping along the low-lands, outside the chains of mountain. As to the heat attributed to the North wind, it may be acquired by passing over torrefied deserts in the last stages of its course. “ We experienced “ a whole night of strong hot wind from the North-west,” (a Peshawer in Afghanistan).—ELPHINSTONE'S *Cabul*, p. 133.

‡ Possibly the Macedonian-Greeks might have encountered extreme cold in the elevated mountain-tracts of India, in the season

The sea washing India varies not in colour from other seas. It derived its name from king Erythras; on which account, the ignorant have believed the water to be red. The land is prolific of flax, [cotton*?] of which the garments of the people are chiefly formed. The pliant internal bark of the trees, receives written characters, in the manner of paper†. The birds may be taught to imitate the articulations of the human voice‡. Here are animals in other countries unknown, unless transported thither. India nourishes the rhinoceros: but the breed is not indigenous. The elephants are more powerful than those tamed in Africa; and their size corresponds to their strength. Gold is washed down by several rivers, whose loitering streams glide with a serene and gentle tenor. The sea discharges gems and pearls upon the

corresponding to summer in a European climate; and again, in descending to the valleys of the South, have experienced oppressive heat when the rigours of winter prevail in their own country; and on these unexpected vicissitudes have founded the erroneous conclusion, that the *times* of both seasons were inverted in respect to Europe.—See the first note on p. 364.

* See next page, note †.

† The Cashmerians write chiefly upon *tooz*, which is the bark of a tree.—HAMILTON'S *Description of India*.

‡ Relating the particulars of a visit paid to the Munny Begum, at her apartment in the palace of Moorshadabad, Lord Valentia says: "During the whole of our stay, two minahs [birds that are taught to speak] were talking most incessantly, to the great delight of the old lady, who often laughed at what they said; and praised their talents."—*Travels to India*, by GEO. VISC. VALENTIA, vol. i. p. 229.

shore: nor has any thing more contributed to the opulence of the natives, especially since commerce has disseminated among the exterior nations a vicious taste for costly ornaments; for these excretions of the foaming sea are appreciated at whatever luxury will give*.

As in other places, a bias is given to the mind by local circumstances. The inhabitants invest their heads in rolls of muslin †, and cover

* The two pearls ornamenting the ear-rings of Cleopatra, were valued at £161,458.—*PLIN. Nat. Hist. lib. ix. c. 35.*

† *Linteis.* ORIG.—The reader who is indifferent whether this be translated *linen* or *muslin*, will pass over this and the next note. The Latin language is deficient in appropriate words for the various materials of drapery. The ancient Romans had a very imperfect acquaintance with the woven fabrics of India; and Dr. Robertson, WITHOUT SUSPECTING HIMSELF TO BE MISLED BY THE LEXICOGRAPHERS, [*Disquisition on India*, edit. 1804, p. 320,] infers, that the use of the cotton manufactures of India was not common among the Romans, because a Rescript [in Justinian. *Digest*, lib. xxxix. tit. iv. s. 16, attributed to Marcus Antoninus and Commodus] on the “particular articles liable to duties at Alexandria,” does not enumerate the various kinds of cotton manufactures, as it does the various kinds of spices and gems. Dr. Vincent, [*Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Part II. Appendix:] comparing the Imports named in the *Digest*, with the Exports from India detailed in the *Periplus*, finds in the former the following articles: *Byssus*, TRANSLATED BY HIM Cotton Goods — *Karpasus*, fine Muslins — *Sindones*, possibly, fine Cottons. Hence, and from the evidence in the next note, it appears that the meanings assigned in the Latin dictionaries to these words require to be revised; and that the latitude of *byssus*, *karpasus* or *carbassus*, and *sinclon*, will embrace any fine woven fabric, whether of linen, or cotton. Nor must *lintheum* always be restrained to “linen.” Precise terms cannot be expected from the Greek or Roman authors, who were totally uninformed as to the basis of most

their bodies with calico* down to the feet, which they bind with sandals. Those distinguished by rank or opulence, have precious stones suspended from their ears, and wear on their wrists and arms bracelets of gold. They frequently comb their hair, which they seldom cut. Leaving the chin unshaven†, they trim into a cheerful appearance the rest of the face.

30. The luxury of their kings, which they call magnificence, surpasses the extravagancies of all other nations. When the monarch is pleased to be seen in public, officers with silver censers perfume all the road through which he

of the exotic piece-goods. "For many centuries after the use of silk had become common," says Dr. Robertson, "they had not any certain knowledge either of the countries to which they were indebted for this favourite article of elegance, or of the manner in which it was produced. By some, silk was supposed to be a fine down adhering to the leaves of certain trees or flowers; others imagined it to be a delicate species of wool or cotton; and even those who had learned that it was the work of an insect, show, by their descriptions, that they had no distinct idea of the manner in which it was formed."

On the other hand, although in the provinces of modern Hindostan, calico or muslin is the prevailing article of clothing, — yet we cannot affirm that linen was not anciently worn by some classes in India; for we find from *Perip. Mar. Erythr.* p. 28, that, among the commodities imported by Egyptian vessels into Patala on the Indus, was *chequered linen*.

* *Carbasus*. CURT.—The native Sanscreeet term for muslins or fine calicoes, is *karpasi*, as appears by Sir William Jones's catalogue.—*Asiat. Res.* vol. iv. p. 231. Calcutta edit.

† Arrian represents them to have dyed their beards various colours.

is to be carried. He sits in a golden palanquin hung round with pearls. His garments of *carbasus* are embroidered with gold and purple. The body-guards follow the palanquin, some of them carrying singing birds perched on boughs; these birds are even brought in, to relieve hours of important business, by the notes which they have been taught. The palace is supported with gilt pillars, round which are twisted vines engraven in gold, with images of the most beautiful birds executed in silver.

The palace is open to applicants, while the king is combing and dressing; at this interval, he gives audience to ambassadors, and administers justice to his people. His sandals taken off, his feet are anointed with perfumes.

His principal exercise is hunting: amidst the vows and songs of his concubines, he shoots animals which have been enclosed in a park. The arrows, two cubits in length, are discharged by the Indians with more exertion than effect: inasmuch as the missile, whose force depends upon velocity, is retarded by its inconvenient weight. His shorter journeys the king performs on horseback. When he makes a longer expedition, his chariot is drawn by elephants, whose vast bodies are covered with trappings of gold. To complete the corruption of manners, he is followed by a long procession of concubines in golden palanquins. Separated from the queen's

retinue, this column equals it in gorgeous excess. Women prepare his food; they also serve him with wine, of which the Indians drink profusely*. When rendered insensate

* In unison with this, are Chares *apud Athenæum*, lib. 10; and *Ælianus*, *Hist. Var.* lib. ii. In opposition to it, Strabo, lib. xv. transcribing the account of Megasthenes, asserts that the Indians, except at sacrifices, do not use wine, but drink a spirit obtained from rice.

What is the consideration due to Megasthenes? He derived his knowledge of India from a residence of several years in Palibothra, a station far beyond the south-east limits of Alexander's progress in India, [whether the site of Palibothra were Kanoge, or Allahabad, or Patna, or Bhaugilpoor;] to which he had been sent by Seleucus, as ambassador to Sandracottus king of the Prasii. "From his writings," observes Dr. Robertson, "the Ancients seem to have derived almost all their knowledge of the interior state of India; and from comparing the three most ample accounts of India, by Diodorus, Strabo, and Arrian, they manifestly appear, from their near resemblance, to be a transcript of his words. But, unfortunately, Megasthenes was so fond of the marvellous, that he mingled with the truths which he related, many extravagant fictions; and to him may be traced the fabulous tales — of men with ears so large that they could wrap themselves up in them; of others with a single eye, without mouths, without noses, with long feet, and toes turned backwards; of people only three spans in height; of wild men with heads in the shape of a wedge; of ants as large as foxes, that dug up gold. The extracts from his narrative, transmitted to us by Strabo, Arrian, and other writers, seem not entitled to credit unless when they are supported by internal evidence, and confirmed by the testimony of other ancient writers, or when they coincide with the experience of modern times. His account, however, of the dimensions and geography of India, is curious and accurate." From this and another specimen, it will appear, how whimsically the defects and excellences of the ancient writers are mingled and counterpoised; for "the scientific Ptolemy has given a Map of the

by wine and sleep, he is conveyed by concubines to his chamber, who, in hymns, invoke the gods of the hours of night.

31. Amid these vices, who would expect the culture of wisdom?

There is a class, rustic and uncivilized, whom the Indians denominate wise men. These esteem it glorious to anticipate the fatal hour; when age has destroyed their activity, or disease oppresses them, they make arrangements to burn themselves alive; regarding it disgraceful to live merely to expect death. When dissolution is the effect of old age, they do not honour the corse with a funeral pile, deeming the fire defiled, unless it receives a breathing victim.

Humanized in their habits, others live in cities. They are said to observe scientifically

“ same region more erroneous than any other transmitted from antiquity.”

The above account of Curtius is countenanced by enumerations of Imports into India, found in *Perip. Mar. Erythr.* several of which comprise wine generally; one specifies Italian, Greek, and Arabian wines; another, Laodicean and Syrian wine.

There now exist provincial diversities, which agree sufficiently with both the reports of antiquity. In Bengal, wine is imported and drunk. In Cashmere, a wine is made resembling Madeira; and a spirituous liquor is distilled from the grape. Golconda is famous for a white wine. At the same time, in most parts of India, the common people, when they deliberately take any intoxicating liquor, use that sort of arrack which is distilled from rice.

the motions of the planets, and to predict events. They hold, that no one hastens the moment of death, who can wait its approach with fortitude. They contemplate as deities whatever their ancestors betook themselves to worship, particularly trees*, to wound which is a capital crime. They circumscribe their months within fifteen days: but preserve the full dimensions of the year. They compute time by the course of the moon; not, as most people do, by the entire revolutions of that planet, but by half-moons†: hence the shortness of their months. There are many other things related of them, which seem not sufficiently important to suspend the history.

* As in the Mythology of Heathen Rome, every tree had its peculiar GENIUS; so was there scarcely any tree that was not dedicated to some NUMEN or other.

*Populus Alcidæ gratissima; Vitis Iaccho;
Formosæ Myrtus Veneri; sua Laureæ Phæbo.*

VIRGIL, *Ecl.* 7.

Ovid alludes to the *Quercus Oracula*. To revert to our own country at the corresponding period: there appears to have been little difference between the Druids of Britain, the Magi of Persia, and the Brahmins of India; all teaching at once the immortality, and the transmigration of the soul.—See *Travels into Africa and Asia*, by SIR THOMAS HERBERT, *third Edition*, 1677, p. 116.

See also PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION, *Testimonies to the Accuracy of Curtius*, No. 6.

† The Hindoos have divided their lunar month into what they denominate the *sookla-paksha*, and the *kreesna-paksha*, that is, the *light side*, and the *dark side* (of the moon); the former commences

CHAP. X.

Alexander enters India. Surrender of Nysa. Bacchanalian revel of the army in mount Meros. Capital of the Mazagæ taken.

32. ALEXANDER having passed the frontiers of India*, several rajahs met *Olymp. cxiii. 1.* him, and made submission; pro-
A. C. 327. nouncing, ' That he was the third
Ætat. Alex. 29. ' of Jupiter's offspring that had
Reg. 9. ' reached their country. Bacchus†
Imp. 3. ' and Hercules they knew by tradition. His
 ' presence they witnessed.'

These the king courteously received; and directed to accompany him, intending to employ them as guides. But as no others came to surrender, he sent forward Hephæstion and Perdicas, with part of the forces, to subdue such as were averse from his government: and he enjoined his officers to advance to the river Indus, and prepare boats to transport the army

with the new moon, and the latter with the full. *Hectopades, translated from the Sanscrit, by CHARLES WILKINS, LL.D. 1787, p. 289, and note to p. 43.*

* The Ancients attributed to India a long narrow tract of territory on the western bank of the Indus.

† See ADDITIONAL NOTES (U).

across. Because there were numerous rivers to be passed, these so constructed the boats, that they might be taken to pieces and conveyed on waggons.

Then, having ordered Craterus to follow with the phalanx, he led to action the cavalry and light-armed ; and, after a slight engagement, drove those who opposed him into the nearest walled town. Now Craterus had come up ; and Alexander, that he might strike terror into this nation, who had not yet experienced the Macedonian arms, gave orders for putting the besieged to the sword, and burning the fortifications of the place. Riding to survey the works, he was wounded by an arrow. He, however, took the town, and having slain the inhabitants, extended his vengeance to the buildings.

This obscure tribe conquered, he moved thence toward the city Nysa. The camp, pitched by accident under the very walls, was on woody ground : the nocturnal cold, there peculiarly intense, affected the soldiers with shiverings : fire furnished an opportune remedy. With the felled copses, they kindled and supported such a flame, that it reached the cemeteries of the townspeople : built of old cedar, the tombs caught and circulated the conflagration, till they were all burned down. The barking of dogs was now heard from the town, followed by a shout from

the army: The citizens discovered that the enemy had approached; the Macedonians, that they were close to the city.

33. And now the king drew out his troops, and besieged the fort. Such of the garrison as had ventured to sally, having been killed with darts, some of the Nyseans advised submission; others, the trial of a battle. Alexander, informed of their divisions, was satisfied to institute a blockade, prohibiting farther effusion of blood. At length, worn out by the inconveniences of a close investment, they surrendered.

They asserted their city to have been founded by Bacchus; and this was in fact its origin. It is seated at the base of a mountain, which the inhabitants call Meros*: whence the Greeks licentiously feigned, that Bacchus had been concealed in Jupiter's thigh. The king, instructed by the natives in the approaches to the eminence, having sent forward provisions, ascended to the summit with his whole army.

The mountain is dressed in an exuberance of vines and ivy. Numerous unfailing rills gurgle out. The soil spontaneously nurtures salutary fruits of various flavour, from seeds fortuitously dropped. Laurels, and berry-trees, and clumps of wild wood, vegetate among the crags.

* Μῆρος, ⁴*femur*, thigh.

I attribute it, not to a celestial impulse, but to wantonness, that parties of the soldiers crowned themselves with chaplets of ivy and vine-leaves, running through the thickets like the entranced at the festivals of Bacchus. As the extravagance of a few (a common occurrence) gradually extended to all,—amidst the peaks and swells of the mountain resounded thousands of voices, adoring the guardian divinity of the grove. With the confidence of profound peace, they stretched themselves on the grass and on couches of leaves. Not discountenancing the casual revel, the king profusely distributed viands for festivity, and detained the army, during ten days, to celebrate the mysteries of Bacchus. Who can deny that an illustrious name is oftener the boon of fortune than the reward of merit? inasmuch as against the carousers, reduced by wine to insensibility, no attack was ventured by the enemy, awed by the shouts and roaring of these frantic men, as though they had heard acclamations of soldiers in battle. At their return from the ocean, the Macedonians, inebriated, and feasting riotously, were protected by the same good fortune.

34. Hence Alexander proceeded to a district called Dædala. The people had deserted their habitations, and had fled to untraversed woods and mountains. He therefore passed on to

Acadera, likewise burnt and evacuated by the fugitive inhabitants. Constrained, therefore, to change the plan of his operations, he divided his forces, that he might simultaneously display his arms in a variety of places:—the surprised, and those who had expected the enemy, were completely subjugated by a general overthrow. The cities taken by Ptolemy were the more numerous, by Alexander the more considerable.

Having collected his forces, the Macedonian leader passed the river Choas. He committed to Coenos the siege of an opulent town, called by the inhabitants Bezira.

He proceeded in person to Mazagæ: of which, Assacanus, the late sovereign, was dead; and his mother Cleophes governed both the capital and the province. Thirty thousand infantry defended this city, which was strong by position and fortified by art:—On the east, a rapid river, with precipitous banks, bars approach: on the west and south, nature has planted, as by design, exceedingly lofty rocks, at whose bases yawned chasms and gulfs, which corroding time had excavated to a great depth: where these terminated, a foss had been interposed, a magnificent work. The city has a wall thirty-five stadia in circumference; the lower part, of stone,—the upper, chiefly of unburnt brick. To the bricks, blocks of stone act as a frame, which the archi-

tect interplied, that the frailer material might lean against the harder. And lest the clay, washed by rain, should at length sink altogether, solid beams are laid upon these, supporting timber platforms, which at once preserve the walls, and afford a way along the top.

35. While surveying these fortifications, without a determinate project, — for the caverns could only be filled by vast masses of earth, and unless they were filled the engines could not be advanced to the walls, — Alexander was struck by an archer on the ramparts. The arrow pierced his leg in the calf. As soon as the barb was extracted, he called for his horse, and without any bandage on the wound, rode on in prosecution of his object. As, however, the limb hung down, the blood settling, and the wound growing cold, under aggravated anguish, he is represented to have said: “It was pronounced that I was Jupiter’s son: but I feel the disorders of a sickly body.” Nevertheless, he did not retire to the camp till he had viewed every thing, and ordered what was to be done.

The soldiers, as directed, demolished the houses on the outside of the city, whence they derived a copious supply of materials for a terrace: others precipitated into the caverns, by heaps, trunks of large trees, and banks of

stones. And now the terrace was level with the surface of the highest ground: the turrets were therefore set up: and, through the eminent zeal of the soldiers, the works were finished in nine days.

These the king, whose wound had not cicatrized, proceeded to examine. Having commended the troops, he ordered them to propel the engines: whence was discharged an abundant flight of missiles against the garrison. Strangers to such operations, the Barbarians were chiefly intimidated by the moving turrets; for, not perceiving the agency by which these vast piles advanced, they concluded them to be carried by the will of the gods*. The battering shafts, also, and the ponderous javelins, shot from the engines, they pronounced to exceed the powers of men. Despairing, therefore, of the defence of the town, they withdrew to the citadel. Thence, because nothing but surrender appeared safe to the besieged, deputies came down to the conqueror to implore pardon: which obtained, the queen, in procession with a number of noble ladies, brought wine in golden bowls, by way of sacrifice. Having placed her little son at the knees of the king, she not only won his forgiveness, but the

* These moveable towers were invented by Dyades, pupil of Polyæides, who accompanied Alexander. *ATHEN. de Machin. p. 4, in vet. Mathem.*

restoration of her former honours. He saluted her as a queen; and some have supposed, that he yielded more to her beauty than to pity. It is certain, that a child, which she afterwards bore, whoever was its father, was named Alexander*.

CHAP. XI.

Capture of the rock Aornos.

36. **DETACHED** hence, with an army, to the city Ora, Polysperchon, in a battle, overcame the people, who had taken the field in disorder: pursuing the routed into their fortifications, he reduced the city.

Into the king's power fell many inconsiderable towns, deserted by the armed inhabitants, who had seized a rock called Aornos. Hercules, according to tradition, in vain besieged this rock, and was forced, by an earthquake, to desist.

While Alexander hesitated how to proceed, because the fastness was on all sides steep and craggy, an old man, locally experienced, came with his two sons, and offered, for a reward, to show the approach to it. Alexander promised him eighty talents, and, detaining one of the youths as a hostage, sent the father to perform what he had undertaken. Mullinus, the king's

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (X).

secretary, was appointed to lead a light-armed party. It was proposed, that these, by a detour, which might elude the observation of the enemy, should climb to the highest ridge.

This rock, unlike most eminences, does not grow up into a sublime terrace by gradual and easy acclivities. It rises much in the form of a *meta* *; broad at the base, contracting as it ascends: its crested summits terminate in a sharp pinnacle †. At its foot flows the deep Indus, which has rugged banks: on its hither side were craggy pits and ravines; and only by filling up these could assailants approach. The wood contiguous the king directed to be felled; and the trunks of the trees, to be stripped of their branches and foliage, that they might be transported more readily. He himself flung in the first tree; a loud acclamation spoke the alacrity of the army: and no one refused the labour which the king had commenced.

37. In seven days, the cavities were filled. The king ordered the archers and Agrians to

* *Meta*, stones in the chariot circus, serving both as bounds and measures of distance; had generally the shape of a cone, and sometimes of a triangular pyramid.

† Arrian, *lib. iv. cap. 28*, describes the rock to be two hundred stadia in circuit, and eleven in height, measured to the lowest part of the surface; accessible only by one path hewed in the stone — enriched, near the summit, by a plentiful spring, a dense wood, and with arable and other fruitful land sufficient to subsist a thousand men.

spread themselves on the steeps. From his own band, he selected thirty of the bravest young men, appointing as their leaders Charus and Alexander: this last he exhorted to recollect the name, which he bore in common with himself. At first, because the danger was so palpable, it was voted that the king himself should not join in the assault. But as the trumpet gave the signal, the intrepid prince turned to his guards, ordered them to follow him, and was the first to assay the rock. Nor, after this, would any of the Macedonians stay behind: they spontaneously left their posts, and followed the king. Of many the lot was miserable; slipping off the shelving crags, they were engulfed by the river underneath; a melancholy spectacle even to those not scaling in peril. But when another's destruction became a memento of what themselves had to apprehend, pity was succeeded by terror; and they mourned not the dead, but themselves.

Now the Macedonians had advanced so far that they could not return with impunity, unless victorious. The Barbarians rolling down ponderous stones on the climbing, such as were struck fell headlong from their treacherous positions. Alexander and Charus, however, whom the king had sent forward with the chosen thirty, had effected their ascent;

and were in close action with the enemy : but—as Barbarians, posted higher, poured darts on them—they received more wounds than they inflicted. Wherefore, Alexander, remembering both his name and promise, fought with gallant fury, careless of defence, till he was pierced in every limb, and borne down. Charus, seeing his extended corse, rushed upon the enemy, animated only by revenge : his spear was fatal to many, and some he killed with his sword. But one arm was unequal to so many assailants ; he fell lifeless on the body of his friend.

The king, adequately impressed by the fall of the heroic young men and of other soldiers, gave the signal to retreat. The gradual movements, and firm countenance of the retiring, conduced to their preservation ; and the Barbarians, satisfied to have repulsed the enemy, did not close on them as they gave ground.

38. Although Alexander meditated to relinquish the enterprise, (as there appeared no probability of taking the rock,) yet he made demonstrations of continuing the siege ; occupied the avenues, advanced his turrets, and relieved his parties.

The Indians, witnessing this pertinacity, devoted two days and nights to festivity, with a display, not only of confidence, but of triumph. But on the third night, the sound of the tim-

breles was not heard:—torches glared on every part of the rock, which, as the night was dark, the Barbarians had lighted, that their flight might be safer down the precipitous crags. From Balacrus, sent forward to observe, the king learned, that the enemy were evacuating their strong recess. He, thereupon, gave the signal for a general shout: this struck the disorderly fugitives with trepidation, Deeming the enemy at hand, many, rushing down slippery copings and pathless steeps, perished; a greater number, mutilated, were abandoned by those who had descended safe.

Although he had subjugated the place rather than the enemy, Alexander solemnized to the gods the sacrifices and acknowledgments of a great conquest; and built on the rock altars to Minerva and to Victory.

The guides, whom he had ordered to take up the light-armed party, although they had effected less than their engagements, he faithfully remunerated. The custody of the rock, with the surrounding country, he committed to Sisococtus.

C H A P. XII.

Submission of Taxiles Omphis.

39. HENCE he proceeded toward Embolima. Informed that some defiles in his line of march were occupied by one Eryces with twenty thousand men, he left Cœnos to conduct the heavier forces by easy marches, and advanced in person with the slingers and archers. Having dislodged those who guarded the avenue, he opened a passage for the army following.

The Indians, from disaffection to their chief, or to court the favour of the conqueror, rose upon, and killed, the fugitive Eryces. They brought his head, with his armour, to Alexander, who suffered the deed to go unpunished, but did not encourage the example.

Hence, in sixteen days, he reached the river Indus; for passing it he found every thing prepared by Hephæstion, as he had ordered.

The supremacy of this region had devolved on Omphis, who had counselled his father to surrender his empire to Alexander; and, on his father's death, had sent an embassy, to know whether it was Alexander's pleasure, that he should meanwhile exercise authority, or wait

his coming in a private capacity. Having the king's permission to reign, modesty yet prevented him from assuming his right. He had entertained Hephæstion liberally, gratuitously distributing corn to his troops: but had not joined that officer, disinclined to assay the fidelity of any but the king.

On Alexander's approach, he went to meet him with a well-appointed army: at intervals in his line, elephants, mixed with the troops, appeared to the distant spectator like castles.

40. At first, Alexander imagined that it was not an ally, but an enemy advancing. He commanded the battalions to take arms, and the cavalry to divide to the wings, in order of battle. But the Indian, perceiving the misunderstanding, halted his army, and spurred his horse forward. Alexander did the same, ready to meet him as a friend or an enemy, secure in the other's allegiance, or in his own valour. At their rencounter, amity was intelligible in the countenance of each: but, without an interpreter, they could hold no conversation. Assisted by one, the Indian prince explained himself, 'To have advanced with his army to Alexander, that he might at once surrender all the forces of his empire, without waiting to negotiate for a pledge. His person and kingdom he resigned to him, who, it was

known, fought for glory, and feared nothing but to sully his name by perfidy.' Pleased with the ingenuousness of the Barbarian, the king gave him his right hand, as a token of his protection; and restored his kingdom.

Omphis presented Alexander with fifty-six elephants, and a considerable quantity of cattle of an extraordinary size, with three thousand bulls, animals highly prized by the chiefs of this region. Interrogated by Alexander, 'Whether he had more agriculturists than soldiers?' he answered, 'That as he was engaged in hostilities with two kings, he found it necessary to have more men in arms than at the plough.' The two kings were Abisares and Porus: but Porus had the greater power. The territories of both lay beyond the Hydaspes; and whatever invader might come, they were resolved to try the fortune of war.

41. Omphis, under Alexander's sanction, assumed the ensigns of royalty, with the name of Taxiles, which his father had borne, and which followed the empire* on whomsoever it descended. Having entertained Alexander splendidly during three days, on the fourth he made known what he could farther contribute

* The empire intended does not appear to have been that of India; but, a paramount government at the head of numerous petty dependencies, of which the dominions probably embraced territory on both banks of the Indus, like the present kingdom of Caubul.

to the magazines of corn which had been formed by Hephæstion; presented the king and all his friends with crowns of gold; and gave him coined silver to the amount of eighty talents.

Alexander was so exceedingly gratified by the courtesies of Taxiles, that he not only re-delivered to him all his presents, but added to those riches a thousand talents from the spoils which he carried, numerous banquetting vessels of gold and silver, and Persian habiliments; with thirty of his horses in the same caparisons that were used for his personal service. As his liberality laid the Barbarian under obligations; so it greatly offended Alexander's friends. One of whom, Meleager, having taken too profusely of wine at supper, 'Congratulated him on 'having found in India at least one person 'meriting a thousand talents.' The king, not having forgotten what compunction he suffered after killing Clitus for audacious language, restrained his anger, simply observing, 'That 'the envious only torment themselves.'

CHAP. XIII.

Submission of Abisares. Barzaces taken. Force of Porus. Passage of the Hydaspes.

42. ON the following day, ambassadors came to Alexander from Abisares, who, as commis-

sioned, made a surrender of all his royalties. Mutual engagements contracted, Alexander sent them back to their sovereign. Imagining that the ascendancy of his name might influence Porus also to submission, he deputed to him Cleochares, with a summons, ' That he should pay a tribute, and meet the king at the nearest pass in his frontiers.' Porus replied, ' That he had intended to perform one of these acts : he would meet the prince at his entry, but with an army.'

Alexander had now resolved on the passage of the Hydaspes : when Barzaentes, the instigator of the rebellion in Arachosia, was brought in captive. With him were seized thirty elephants ; an opportune reinforcement against the Indians, among whom there is more reliance on these powerful animals for execution, than on the armed men. Gamaxus, sovereign of a small tract in India, who had formed a league with Barzaentes, was also made prisoner.

The Persian deserter and the rajah placed under a guard, and the elephants delivered to Taxiles, Alexander came to the river Hydaspes. Porus had taken a station on the opposite bank to oppose the passage. His first line consisted of eighty-five elephants of the highest class for strength ; beyond these ranged three hundred chariots, and thirty thousand infantry ; includ-

ing bowmen, of a description already mentioned, with arrows too ponderous to be shot off dexterously. Porus was mounted on an elephant, which towered above the rest: his armour, enchased with gold and silver, displayed with effect a gigantic person; his courage corresponded with his stature; his mind was the seat of as much wisdom as could subsist in an unpolished nation.

43. The Macedonians were intimidated, not only by the appearance of the enemy, but by the magnitude of the river to be passed.* Overflown to the breadth of four stadia, its channel deep and no where fordable, it looked like an arm of the sea. Nor, in proportion as its waters were dilated, did its rapidity diminish; for, as though it had been confined within projecting banks, the torrent dashed. The repercussion of the waves shewed that there were sunken rocks in its bed.

The shore, covered with men and horses,

* The modern Behut or Chelam. Alexander's expedition into India commenced near the end of spring, when the rains were already begun in the mountains from which all the rivers in the Panjab flow; and he passed the Hydaspes at Midsummer, about the height of the rainy season. Aristobulus has recorded, in his *Journal*, that, though heavy rains fall in the mountains and in the contiguous country, yet in the plains not a shower descends; a circumstance to the accuracy of which, modern observations testify. *Robertson* after *Arrian*, *Strabo*, and *Rennell*.

had an aspect yet more formidable. Among them, stood elephants, as stupendous bulwarks; irritated for that purpose, they oppressed the ear with their roaring. There the enemy, here the river, suddenly infected with fear men disposed to confidence, who had often proved themselves invincible. They could not believe, that crazy rafts could be steered, or safely laid upon the opposite bank.

In the middle of the river were numerous islands, to which the Macedonians swam, holding their weapons over their heads. Here they had frequent skirmishes; and both kings deduced from these minor conflicts, the probable result of the great battle.

In the Macedonian army, Symmachus and Nicanor, young noblemen, were distinguished for hardihood and enterprise. The uniform success of their undertakings had inspired them with contempt for every kind of danger. Led by these, a party of the boldest youths, armed with lances only, swam over to an island occupied by a crowd of the enemy; defended by no other cuirass than courage, they killed a number of Indians. They might have retired with glory, if fortunate temerity could have known moderation: but while they disdainfully and arrogantly waited to be attacked, surprised on the rear by men who had swum round unperceived, they were

swept down by discharges of arrows. Such as escaped the enemy, were carried down the stream, or entangled in the whirlpools. This skirmish greatly established the confidence of Porus, who from the bank observed all its vicissitudes.

44. Perplexed, Alexander at length projected this stratagem to deceive the enemy. One island in the river was larger than the rest, woody, and calculated for masking operations. Moreover, not far from the bank which the king occupied, was a deep trench, in which not only the infantry, but cavalry mounted, might be concealed. That he might, therefore, divert the attention of the enemy from a spot with these advantages, he ordered Ptolemy to parade with all his cavalry at a distance from the island, and repeatedly to alarm the Indians with acclamations, as though he were in motion to pass the river. Thus Ptolemy acted many successive days; and, by this device, induced Porus to remove his army to the place at which he pretended to strike. The island was now beyond the enemy's view. Alexander caused his pavilion to be set up at another part of the bank, the guards usually attached to the royal person to mount in front, and the whole routine of imperial magnificence to be displayed there to the Indians. Attalus, of his own age, and

not unlike him in features and person, especially if seen from a distance, he invested in the robes of majesty, that the king might appear to be himself defending the bank, unoccupied about the passage.

A tempest, which at first retarded, afterwards promoted, the accomplishment of the stratagem; fortune directing annoyances to beneficial results. Alexander was preparing, with the infantry, to pass into the island above mentioned*; the enemy being diverted by the forces encamped lower down under Ptolemy; when a storm of rain fell, scarcely to be endured by those under tents: overwhelmed by the torrent, the soldiers deserting their boats and rafts, took refuge on land. The din of this confusion was not heard by the enemy, drowned by the louder surge against the banks. Then the rain suddenly intermitted; but clouds, so dense, overspread the sky, that they intercepted the light; men conversing together could hardly distinguish their companions' faces. This darkness would have terrified another leader, especially as an unknown river was to be passed: Possibly the enemy occupies the bank to which the explorers, seeking glory in complicated danger, are rashly groping. Alexander deem-

* Respecting the place where the passage was effected, see PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION, *Testimonies*, No. 5.

ing the shadowy gloom to be his opportunity, gave the signal for all to embark in silence, and caused his own raft to be put off first. The shore to which they were steering, was vacant of the enemy; for Porus confined his vigilance to Ptolemy. Except one boat, which was driven upon a rock, the rest arrived safe. The king ordered the soldiers to arm, to form into ranks, and to march.

CHAP. XIV.

Battle with Porus.

45. ALEXANDER was now leading his army divided into two wings; when Porus received advice, that an armed force had gained the bank, and an attack might be expected. At first Porus, with a weak indulgence of hope, natural to the human mind, imagined it to be Abisares his ally coming to aid him, according to treaty. Presently, the clearer light displaying the enemy, Porus sent forward, against the approaching force, his brother Hages, with one hundred chariots and three thousand cavalry. Porus' chief strength was in chariots: each carried six men; two targeteers, two archers disposed on each side; and the remaining two were drivers, not indeed un-

Olymp. cxiii. 2.

A. C. 327.

Ætat. Alex. 29.

Reg. 9.

Imp. 3.

armed, for, in close engagements, laying aside the reins, they showered javelins on the enemy. On this day, however, these machines were of small avail, for an unusually heavy rain, as already narrated, having fallen, made the grounds perfidiously soft, and unfit for riding: and the ponderous, and almost immovable, chariots, were arrested by the sloughs and torrent-gullies. Alexander, on the contrary, rushed freely to the charge, with an active and light-armed force. The Scythæ and the Dahæ began the onset: then Alexander detached Perdiccas with a body of horse against the enemy's right wing.

46. Now the conflict spread itself to all points; and the charioteers deeming their vehicles to be the last resource of their associates, drove with loose reins into the midst of the field, and equally annoyed both parties; for, at first, the Macedonian infantry were trampled down by their inroad,—then, the chariots, whirled upon slimy and unequal places, shook the drivers from their seats; other cars the affrighted horses precipitated into the ravines, and pools; and even into the river: a few, having been conducted as far as the enemy, reached Porus, who was vigorously stimulating the battle.

The Indian leader, perceiving his chariots, dispersed over the field, floundering without directors, distributed the elephants to his most

tried friends. Behind them, he had stationed his infantry and archers: these carried drums, whose accent served the Indians instead of the trumpet's call. Nor were the elephants disturbed by the noise: their ears were docile to the known sound. The image of Hercules was carried before the infantry; their supreme incitement to heroic acts: By the military code, it was a crime to desert the bearers of it, and these were consigned to death if they returned without it from the field: The fear which the Indians anciently entertained for Hercules, as an enemy, having been converted into religious veneration*.

The appearance of the stupendous animals contributed, with the presence of the martial chief, to check the Macedonians for an interval. Posted among the men, the quadrupeds looked at a distance like turrets. Eminently tall, Po-

* The Indian Hercules is drawn with a bill-hook as well as club. A native poet thus indicates a river sacred to him.

O'er Saraswati's waters wing your course,
And inward prove their purifying force;
Most holy, since, oppress'd with heaviest grief,
The PLOUGHSHARE'S MIGHTY LORD here sought relief—
From kindred strife, and Revati withdrew,
And to these banks and holy musing flew.

*Megha Duta, or Cloud Messenger, Translated
from the Sanscrit. By HORACE HAYMAN
WILSON, Secretary to the Asiatic Society.
London, 1814. p. 41.*

rus* almost exceeded the standard of man. The elephant which carried him, increased his apparent magnitude, rising in the same proportion, above others of its species.

47. Alexander, surveying the Indian prince and army, said: "At length, I meet a danger commensurate with my soul. We have to cope at once with mighty beasts, and uncommon men." Then, turning to Cœnos, he delivered these orders: "When, with Ptolemy, Perdiccas, and Hephæstion, I shall have charged the enemy's left wing, and you shall perceive me in close action; yourself will move, by a circuit on the right†, and attack the disordered ranks.— You, Antigènes! and Leonnatus! and Tauron! bear upon the adverse centre, pressing it in front. Our long and powerful pikes can never be used with greater effect, than against the unwieldy beasts and their managers. Force off the riders, and stab the elephants. These form a dangerous kind of armament. In

* His height was seven feet and a half. *Arrian*.

† *Ipse in dextrum move*. ORIGINAL.—This passage, connected with the narrative, below, of what Cœnos performed, has been regarded by the Commentators as implicating the use, here, of "right" for "left;" or an inverse mistake, there: But if the construction in the text be received; a sense which a mere wave of Alexander's hand might make clear to Cœnos; Curtius has fallen into no contradiction, but represents Cœnos to attack, in the flank or rear, the same body which Alexander assailed in front.

“ their fiercer rage, they trample their masters : they require to be guided against their enemies : affright drives them upon their friends.”

As he concluded, he galloped to the charge. And now, according to his plan, he had engaged the ranks of the enemy : then Cœnos, with impressive force, wheeled upon their left wing. The phalanx also bore, with united weight, against the centre of the Indian army.

Porus, wherever he perceived cavalry advancing, ordered elephants to be opposed. But the ponderous strides of so unversatile an animal could not answer the rapid wheelings of the horse. Nor, indeed, did the Barbarian arrows avail to keep off cavalry ; for, long and excessively weighty, the archers could not properly adjust them, without resting their bows upon the ground ; its slimy surface embarrassed the effort to draw ; and, while preparing to shoot, they were anticipated by the activity of the enemy. Porus' orders were now disregarded : (such an occurrence is common, when the leader's authority over broken ranks is usurped by fear :) there were as many commanders-in-chief as dispersed corps. One officer was directing his men to join the line ; another, to fight in a separate band ; a third, to stand firm ; several commanded their troops to wheel upon the enemy's rear. Nothing was done in concert.

The Indian king, however, accompanied by a few who feared only disgrace, rallied his scattered forces, and advanced upon the enemy, with the elephants in his van. The noble beasts spread terror over the field; and their unfamiliar noise, affecting not the horses only, which are prone to take fright, but the men, disordered the Macedonian ranks.

48. Now the recently victorious were looking round for a place of retreat: when Alexander sent against the elephants a force, consisting of light-armed Agrians and Thracians, more adapted for skirmishing than close fighting. These [mounted archers] discharged an immense stream of arrows upon the elephants and their directors: the phalanx also pressed the enemy; who were thus kept unceasingly alarmed. But individuals followed up the elephants too eagerly; and, having incensed them by wounds, were crushed under their feet; an admonition to others to assail them with more caution. The spectacle was dismaying, when the monstrous animals took up, by the proboscis, men in armour, and delivered them to the guides seated on their backs.

The Macedonians now pursuing, and now flying from the elephants,—the doubtful battle fluctuated through great part of the day: until Alexander's soldiers, with axes prepared for that service, hacked round the elephants' feet.

Others, with swords called *copidas*, slightly curved, resembling sithes, cut at their trunks. The fear, not merely of dying, but of new tortures in dying, made them leave nothing untried. At length, many elephants, subdued with wounds, rushing on their own bands, bore them down, and, precipitating their masters to the ground, trampled them to death. More terrified than mischievous, others were driven like cattle from the field.

Deserted by the greater part of his troops, Porus from his elephant began to expend a store of javelins on the encircling enemy. He wounded many at a distance; himself a mark at which all were aiming. His breast and back pierced already with nine wounds, he had lost much blood; and his languid arm was dropping darts, rather than directing them. His irritated elephant, not yet wounded, with unabated vigor, continued to assault the enemy's ranks: until the governor of the animal, perceiving that the king's limbs faltered, that his weapons were exhausted, and that he was losing recollection, incited the beast to flight.

Alexander followed: but his horse, fainting under multiplied wounds, stretched itself on the ground, rather setting the king down than throwing him* off. Thus was his pursuit retarded, till he could change his horse.

* Curtius has followed Chares, as the following account, preserved

49. Meanwhile, the brother of the Indian emperor Taxiles, having been sent forward by Alexander, began to counsel Porus, ‘ Not to fight obstinately to the last, but to surrender to the victor.’ Porus, although his strength was exhausted, and his blood at a low ebb, yet starting up at the known voice; “ I know thee,” said he, “ brother of Taxiles! betrayer of the empire and his own kingdom.” And he cast at him the single javelin by accident not before discharged; which, entering his breast, pierced to his back.

Having displayed this last exertion of manual prowess, he began to fly more diligently. But his elephant, which had also received numerous wounds, became unable to proceed. Halting necessarily, he opposed some infantry to the pursuing enemy.

Alexander had now come up; and acquainted with the pertinacity of Porus, ordered his

by Aulus Gellius, will show :—^d In the Indian war, when Alexander “ was mounted upon him, and, performing the noblest exploits, had “ carelessly entangled himself amidst a phalanx of the enemy,— “ spears from all parts were heaped on Alexander; and the horse “ was covered with many and deep wounds in the neck and in his “ side. Ready to expire, and almost exhausted, he bore the king “ from the midst of the foe with a most rapid pace; and having “ carried him beyond the reach of their spears, he dropped down, “ and, certain that his master was safe, he breathed his last, as “ if with the consolation of human sensibility. Upon this king “ Alexander, having been victorious in this war, built a city on this “ spot, and in honour of his horse, called it Bucephalon.”— CHARES apud AUL. GELL. *Att. Noct.* lib. v. cap. 2.

men not to spare the resisting. They, therefore, from all parts, plied the Indian infantry, and Porus himself, with darts; who at length, disabled and unconscious, began to slide from the beast. The Indian who directed the elephant, supposing the king designed to alight, caused the animal to kneel, as was customary. Observing the king's elephant bow to the ground, the others, as they had been trained, did the same. Thus one incident delivered Porus and all his adherents to the conqueror.

50. Alexander, concluding that Porus was dead, ordered his body to be stripped; and those whose office it was, ran in to take off his armour and robes: when the spirited elephant began to defend his master, and attack the spoilers, and, lifting with his trunk the rescued body to his back, replaced it there. Whereupon the Macedonians covered the beast with darts, and having killed it, laid Porus in a waggon. Alexander, perceiving the wounded prince to open his eyes, was incited, not by antipathy, but by compassion, to say: "Knowing my achievements, what phrenzy prompted thee, unhappy determination, to try with me the fortune of war; when thy neighbour Taxiles was an example to thee of my clemency to the submitting?" ——— 'Because thou freely inquierest,' said the Indian, 'I will answer freely. No one I accounted stronger

‘ than myself. My own force I knew, not yet
‘ measured with thine. The battle has taught
‘ me, that thou art the greater commander; but
‘ I hold it no trivial satisfaction, to rank second.’

To the appeal from Alexander which followed :

“ What dost thou consider, that I, as a victor,
“ ought to determine respecting thee?” Porus
answered: ‘ Let this day instruct thee, by
‘ which thou seest how precarious is prosperity.’

Such an admonition availed him more than entreaty. Struck by his magnanimity, and fearless spirit, which adversity could not touch, Alexander esteemed him worthy to be entertained, not only kindly, but honourably. His attentions to him under recovery, were such as if he had bled in his service. Contrary to universal expectation, he enrolled him among his friends. Soon afterwards, he elevated him, by enlarging his kingdom. Nothing seemed more constitutional and uniform in Alexander’s disposition, than admiration of real greatness. Nevertheless, the Macedonian was more just in the arbitration of renown to an enemy, than to a subject: inasmuch as he apprehended, that the celebrity of his officers might interfere with his own, and that his own fame would be illustrious in proportion to the majestic reputation of the vanquished.

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK IX.

THE MACEDONIANS REFUSE TO PASS THE HYPASIS.
VOYAGE DOWN THE INDUS. NEARCHIUS DETACHED,
ALEXANDER RETURNS BY LAND TO PERSIA.

CHAP. I.

Alexander directs a navy to be prepared, and advances to the Hypasis. Engagements with several Indian tribes. Submission of Sophites and Pregelas.

1. JOYOUSLY affected by so memorable a victory, which he regarded as opening to him the limits of the East, Alexander offered sacrifices to the Sun. And, that his troops, whom he had assembled to receive his commendations, might execute with increased alacrity the remaining operations, he informed them, ' That the bulwark of India had been demolished by the recent battle. A magnificent booty

‘ awaited them. The riches most in esteem
‘ sprang up in the country to which they were
‘ marching. The superseded spoils of Persia
‘ had become comparatively worthless. They
‘ might count on filling, not their own houses
‘ merely; but Macedon and Greece, with gems
‘ and pearls, gold and ivory.’ The soldiers, as
eager for riches as glory, promised their services
unanimously, because his representations had
never deceived them.

The assembly dismissed with sanguine anticipations, he directed ships to be built, that when his troops should have overrun all Asia, he might explore the ocean surrounding the earth. The neighbouring mountains abounded with timber fit for naval architecture: as the workmen were felling it, they found serpents of uncommon dimensions*. On these ridges, the *rhinoceros* was also seen, a rare animal in other parts of India†. This name for the [nose-horned] monster, was introduced by the Greeks; the term for it in the Indian dialects has a different import.

Two cities founded, one on each bank of

* Diodorus, Ælian, and Arrian, state their length at sixteen cubits; Onesicritus, *apud Strabonem*, is so extravagant as to mention 120 and 210 feet, respectively, as the measure of two that were met with.

† Ante, p. 263.

the river, which the king had passed; he presented each of his generals with a chaplet and a thousand pieces of gold. The other officers he also rewarded, in proportion to their rank in the army, or their achievements.

Abisares, who previously to the battle with Porus had sent ambassadors to Alexander, now, by a second legation, conveyed an assurance, ' That he was ready to execute all the king's ' mandates, provided he were not required to ' surrender his person; for he would neither ' live without the regal dignity, nor reign a ' captive king.' Alexander replied: " Announce " to him, that if it will incommode him to at- " tend me, I will visit him." †

2. Having overcome another Porus, and passed the river [Acesines] he proceeded to the interior of the country. There, woods, containing trees eminently lofty, shaded an almost illimitable space: ramifications from the parent plant — large as the trunks of ordinary trees — bent down to the earth, shoot up again from the bed through which they had twisted, growing not like branches, but as stems from a root*. The temperature of the air is salubrious; as umbrageous skreens mitigate the heat of the

* The Banian, or Burr tree. *Ficus Indicus*, LINN. " Each tree " is itself a grove."—FORBES'S *Oriental Memoirs*. So Theophrastus, *de plantis*, iv. 5, and Pliny, xii. 5.

sun, and lavish springs diffuse refreshing waters. Here also glided serpents, in astonishing multiplicity, whose scales returned gleams of gold : none are armed with more virulent poison ; death quickly followed their bite, till an antidote was communicated by the inhabitants.

Hence Alexander passed through desert tracts to the river Hydraotes : skirting which was a dense grove, formed of trees not common elsewhere, and full of wild peacocks.

The camp removed, he, by a *military circle*, reduced a town not very distant : Receiving hostages, he imposed a tribute on the place. He proceeded to a city, considerable in regard to the territory, defended not only by a wall, but by a lake. The Barbarians met him with war-chariots fastened together : some had darts, some pikes, some battle-axes ; they were seen actively leaping from car to car, to succour such combatants as were severely pressed. At first, this new way of fighting startled the Macedonians, as they were wounded before they could come to close action. At length, despising so irregular an armament, having surrounded the chariots, they began to spear their fierce adversaries. That these machines might be beset singly, the king ordered the ligaments by which they were connected to be cut. Eight thousand Indians having thus fallen, the rest

sought refuge in the town. On the following day, the Macedonians took the ramparts by escalade. Flight saved a few of the inhabitants, who, sensible that the place must fall, swam over the lake. These spread consternation through the neighbouring cities, reporting, that an invincible army of gods was come.

3. Having detached Perdiccas with a light division to ravage the country, and committed part of the army to Eumenes to compel several hordes to surrender, Alexander conducted his remaining force against a powerful city, in which the inhabitants of other places had also taken refuge. The townspeople, having sent deputies to entreat Alexander, nevertheless prepared for war; suddenly divided by conflicting counsels; these preferring any hardship to submission, and those deeming resistance unavailing. But while nothing was regulated by concert, the party urgent for surrender, opened the gates to the enemy.

Notwithstanding the king might have justly punished the instigators to hostilities, yet he pardoned all, and, having taken hostages, marched to the next city. Conducted at the van of the army, the hostages were recognized, by the inhabitants from the walls, to belong to the same nation, and were summoned to a parley. By a representation of the king's

clemency and power, they induced them to surrender. And, in a similar manner, the king received other towns into allegiance.

Hence he advanced into the kingdom of Sophites. This nation, considered as Barbarian, excels in wisdom, and is governed by salutary customs. The children are not reared and educated according to the decision of the parents, but of officers appointed to examine the conformation of infants; who, if they observe any to be monsters or defective in their limbs, cause them to be killed*. These people, in contracting marriage, are not influenced by the tribe and nobility of the parties, but by a choice beauty of exterior, because this is prized in children.

4. In the city to which Alexander had led his army, Sophites himself resided. The gates were closed, but no soldiers appeared on the walls or towers; and the Macedonians were in doubt, whether the inhabitants had evacuated the place, or lay there insidiously concealed. On a sudden, the gate opens, and the rajah ap-

* As we have found, in other parts of India, in the systems of native philosophers, metaphysical varieties, corresponding to the conclusions of European speculators; so it might have been expected that in the Upper Punjaub, travellers would find some traces still remaining, of a parallel to one of the most remarkable institutions of Lycurgus. But there is reason to think, that the race of people described in the text have since emigrated to successive seats more eastward. — See ADDITIONAL NOTES (Y).

proaches with his two adult sons. He far surpassed all the Barbarians in manly beauty. Of purple and embroidered gold was his vest, which covered even his legs : his golden sandals were studded with gems : from the shoulders to each wrist, he was ornamented with pearls : the pendants from his ears, were pearls of extraordinary whiteness and magnitude : he carried a truncheon of gold set with beryls. Having delivered this to Alexander, he surrendered himself, his children, and his country, praying that he would protect them.

This district produces excellent hunting-dogs : they are said to discontinue their cry when they see the game : they mostly unkenel the lion. To display their mettle to Alexander, the rajah caused a lion of uncommon size to be turned out before him, and four dogs, in all, to be set against it : they promptly fastened on the predatory beast. Then a menial, accustomed to such offices, pulled one of the dogs strongly by the leg : the dog not coming off, he began to sever the limb with a hanger : nor by this was the tenacity of the animal overcome : the keeper then proceeded to cut it in another part : and the dog not yet relaxing its hold, he hacked it to pieces, the animal dying with its teeth fixed in the lion. Such eagerness for their game has nature implanted in these animals, according to ancient writers. I con-

fess, that I transcribe more than I believe*; for I cannot bring myself either to affirm particulars which I regard as doubtful, or to suppress transmitted accounts, interesting, if true.

Sophites left in his government,—Alexander has arrived at the river Hypasis; joined there by Hephæstion, who had subdued another province. Phegelas was rajah of the bordering district, who, having directed his subjects to continue cultivating their lands, met Alexander with presents, wholly disposed to obey his authority.

CHAP. II.

Report of the desert between the Hypasis and the Ganges; and of the kingdom of the Prasii and Gangaridæ. Alexander invites his soldiers to proceed.

5. AFTER remaining with this prince two days, on the third Alexander had intended to pass the river, difficult of transcending, from its expansive breadth, and from rocks in the channel. Applying, therefore, to Phegelas, for the requisite information, he obtained this report :

Yet the relation suspected by Curtius is given, with exact concurrence, by Diodorus, lib. xvii. Strabo, lib. xv. Ælian, *Hist. Anim.* viii. Pliny, viii. 4. Plutarch, *de Sol. Anim.* Similar barbarities have been practised on English bull-dogs, with similar results.

‘ Beyond the Hypasis lies a vast desert* of eleven days’ journey. Afterwards, the Ganges intercepts an invader, the largest river of all India. The farther bank is inhabited by the Gangaridæ and the Prasii†. Aggrammes,

* The plains of the Punjaub, with some trifling exceptions, belong to the Sikhs; and from the southern frontier of that country, there extends a sandy DESERT, almost to the gulph of Cutch. This desert, which is about four hundred miles broad from east to west, is in some places entirely uninhabited, and, in others, thinly scattered with villages and cultivation. The greater part, if not the whole of it, is composed of sand-hills, or still more barren plains of hard clay. The edge of it on the north is moderately fertile, and forms the banks of the Acesines. On the east it runs gradually into the well cultivated parts of India; and on the south it is separated from the sea by part of the country of Cutch. — *Elphinstone’s Caubul*, p. 89.

Tamerlane, in his march from Adjodin to Balnir, experienced that the country between the lower parts of the Hypasis and the Ganges, has a DESERT in it: as Major Rennell has remarked. Nadir Shah, after his successful invasion of India, A. D. 1738, in returning from Delhi, A. D. 1740, moved on a line not intersecting the desert; and in penetrating through the mountains to the north of India, and in conflicts with the fierce nations inhabiting the countries which stretch from the banks of the Oxus to the frontiers of Persia, though possessed of absolute power, and distinguished by eminent talents and long experience as a commander, he had the mortification to lose a great part of his forces.—See an account of his retreat and sufferings in the *Memoirs of Khojeh Abdulkurren*, a Cashmerian of distinction, who served in his army.

† “ By *Prachi*, (in Sanscrit) or “ the east,” is understood all the country from Allahabad to the easternmost limits of India. From *Prachi* is obviously derived the name of *Prasii*, which the Greeks gave to the inhabitants of this country. It is divided into two parts: the first comprehends all the country from Allahabad to *Raj-mehal*, and the western branch of the Ganges: the second includes Bengal, the greatest part of which is known in Sanscrit under the name of *Gancara-desa*, or “ country of *Gancara*,” from which the Greeks

‘ the king of those nations, guards his frontiers
‘ with twenty thousand horse and two hundred
‘ thousand foot: besides,’ said Phegelas, ‘ he
‘ drives to the field two thousand war chariots,
‘ and elephants, the most terrible of armaments,
‘ to the amount of three thousand.’

Alexander, to whom all these things appeared incredible, inquired of Porus, who was with him, whether they were true? Porus affirmed, ‘ That the natural defences and forces
‘ of that kingdom were not exaggerated.’ He added, ‘ that the individual on the throne, in
‘ no respect noble, was of the lowest extraction. His father had been a barber, who
‘ scarcely subsisted on his daily earnings, till
‘ his person recommended him to the queen*.
‘ Through her, the favourite was promoted to
‘ the most confidential office about the king.
‘ The abused king taken off by treason, he
‘ seized the sovereignty under the name of
‘ guardianship to the royal children. Having
‘ killed these, he had borne to him this Ag-
‘ grammes now reigning, amid the contempt
‘ and hatred of his subjects, on whom the
‘ father’s history made more impression than
‘ the son’s elevation.’

The corroboration of Porus filled Alexander

made ‘Gangari-das.’—Capt. WILFORD *on the Chronology of the
‘Hindus*, ASIATIC RESEARCHES, vol. v. p. 269.

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (Z).

with deep solicitude. Alexander despised the enemy and the elephants : he feared the situation of the country and the rapidity of the rivers. Arduous it appeared, to explore, and force from obscurity, nations withdrawn almost to the bounds of the habitable world. On the other hand, his ambition, never to be sated with power and fame, viewed no obstructions as insurmountable, and no regions as remote. Still, at intervals, he doubted, whether the Macedonians, having traversed so great a portion of the earth, having grown old in fighting and marching, would be willing to move toward so many rivers, and more repelling difficulties, interposed by nature. Rich with booty to incumbrance, they had rather enjoy what they had won, than toil for new acquisitions. From THEIR object, far dissimilar HIS. His mind embraced the world, yet at the beginning of his operations. The soldiers, exhausted with so many campaigns, desired — by taking whatever fruit was at hand — to terminate a course of peril.

6. Ambition triumphed over moderation; and to the convened Macedonian army he declaimed to this effect. “ I am aware, soldiers !
“ that the Indians have, these few last days,
“ rumoured many things designed to terrify
“ you. But you have not to learn the airiness
“ of fiction. Thus the defile of Cilicia, the

“ plains of Mesopotamia, were formidable in
“ the reports of the Persians; the Euphrates
“ over which we threw a bridge, the Tigris
“ which we forded, impassable. Fame never
“ describes correctly; when she is herald, all
“ is magnified. Our own glory, though it has
“ a real foundation, ascends, on the voices of
“ men, above our achievements.

“ But recently, who had believed that we
“ could pass the Hydaspes, overcome elephants
“ standing like bastions, and surmount other
“ obstacles, more terrible to hear of than to
“ encounter? We had long since fled from
“ Asia, if fables could vanquish us.

“ Think you, that there are greater herds
“ of elephants than of other cattle? a rare spe-
“ cies, not easily taken, and more difficult to
“ train. The same fabrication has assigned
“ the numbers of the enemy's infantry and
“ cavalry. Now regarding the river, in pro-
“ portion as it is broad, the stream must be
“ gentle; for a confined channel conduces to
“ shoal-waters and torrents. But all the peril
“ lies in landing from the boats in presence
“ of an enemy; whatever breadth of flood
“ intervene, the struggle is the same at climb-
“ ing the beach.

“ Let us, however, suppose all these reports
“ to be true.—What creates your terrors? the
“ magnitude of the beasts, or the multiplicity

“ of the men? With respect to the elephants,
“ we have just experienced, that they invade
“ their own lines more furiously than ours, and
“ that axes and bills can disable their vast
“ limbs. What does it concern us, whether
“ Aggrammes has the same number that Porus
“ had, or three thousand? Since we see, that
“ wound one or two, and the rest fly. Add,
“ that if it be difficult to manage a few, what
“ fierce collisions must occur among collected
“ thousands, unable, from terror, to stand be-
“ fore the enemy, with bodies unfit for evolu-
“ tion, and without room to retire! Indeed, I
“ so thoroughly despise them, that since I have
“ had elephants, I have not used them in the
“ field, convinced that they yield the sharper
“ annoyance to their friends.

“ But the multitude of horse and foot dis-
“ concerts you! because you have been used
“ to combat small bands; and now, for the
“ first time, you have to meet a disorderly
“ mass. The Granicus attests the invincible
“ energies of the Macedonians against a supe-
“ rior number; and Cilicia, inundated with
“ Persian blood; and the plains of Arbela,
“ covered with the bones of a routed host.
“ You begin too late to count the enemy, after
“ your victories have depopulated Asia. While
“ embarking at the Hellespont, then you should

“ have reflected on your small number :—Now
“ the Scythæ attend us, the Bactrians assist us,
“ the Dahæ and Sogdiani fight in our ranks.
“ Not, however, that I rely on this horde. I
“ look to my Macedonians; in your valour I
“ confide, as a pledge for the results which I
“ am at the point to achieve. While you will
“ stand in battalion at my side, I will enu-
“ merate neither my own, nor the enemy’s
“ army: only display, in co-operation with me,
“ unbounded cheerfulness and confidence. We
“ are now at the close of our work. We have
“ reached the ocean, and the place whence the
“ sun rises; and, unless inertness interpose, we
“ shall return thence victorious to our country,
“ the last region in the world subdued. Do not
“ imitate those cultivators, who indolently let
“ ripe fruit fall out of their hands. The reward
“ outweighs the danger. The kingdom is opu-
“ lent; the people unwarlike. Therefore I am
“ leading you, not so much to glory as to spoil.
“ You deserve to carry home the riches which
“ the Indian sea diffuses on the shore. It were
“ unworthy of you to leave, through fear, any
“ thing unattempted.

“ By your glory, in which you surpass
“ the most illustrious nations; by the offices,
“ for exchanged benefits, which we mutually
“ merit, a contest in which neither of us can

“ yield, — I implore and conjure you not to
“ abandon your nurtured champion, your fel-
“ low soldier, I will not say your king, ad-
“ vancing to the confines of human things.
“ Your previous exertions were tributes of
“ obedience. This one I am to owe to your
“ attachment. And he who is asking this,
“ never laid on you a command, without being
“ the first to present himself to danger: the
“ line he has often protected with his shield.
“ Nor blast the palm-branch in my hands,
“ through which, if envy can be repelled,
“ I shall equal Hercules and Bacchus. Grant
“ your king this boon, and break your obsti-
“ nate silence. Where is the shout expressive
“ of your ready zeal? where the intrepid coun-
“ tenance of my Macedonians? I cannot re-
“ cognize my own soldiers, nor seem I known
“ to them. My words play in deaf ears: I
“ am striving to stimulate alienated, insensible
“ minds.”

7. As their silence was persevering, and their faces remained directed to the ground:
“ I am ignorant,” resumed he, “ what is my
“ inadvertent offence, for which you refuse to
“ turn your eyes upon me. I seem in a desert:
“ no one answers me, not even in the negative.
“ Have I any auditors? — — But what do I
“ require? We are rescuing your own great-

“ness and glory. Where are the men whom I
“saw recently contending for the prerogative
“of carrying their wounded king? I am aban-
“doned, betrayed to the enemy. I will, how-
“ever, proceed alone. Expose me to rivers,
“to elephants, and to tribes at whose names
“you tremble. Though you desert me, I shall
“find followers. The Scythæ and Bactrians
“will be my companions; not long since our
“enemies, now our soldiers. It were better to
“fall, than to be made your leader through en-
“treaty. Go, return home; having abandoned
“your king, go thither triumphantly; while, in
“this region, I shall find either the victory of
“which you despair, or honourable death.”

CHAP. III.

The unwillingness of the troops to proceed expressed by Cænos. Alexander erects, on the bank of the Hypasis, memorials of his expedition, and returns to the Acesines. He embarks on the Hydaspes.

BY no address could Alexander obtain an acclamation from the soldiers. They were waiting for the generals, and chief officers, to represent

to him, That, languid from wounds, and worn out with continual service, they did not refuse; but they were unequal to the duties of the expedition. Under the stupefaction of hesitating fear, their eyes were rivetted to the ground: the first expression from them was an impulsive murmur; then was poured out a groan half-stifled; by degrees their grief grew bolder, flowing in tears. His indignation yielding to sympathy, the king himself could not govern his suffused eyes. At length, while the whole assembly were weeping unrestrainedly, Cœnos alone had the firmness to approach the tribunal, intimating a desire to speak. As the soldiers saw him taking off his helmet, the customary prelude to addressing the king, they exhorted him to plead the cause of the army.

8. “ May the gods,” then began Cœnos, “ preserve us from impious thoughts; and they
“ do preserve us. In your soldiers lives the
“ same spirit that always lived—to march, to
“ fight, to enterprise, as you command; and,
“ by our blood, to enhance your name to posterity. Therefore, if you proceed,—we, un-
“ armed, indeed, and naked, and pallid, will
“ follow, or penetrate first, let your will point
“ whithersoever. Nevertheless, sire! if you
“ are willing to receive from your soldiers, not
“ fabrications, but truths wrung out by the

“ last necessity, listen propitiously to the con-
 “ stant adherents of your government and for-
 “ tune. Sire! by stupendous exploits, you
 “ have vanquished not only your enemies, but
 “ your own soldiers: whatever mortals could
 “ effect, we have accomplished: to us the pro-
 “ perties of traversed seas and regions are bet-
 “ ter known than to the inhabitants and bor-
 “ derers: we stand almost on the frontier of
 “ the world. You are preparing to advance
 “ into another hemisphere*; to explore an
 “ India unknown to the Indians; to rouse from
 “ their lairs savages who live among wild
 “ beasts and serpents, that you may illumine
 “ by victories more tracts than the sun visits†.
 “ The design is suitable to your unbounded
 “ mind; but it is too large for ours. Your
 “ virtue will ever be in emanation: our vigour
 “ is nearly exhausted. Behold our pallid

* *In alium ORBEM parat ire.*—CURT. From a comparison of two passages in Pliny, he appears to use *orbs* in one, as equivalent to *circle*; hence the *orbem* of Curtius need not be construed more extensively than *hemisphere*. *CIRCUITU CXXV mill. passuum colligit.*—PLIN. lib. v. cap. 38. *lx passus plerique ORBE colligant.*—PLIN. lib. xii. cap. 11. And thus Milton:—

“ Now reigns full ORB’D the moon.”

† “ We halted next day at Zerghöm Khail; and it is remarkable that the hills were so high, and the valleys so deep in this march, that the surveyors could not see the sun to take an observation at noon-day.” —ELPHINSTONE’S *Cambul*, London, 4to. 1816, p. 42.

“ bodies, pierced with so many wounds, un-
“ sound with so many scars. Already our
“ weapons are blunted, our armour failing.
“ We wear Persian habits, because national
“ cannot be conveyed hither; we have de-
“ generated into foreign manners. Who has
“ a cuirass? who, a horse? Let it be inquired
“ —how many of us are attended by slaves?
“ how much booty any one has left? Con-
“ querors of the world, we are destitute of
“ every thing. Nor from luxury spring our
“ difficulties: we have worn out, in war, the
“ equipments and sinews of war. Will you
“ expose this most gallant army, unprovided,
“ to stupendous beasts? of which, though the
“ Barbarians may designedly exaggerate the
“ total, yet I infer, even from the false report,
“ that the number is great. .

“ If still, sire! your intention be fixed on
“ penetrating India, the part trending south-
“ ward is less extensive; after its subjugation,
“ we may coast that sea which nature has
“ willed should bound the theatre of man.
“ Why strike circuitously at glory, when it
“ is seated near? Here as well the ocean
“ intercepts us. Unless you prefer to rove
“ without auspices, we have arrived whither
“ your fortune conducted.

“ I chose, sire! rather to repeat these things

“ in your audience, in this assembly, than
“ in your absence : not that I might ingra-
“ tiate myself with the listening army, but
“ that you might hear the voice of men boldly
“ speaking out, more satisfactory than the
“ groaning of men communicating in whis-
“ pers.”

9. As Cœnos closed this appeal, all around there burst out a shout with wailing ; intermingled voices calling king ! father ! sovereign lord ! And now other general officers, especially the senior, whose apology was the more graceful, and their application weightier, by reason of their venerable appearance, pleaded to the same effect.

Alexander could neither repress the pertinacious, nor soothe the vehement. Disconcerted, he leaped from the tribunal. He secluded himself in his pavilion : to all besides his retinue prohibiting admission. Having sacrificed two days to resentment, on the third he appeared publicly. He ordered to be erected, as monuments of his expedition, twelve altars* of hewn

* These were stupendous ; seventy-five feet high. *Diod.* lib. xvii. s. 95. Pliny, citing the *Itinerary* of Beton and Diognetes, and the *Letters* of Alexander, informs us, that the king passed to the eastern bank of the Hypasis, to erect them. Major Rennell has deduced their situation to have been near the confluence of the Hypasis and Hesudrus.

stone; the ramparts of his encampment to be extended; and beds to be left, of greater dimensions than corresponded with the ordinary proportions of man: designing a subject of false wonder to posterity.

Hence, remeasuring the space which he had traversed, he encamped on the doab of the Acesines*. Cœnos, attacked by sickness, here died. The king, indeed, mourned his death: nevertheless he remarked, ‘That, for a few days, Cœnos had made a long speech, as though he alone were to have revisited Macedon.’

Meanwhile Memnon had conducted from Thrace a reinforcement of six thousand cavalry; there arrived, besides, seven thousand infantry, which Harpalus had sent by him. Memnon also brought twenty-five thousand suits of arms, inlaid with gold and silver: Having distributed these, Alexander caused the old to be burned.

By this time, the fleet which he had directed should be built, was floating at anchor. Designing to proceed to the ocean with a thousand ships†, he left in their kingdoms Porus and

* *Ad flumen Acesinem locat castra.*—CURT. By understanding Alexander to encamp on the western bank of the Acesines, or territory between that river and the Hydaspes, Curtius may be reconciled with Arrian and Strabo, who make the latter river the scene of the sequent operations. The breadth of the *doab*, from ferry to ferry, is but 44 miles horizontal distance.—Lieut. MACARTNEY'S *Memoir*. ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, pp. 660, 661.

† Arrian, following Ptolemy's narrative, makes the number nearly

Taxiles; having, when they were renewing ancient discords and feuds, established friendship between them, by a family-alliance. Both had been zealously instrumental to the building of his fleet.

He also rebuilt the two newly founded cities*: one he denominated Nicæa; the other, dedicating it to the memory of his horse, whom he had lost, he named Bucephalon

two thousand. As the Punjab country is full of navigable rivers, on which all the intercourse among the natives was carried on, it abounded with vessels ready constructed to the conqueror's hands. Could we credit the account [Diod. Sic. ii. 74.] of the invasion of India by Semiramis, no fewer than four thousand vessels were assembled on the Indus to oppose her fleet. It is remarkable, that when Mahmood of Gaznah invaded India, a fleet was collected on the Indus to repel him consisting of the same number. We learn from the *Ayeen Akberry*, [vol. ii. p. 143.] that the inhabitants of this part of India, continued, at the date of it, the communication with each other by water; and that the inhabitants of the Circar of Tatta alone, had not less than forty thousand vessels of various constructions.—ROBERTSON.

The vessels employed by Alexander appear to have been, partly collected on the Indus, and partly constructed for the occasion. They were:—1. Long ships for the purpose of war; 2. Round ships for carrying provisions, baggage, &c.; and, 3. Vessels for transporting horses. The Ionians, Cyprians, Phœnicians, and natives of other maritime nations, who followed the standard of Alexander, appear to have been his naval architects.—GILLIES.

Alexander had also, under his command, the skill and industry of the native ship-builders. Those of Bombay at this day rival the English.

* *He also built two cities.* CURT.—To the cities mentioned to be founded, ante, p. 302, no names are assigned. Those named above are probably the same, rebuilt, with some alteration of site; for it results, from comparing Curtius with Arrian and Strabo, that

Having ordered that the elephants* and baggage train should follow by land, he descended the second river†: proceeding every day about *sixty* ‡ stadia, that he might successively debark his forces at convenient places.

Olymp. cxiii. 2.

A. C. 326.

Ætat. Alex. 30.

Reg. 10.

Imp. 4.

Alexander established but two on the Hydaspes, nor more than three in the PUNJAB, fixing the third on the Acesines. Arrian informs us, that Nicæa and Bucephalon, having been destroyed by rains, were rebuilt. As military stations, it may appear surprising that they were liable to such accidents: the fortifications were, doubtless, IN PART, of solid materials, and impregnable to floods:—On this subject, a writer of great learning and research has the following judicious observation: it meets more than one objection.

No magnificent idea is requisite to conceive the building of cities in the East. A fort or citadel, with a mud wall to mark the circumference of the pettah or town, is all that falls to the share of the founder. The habitations are raised in a few days or hours. If the place be not commodious enough for civil purposes to invite inhabitants, they are supplied by force. Timour, as well as Alexander, built cities in two, three, or five days. The soldan of Egypt insults Timour by telling him: “The cities of the East are built of mud, and ephemeral: ours in Syria and Egypt are of stone, and eternal.” *Cheref-eddin.* VINCENT. — Subsequently, Alexander founded a city just above the territory of the Musicani, and two or three within the delta of the Indus. See, *infra*, chap. viii. 26, and x. 32.

* The army of one hundred and twenty thousand men had now received an accession of two hundred elephants. Arrian and Strabo represent a third division of the army to have been embarked. See, *infra*, chap. viii. sect. 25.

† *i. e.* the Hydaspes, the Indus being the first.

‡ *Forty.* CURT.—The objection by the commentators to *forty* was originally founded on an erroneous calculation of the whole distance of the navigation to the mouth of the Indus, combined with the time consumed in the voyage. The time exceeded nine months. The

CHAP. IV.

Reduction of the Sobii, and other tribes. Difficult navigation. Mutiny. Alexander disperses the army of the Oxydracæ and the Malli.

10. ALEXANDER had now reached the spot at which the Hydaspes falls into the Acesines. Hence the united stream runs along the borders of the Sobii. These people have a tradition, that their ancestors, belonging to the army of Hercules, falling sick, were left here, and took up the settlement of which themselves were in possession. For a covering, they had skins of beasts; and their weapon was a club. Although the Greek manners were nearly extinguished, yet many traces remained of their origin.

A debarkation here effected, he penetrated two hundred and fifty stadia, laid waste the country, and reduced the capital by a *military*

distance, instead of being 12,000 stadia, appears, from the researches of Major Rennell, to be about 8000 stadia, or 1000 British miles, by the course of the river. Five miles a day on the average, leaves for debarkations, skirmishes, sieges, and other occasional interruptions, a surplus of about eighty-five days; which seems scarcely sufficient. Add to this, that by comparing sections of the distance with Major Rennell's corrected map, the fleet would appear to have proceeded sixty miles in eight days. The translator has, therefore, followed a suggestion of Dr. Vincent, in his *Nearchus*, to read LX instead of XL, supposing the sum to have been expressed by NUMERAL

circle. On the bank of the rivers*, another nation mustering forty thousand infantry, had stood arrayed for opposition. He passed over the river, compelled them to fly, and stormed the fortress in which they shut themselves. The adult males slain, the other inhabitants were sold.

Afterwards, commencing an assault on another city, [lower down the river,] the Macedonians were gallantly repulsed by the besieged, and lost a number of men. But as Alexander persevered in a close investment, the townspeople, despairing of safety, fired their habitations. Their children, with themselves and their wives, they are devoting to the flames. These, as the invaders strove to extinguish, the incendiaries were desirous to spread: a contention of a new species, the inhabitants are destroying the city, and the enemy rescuing it; so war inverts the institutes of nature†.

In the citadel, which had received no damage, the king left a garrison. He was navigated round the citadel; for three rivers, the

* *In ripa fluminum.* CURT.—This may mean, either the *bank of the united stream*; or what is now called in Hindostan a *doab*, or tract of land between two rivers, for to the west of the Acesines flowed the Indus, and to the east either the Hydraotes, or the Hypasis, according to the place at which the descent was made.—DIODORUS, lib. XVII. s. 96, calls this nation the Agallessenses.

† A town of Bramins. This desperate self-devotion has been practised in our own times. See ORME's *Hindostan*, vol. ii. p. 255.

largest in India, except the Ganges, direct their streams so as to form a foss to the fort. The Indus washes it on the north: On the south, flows the water of the Acesines and Hydaspes, since their junction confounded in name*.

11. At their confluence, the rivers are agitated like the surf of the sea. By a mass of heavy slime, successively displaced by the meeting streams, the passage for ships is reduced to a narrow *khore*. As the countless surges, rolling in, assailed the vessels, here on the prow, and there at the side, the mariners began to haul away: but terror, and the rapidity of the torrents, prevented them from working with effect. Two of the larger vessels foundered in view of the fleet: the smaller, which could in nowise be steered, were driven on shore, but without damage. The king's bark whirled, broaching sidelong, among the swiftest eddies, whose tortuous impetuosity made the rudder useless. The king had taken off his clothes in order to leap into the river; and his friends were swimming at hand, to receive him; but

* The modern topography of the place of junction can afford no criterion of the figure of the ancient place, so often does the Indus innovate in its course where the soil is yielding.—See ELPHINSTONE'S *Caulbul*, p. 111. Otherwise, south of the point where the bed of rocks terminate, many such islands as here described occur; formed by branches from the Indus, which, after making a circuit, return to the principal trunk.

embracing the water seemed equally perilous with remaining on board. The crew therefore with mighty emulation plied the oars; and, by the highest exertion of human strength, rowed the ship out of the besieging dangers. The breakers appeared to be cleft, and the whirlpools to turn in a new direction: nevertheless, the ship could not be steered to the bank, but was stranded on the nearest shoal. The whole scene presented the idea of a war with the river. Having erected altars corresponding in number to the rivers, Alexander offered sacrifice, and proceeded thirty stadia.

12. Hence he marched into the region of the Oxydracæ and the Malli; whom, accustomed to wage mutual war, the partnership of danger had allied. They had collected an army of ninety thousand infantry, ten thousand cavalry, and nine hundred chariots.

The Macedonians, who had recently confided, that they were discharged from all danger, understanding that a fresh war with the fiercest tribes of India was impending, pervaded by sudden consternation, again murmured out seditious expressions against the king: ' True, ' they had not been compelled to descend the ' Ganges, and wander over whatever regions ' lay beyond: he had not, however, closed the ' war, but merely changed its direction. That

‘ their blood might purchase for him a passage
‘ to the ocean, they were exposed to savage
‘ hordes; carried beyond the genial influence
‘ of the sun and stars; forced to explore ex-
‘ panses which nature intended to withdraw
‘ from the survey of man. To batter the new
‘ weapons successively furnished them, new
‘ enemies were ever springing up. Were all
‘ these routed, what reward awaited them when
‘ they could advance no farther? Mist, and
‘ darkness, and eternal night brooding on the
‘ deep; a sea replete with monsters; stagnant
‘ waters, where nature seems to be expiring.’

Devoid of solicitude for himself, perplexed by the agitation of the soldiers, Alexander assembled, informed, exhorted them: “ The
“ people whom you dread are unwarlike. Af-
“ ter these tribes, there is nothing to impede
“ our advancing to the extremity of the coast,
“ and reaching at once the end of our fatigues
“ and of the earth. On account of your fore-
“ bodings, I have relinquished the Ganges, and
“ the numerous nations beyond it; and have
“ diverted my career toward a province, where
“ there is equal glory and less danger. The
“ ocean is already in sight; gentle breezes thence
“ already refresh us. Envy me not the renown
“ which I covet, and which you will participate.
“ On the point of passing the bounds of Her-

“ cules and Bacchus, you will, at a light cost
“ to yourselves, confer immortal fame on your
“ king. Suffer me, at least, to lead you in
“ safety out of India; nor think of retiring as
“ fugitives.”

13. The will of a multitude, especially of a military body, turns on a smooth pivot; so that if a small thing causes a mutiny, a small thing appeases it. Never was a more cheerful response shouted from the army: “ Under divine
“ auspices, lead on; and march, in glory, the
“ demi-gods whom you emulate.” Well pleased with these acclamations, Alexander advanced against the enemy. The two nations, the most intrepid in India, were preparing vigorously for war, and had elected a general of tried ability from the Oxydracæ. The Barbarian pitched his camp at the base of a mountain; displaying fires over a wide space, to magnify his army in appearance; and, repeatedly attempting to alarm the Macedonians, now at rest, by whoopings and yellings peculiarly hideous.

At dawn, the king, full of confidence and hope, ordered the eager soldiers to arms, and to form in line. But the Barbarians, seized with a panic, or rendered impotent by discord, suddenly fled for shelter to trackless ridges presenting no pass. Hunting in vain for the enemy, the king found only their baggage.

CHAP. V.

Extraordinary adventure of Alexander at a city of the Oxydracæ.

14. THENCE he proceeded to a city of the Oxydracæ, in which many of the fugitives had rallied, confiding not less in their weapons, than in the fortifications.

The king was moving up : when a soothsayer warned him not to undertake, or at least to postpone, the siege, because danger to his life was portended. Looking at Demophoon, for that was the soothsayer's name : " If," said the king, " when thou art intent on thy mystery, inspecting the inwards, any one should interrupt thee, thou wouldst deem him, I cannot doubt, unprofitable and troublesome." Demophoon replied, that he certainly should. " Canst thou imagine," resumed the king, " that, to a mind occupied, not about a sheep's entrails, but with affairs of supreme importance, any thing can be more annoying than a superstitious, deluded, soothsayer?"

Having stopped only to pronounce this, he caused the scaling-ladders to be raised ; and, while his attendants were hesitating, mounted

the wall: the coping was narrow; no battlements crowned the wall as in other fortresses, but an unbroken parapet, carried round, fenced up the passage. Alexander, therefore, rather clung to the wall, than stood upon it; parrying with his shield the darts discharged at him from the towers around. Nor could the soldiers ascend, overwhelmed by a shower of missiles from above. At length, shame conquered the greatness of the peril; as they perceived that delay in them would deliver their leader to the enemy: but now their co-operation was retarded by injudicious haste; for while all strove to mount together, precipitated from the overcharged ladders, they disappointed the only hope of the king. In the presence of a numerous army, he stood as unsupported, as though he had been in a desert.

15. And now his left arm, circulating his shield to meet importunate attacks, was wearied. His friends calling out to him to leap down to them, stood prepared to receive him,—when he hazarded a procedure, unprecedented, and confounding belief; for personal temerity remarkable, far more than for illustrious generalship. With a furious spring, he threw himself into the fort crowded with enemies; although he could hardly expect to avoid, either dying without a conflict and unavenged, or being

overpowered and taken alive before he could rise. But, happily, he so balanced his body, that he pitched on his feet; and, remaining erect, proceeded to combat. Fortune had so provided, that he could not be surrounded: near the wall grew an old tree, whose arms, exuberant in foliage, extended themselves as to protect the king. Against its broad trunk planting himself, he received on his buckler the invading missiles; for though many concentrated their efforts on one, no assailant durst approach, and the branches intercepted more darts than reached his buckler. The awe inspired by a celebrated name fought, at first, effectually for the king. Afterwards, desperation prompted him to die charging heroically. But—enemies successively flowing around—his shield was already covered with darts; his helmet fractured with stones; his knees, oppressed through continual exertion, succumbent on the ground. Hereupon, those nearest, with incautious triumph, rushed in: on his sword received, two of these fell lifeless before him: after which, no one having the boldness to press close, the enemy assailed him with javelins and arrows.

16. Exposed to the attacks of all, supported with difficulty on his knees, he defended himself until an Indian so launched an arrow two

cubits long, that it entered his corslet a little above the right side. Distressed by this wound, the blood copiously spouting, Alexander dropped his arms like one expiring; and so enfeebled was he, that his right hand was incompetent to dislodge the arrow. The assailant who had wounded, ran up with hasty joy to despoil him. As Alexander felt the plunderer's touch, it would seem, that disdain of the last dishonour to a warrior recalled his swooning spirit: with his sword, applied underneath, he pierced the enemy's naked side.

Three corsees lay round the king: his living enemies stood aloof as thunderstruck. He, desirous to exhale his last respiration fighting, endeavoured to raise himself by his buckler, till he had not strength for another effort: afterwards, grasping the impending branches, he strove to stand up. Nor, so aided, vigorous enough to remain standing, he once more sunk upon his knees, defying with his hand any of the Indians to close fight.

17. At length Peucestas, having in another part beat off the besieged, followed the course of the wall till he reached the king. Regarding his arrival not as the rescue of life, but as consolation in death, the king leaned his languid body against his shield. Then Timæus effected

his ascent; and soon after Leonnatus, followed by Aristonus.

At the cry that Alexander was within the ramparts, the Indians generally deserted other places, to rush hither; and were pressing his defenders. Of these Timæus, having received many wounds in front, fell after a glorious conflict. Peucestas, pierced thrice with darts, nevertheless, neglecting himself, covered the king with the Ilian ægis. Leonnatus, while actively repelling the Barbarians, struck grievously on the neck, sunk half-dead at the king's feet. Now Peucestas, faint from wounds, had dropped the shield. The last reliance is on Aristonus — severely gashed, this single opponent can sustain no longer the inroad of the enemy.

Meanwhile a report that the king was killed, reached the Macedonians. What would have terrified others inflamed their courage; for, reckless of every peril, they broke the wall with pickaxes, rushed through the opening into the city, and slaughtered the Indians, more of whom fled in crowds than dared to engage. The storming troops spared neither the aged, nor women, nor children; regarding whom they soever met, as the person who had wounded their king. At length the extermination of the enemy has satisfied their rage.

Clitarchus, as well as Timagenes, represents Ptolemy, who was subsequently a sovereign, to have been present at this assault; but Ptolemy, truly no detractor from his own glory, relates that he was absent, detached on an expedition. Of framers of ancient histories, such is the negligence,—or, an equal blemish, the credulity.

18. The king having been borne into his tent, the surgeons sawed off the wooden shaft of the javelin implanted in his body, so as not to agitate the iron head: baring the flesh to inspect this, they found that the point was barbed, and could not be extracted with safety without cutting a larger wound. They feared, however, that a profuse hemorrhage would arrest the knife; as the massy arrow had apparently entered the noble parts. Critobulus, the most skilful of the surgeons, rendered timid by the perilous case, trembled to operate, lest, if the result should not be happy, it might be visited on his head.

Perceiving his tears and hesitation, and the pale anxiety seated on his countenance: “For what,” said Alexander, “do you wait? why not at once free me from this agony which alone menaces speedy death? Do you fear to be impeached, because I may have received an incurable wound?” Now relieved from,

or dissembling, apprehension, Critobulus simply pressed the king, ‘ To allow himself to be held, while he extracted the barb, because a slight movement of his body would be of pernicious consequence.’—“ It is not necessary,” said Alexander, “ to confine a man who can “ confine himself.” And, as had been prescribed, he kept his body under the knife motionless. The wound laid open, and the barbed point extracted, an immoderate hemorrhage commenced. The usual styptics were applied without effect. The king fainted, his eyes clouded with floating gloom, he lay extended as in the lap of death. From his friends, deeming him to have expired, escaped at once shouts and wailings. At length the bleeding stopped : Alexander, gradually regaining external consciousness, began to know his attendants. To the close of day, and during the following night, the troops under arms invested his tent, unanimously exclaiming that their lives depended on his breath ; nor would they retire till they were informed that he had tasted sleep : with a more assured hope of his recovery, they then returned to camp*.

* The scene of the preceding extravagant act of valour, is laid by Strabo and Arrian in Sangala, a city of the Malli. Lucian and Pausanias agree with Curtius.

CHAP. VI.

Interview between Alexander, convalescent, and his chief officers.

19. AFTER seven days, the surgeon's attentions still continued, nor had the king's wound cicatrized, when he was informed that a rumour of his death prevailed among the Barbarians. In the centre of two ships joined by a platform, he caused his pavilion to be fixed, that he might show himself to those who believed him to have fallen. Conspicuous to the inhabitants, he crushed the confidence which the enemy had derived from a fiction.

Hence he descended with the stream; leading before the rest of the fleet at a small distance, lest the quiet necessary for his languid body should be invaded by the dashing of the oars.

On the fourth day after embarking, he reached a country which was deserted indeed by the natives, but abounded in corn and cattle. He deemed it an opportune seat of repose for himself and the army.

It was the custom for the king's chief friends, and the guards of the presence, to

watch in front of the pavilion, whenever the king was indisposed. Assembled on this duty, they entered his apartment together. Expecting some great incident had produced their sudden visit, he inquired, ‘ Whether they had to announce some unexpected attack by combined enemies?’

20. Craterus, commissioned by Alexander’s friends to be the organ of their application, replied: “ Can you, sire! imagine that an attack
“ from the enemy, though he were within our
“ trenches, would affect us so much as our concern for your safety, however lightly valued
“ by yourself? Let an universal conspiracy of
“ nations come against us, covering the earth
“ with armies, and the sea with fleets, presenting new monsters trained to trample men,—
“ you will lead us through victorious. But
“ which of the gods shall assure to Macedonia
“ the continuance of its pillar and star, if you
“ so eagerly expose your person to manifest
“ dangers, forgetting that when you are in a
“ critical situation, so are the lives of all the
“ citizens. Who amongst us desires to be, or
“ can be, your successor? Under your guardian
“ power, we have penetrated thus far, whence
“ none but yourself can conduct us home.

“ Had you still to contend with Darius for
“ the Persian empire, we should not be sur-

“prised to see, though no one would cordially
“see, you so intrepidly embracing perils of
“every shape; for where the risk is equalled
“by the reward, triumph is more joyous, the
“consolation for an afflicting incident greater.
“But an obscure town to be bought by your
“life! Is the thought to be endured by one of
“your soldiers, or by a Barbarian who knows
“your greatness? I shudder—to review what
“we recently witnessed; to reflect, that sordid
“hands would have torn spoils from your in-
“vincible person, unless fortune, commise-
“rating us, had interposed.

“As many of us as could not follow our
“king, so many of us are deserters and traitors.
“You may justly degrade all your soldiers; no
“one will refuse to atone, by suffering expul-
“sion from your side, who must admit that he
“did not show himself there. Suffer us, how-
“ever, in another manner, to be of small account
“before you, while we go whithersoever you
“command. We demand for ourselves all ob-
“scure sieges, all the battles with inglorious
“troops. Reserve yourself for illustrious dan-
“gers worthy of your greatness. Glory soon
“dies among contemptible enemies; nor is
“ought more unfitting, than that her lamp
“should burn out, where the rays will be un-
“seen.”

Ptolemy spoke nearly in the same strain; and then, the other officers. Afterwards, mingling their voices, they with tears entreated Alexander, ‘ To set limits to his overflowing renown; and to cherish his own, or rather the public safety.

21. Well pleased with the dutiful attachment of his friends, the king embraced them, every one, with unusual freedom, bidding them sit down. “ O my most faithful subjects! my
“ most affectionate friends!” said he, rising above the colloquial tone, “ I pay, and yet
“ acknowledge to owe, you thanks, not for this
“ only, that you prize my safety above your
“ own, but that from the commencement of
“ the war, you have omitted neither assurances
“ nor proofs of good disposition toward me;
“ so that, I confess, I begin to value life as I
“ have never before valued it, that I may long
“ enjoy your friendship.

“ Not that of myself—who deem that I deserve your attachment only by bravery—and
“ of the generous men who wish to die for
“ me, the conclusions fully coincide: For you
“ covet to participate with me a long, perhaps
“ a perennial, season of enjoyment: whereas I
“ measure my felicity, not by the scale of age,
“ but the scale of glory! Content with my
“ paternal inheritance, I might, at ease, within

“ the bounds of Macedon, in tedious obscurity,
“ have been now looking forward to an in-
“ glorious old age. Although the indolent,
“ indeed; are not the directors of their own
“ destiny; for premature death often inter-
“ cepts those who court longevity as the chief
“ good.

“ Counting not years, but victories, if I
“ rightly estimate the favours of fortune, I
“ have lived a long time. Commencing my
“ empire in Macedon, I influence Greece: have
“ subdued the Thracians and Illyrians: govern
“ the Triballi; nay, the whole of Mœsia: and
“ hold Asia from the Hellespont to the Ery-
“ thræan. I am not now far from the frontier
“ of the earth*: which having passed, I design
“ to explore another domain of nature, to open
“ to myself a new sphere. I passed from Asia
“ to Europe in a short hour†; conqueror of
“ both regions, in the ninth year of my reign,
“ and the eight-and-twentieth year of my age.
“ Think you; that I can cease to augment, till
“ it be consummate, the glory to which I have
“ solely devoted myself? No, I will never
“ cease to augment it: and wherever I am

* Alluding, perhaps, to the tropic of Cancer; for the ancients imagined the torrid zone to be uninhabitable. Alexander appears to have expected to prove this opinion to be false, by his own discoveries.

† Compare, *ante*, p. 186, with p. 198.

“ fighting, shall regard myself, as in the theatre
“ of the watching world. To obscure places I
“ shall give distinction; opening to the know-
“ ledge of mankind, countries which nature
“ has placed ultimately remote. To perish
“ amid these my labours, if it be my lot, it is a
“ glorious lot. Descended from such a stock;
“ it becomes me to desire to live greatly rather
“ than long.

“ Recollect, I pray you, that we are
“ come into a land, where a woman's name, a
“ woman's heroism, is supremely celebrated:
“ What cities did Semiramis found! how many
“ nations subjugate! what stupendous works
“ project! Not yet rivalling a woman in fame,
“ are we oppressed with renown?

“ Be the gods auspicious: and greater
“ achievements than hers, remain for us. Dis-
“ tricts which we have not yet touched will
“ surrender to us, if we treat nothing as incon-
“ siderable which presents an opportunity for
“ glory. On your parts, protect me from in-
“ testine perils, and domestic treasons, I will
“ fearlessly encounter all the dangers of battle;
“ In the field, Philip was safer than in the
“ theatre: he had often parried the sword of his
“ enemies, to fall by the dagger of an attend-
“ ant. And if you review in history the exits
“ of kings, you will number more murdered by
“ their subjects than slain by their enemies.

“ A favourite desire which I have long entertained, I shall take this occasion to disclose: know then, that to me, it were the highest return for my toils and works, to have my mother Olympias enrolled among the goddesses, whenever she shall have quitted the society of mortals. Her apotheosis I shall solemnize myself, if fate permit: if not, remember that I commit it to you.”

He then dismissed his friends. He here kept his camp stationary several days,

CHAP. VII.

Sedition in Bactriana. Embassy from the Oxydracæ and the Malli. Duel between Corrhagus and Dioxiippus.

22. DURING these transactions in India, the Greek soldiers, lately planted in the colonies around Bactra, after discords had arisen among themselves, revolted from Alexander, not so much from disaffection to him, as through fear of punishment. Several officers were slain by certain of the common soldiers: The stronger

party prepared for war, seized the citadel of Bactra, by accident too negligently guarded; and drew the Barbarians to join in the rebellion. Athenodorus, their leader, had assumed the title of king, less from a desire of reigning, than of returning to his native land, with those who owned his authority. But Bicon, his fellow-countryman, envying his distinction, conspired against him, and, at a banquet to which he had invited, slew him by the agency of Boxus, a Memacanian.

On the following day, Bicon, in a general assembly, persuaded the majority, that the perfidious contrivance of Athenodorus had recoiled on himself. But others considered the treachery to have been confined to Bicon; and, by degrees, this suspicion extended to the majority. The Greek soldiers, in consequence, take arms, intending to kill Bicon, if an opportunity should occur. The leaders, however, appeased the fury of the mass. Snatched, contrary to his fears, from impending danger, Bicon, soon afterwards, plotted against the authors of his safety: but, the machination transpiring, they arrested him and Boxus. It was voted, that the latter should be immediately slain, and that Bicon should die by the torture. As the executioners were on the point to apply the cruel machines, the Greek soldiers, from some unexplained cause, ran to

arms, like affrighted maniacs. Those who had been ordered to torment him, regarding the clamour of the tumultuary as a countermand, let him go. Bicon, naked as he was, repaired to the Greeks; the wretchedness seated in the face of the condemned man, effected a sudden change in their dispositions, and they ordered him to be released. Having thus twice escaped punishment, he returned to his country, with such others as left the settlements assigned by the king. These transactions occurred near Bactra and the borders of Scythia.

23. Meanwhile, from the two nations mentioned in a recent chapter, came a hundred ambassadors to Alexander. These rode each in a chariot: were of superior stature, graceful in their air, and wore garments of cotton lawn*, interwoven with gold, and adorned with purple

* *Linæ vestes*. CURT.—Fine linen is conjectured, with some probability, to have been called by the ancients *sindon*, from the name of the river Sindus, or Indus, near which it was wrought in the highest perfection. ROBERTSON, after SIR WILLIAM JONES.—The question here recurs, what are we to understand by *linen* in ancient writers; uniformly, cloth of which the basis is *flax*,—or, generally, any web of *thread*, so limited, however, in its application by custom, as to *exclude woollen* ? See, ante, p. 264, 265, notes. And, as a small accession to the lightest scale, add, that linens are at this day exported from the Guzerat.

Dr. Vincent has remarked, that the *bulx*, HEBR. [*byssus*, LAT.] of the scriptures, by the English version every where rendered *fine linen*, is supposed every where to be *cotton*.

embroidery. ‘To him,’ they proclaimed, ‘they
‘surrendered themselves, their cities, and their
‘lands: he was the first to whom they confided
‘the protection of their liberty, preserved in-
‘volute through so many ages. The gods had
‘counselled their submission, not fear; inas-
‘much as though they embraced his yoke, their
‘power was untouched*.’

Having deliberated with his council, the king received them into his protection; imposing on each nation the same tribute which it paid to the Arachosians†; and requiring, besides, two thousand five hundred horse: services which the Barbarians punctually rendered.

* How untouched, when one of their cities was taken by storm? From the election of a general, ante, p. 329, and from the number of ambassadors, the Oxydracæ and the Malli would appear to have been, like the modern Seiks, confederations of small independent states. The deputies came from districts not yet invaded. See Alexander’s argument, ante, p. 342, l. 17.

† Here are two difficulties. 1. Independent nations paying a tribute. Let the great states who pay a tribute to the dey of Algiers discuss this. 2. The Arachosians were themselves vassals to the Persians. So is the dey of Algiers to the Porte.

Dr. Vincent observes: Whether the Persians penetrated beyond the Indus, must be left in doubt. They, however, reckoned Arachosia and several tracts, west of the Indus, as part of India; and they received, directly or indirectly, from India, properly or improperly so called, a tribute nearly equal to a third of the whole revenue of the empire,—Robertson’s *India*, p. 12.

He then invited the ambassadors and the chieftains of the two nations to a splendid entertainment. A hundred couches of gold were ranged at moderate intervals. Extended round the couches, tapestries of purple and gold dazzled the eye. At this banquet, Alexander displayed all the ancient luxury of the Persians, and all the new inventions of the corrupted Macedonians, blending the vices of both nations.

Among the company, was Dioxippus the Athenian, a famous athleta, and, on account of his invincible strength, noticed with favour by Alexander. Some of the envious aimed sallies between jest and earnest: "It is well to rely upon a useless monster with a stuffed body." — When we are going to battle, he anoints his belly to prepare for a feast." Corrhagus, a Macedonian, already inebriated, concluded similar scurrilities with a challenge: "If thou be a man, fight me tomorrow with the sword; and of my temerity, or thy cowardice, let the king be judge." Dioxippus, contemptuously rallying the martial insolence of the other, accepted the condition.

24. On the following day, each more eagerly demanding the trial, the king, because he could not deter them, suffered the appointed meeting. An imposing concourse of the mili-

tary were spectators; including the Greeks, who took part with Dioxippus.

The Macedonian had taken the regular arms; holding with his left hand a brazen shield and the pike called *sarissa*; poising in his right a javelin; carrying at his side a sword: equipped as though he were to encounter several. Dioxippus, wearing a chaplet, and shining with oil, presented, on his left arm a scarlet cloak; with his right hand, a strong knotty club. The scene filled the beholders with uneasy expectations: for nudity to combat well-appointed arms, seemed not rashness, but phrensy. Corrhagus, relying that he could kill his antagonist at a distance, threw his javelin; which the Athenian avoided by a slight curvature of the body; and before the other could transfer the long pike to the right hand, sprang up, and broke it with his club. Deprived of both spears*, the Macedonian was drawing his sword: but Dioxippus, by a close embrace, prevented him; and, supplanting his feet, drove him to the ground. Having snatched his sword, he stood with his foot on his neck, his club lifted to crush the vanquished champion, if he be not prevented by the king.

The event of this exhibition was, not only to the Macedonians, but to Alexander, mortify-

* This may serve as a practical illustration of the argument in vol. i. ADD. NOTE (I). The two spears seem to be an incumbrance.

ing; chiefly because the Barbarians were present; as he feared that the blazoned valour of the Macedonians would sink into derision. Hence the royal ear was open to the accusations of the envious. A few days afterwards, at a feast, a cup was, by a concerted wile, secretly conveyed away; and the officers made a representation to the king, as though they had lost what they had concealed. Innocence is often armed with less assurance than guilt. Dioxippus could not endure glances from so many concurring eyes, by which he was marked out as a thief. After he had withdrawn from the entertainment, having written a letter to the king, he fell by his own sword. Alexander was concerned at his death, contemplating it as evincing indignation, not remorse. And, indeed, the excessive joy of his enemies, afterwards, showed that he had been accused falsely.

CHAP. VIII.

Presents from the Oxydracæ and Malli. Submission of the Sambracæ and other tribes. Ptolemy wounded by a poisoned sword.

25. HAVING been dismissed to their states, in a few days, the Indian ambassadors returned with presents: They brought three hundred chariots, drawn each by four horses; some

garments of lawn or muslin; a thousand Indian shields; one hundred talents [about two tons and a half] of tin*; a number of lions and tigers, extremely large, and disciplined to gentleness; lizard skins of stupendous dimensions; and tortoise shells.

Alexander then ordered Craterus to march, with the forces under him, in the vicinity of the river down which he had appointed to sail: but the king placed in the transports the troops usually accompanying him; and he descended to the coast of the Malli. Thence he came to the Sambracæ†, a powerful nation not governed by kings, but by as many democracies as tribes‡. They mustered sixty thousand infantry, and six thou-

* *Ferri candidi*. CURT.—If we find the tin of Britain conveyed to Malabar in the earliest period of history, we find the spices of Malabar in Britain in an age when the course of communication with India was probably as little known as the existence of America. The venerable Bede, who died A.D. 735, had in his cell at Weir-mouth, pepper, cinnamon, and frankincense. Tin is mentioned in the *Periplus*, as an import into Africa, Arabia, Scindi, and the coast of Malabar. Brought out of Britain, and conveyed to all the countries on the Mediterranean, successively by the Gauls, Phœnicians, Greeks, and Romans,—from the Mediterranean it was transported to the Indian ocean. In all ages an article of commerce, it is only within these few years that it has found its way in British vessels, into China, where it becomes an article of such magnitude as greatly to diminish the quantity of specie necessary for that market.—*Navigations of the Ancients*, passim.

† By inference, the modern Belher. Vincent.

‡ For a specimen of practical equality among the Siks, see ELPHINSTONE'S *Cambul*, p. 76.

sand horse, followed by five hundred armed chariots: and had elected three leaders of tried military skill. But the inhabitants of districts near the river, (whose numerous villages were seated chiefly on the bank,) as they perceived the Indus, wherever it stretched in prospect, covered with vessels, and reflecting gleams from the arms of myriads of men,—concluded that there was approaching an army of demigods, a second Bacchus, a name renowned in India. Then the acclamations of soldiers, the strokes of rowers, the animated hailings of sailors, engaged their listening awe. In a body, they run to their armed countrymen, crying out: “It were
“phrensy to contend with gods; the ships
“which carry the invincibles cannot be num-
“bered.” This report so oppressed the army of the Sambracæ with consternation, that they sent ambassadors to surrender the nation to Alexander.

26. These admitted to allegiance,—he, on the fourth day, came to other tribes, who proved not more intrepid. Having founded a city, which he ordered to be called Alexandria, he entered the territory of the Musicani*.

Here he gave judicial audience to individuals of the Parapamisadæ, who accused Terioltes, the satrap appointed over them. This go-

* By inference, the modern Sewee, Vincent.

vernor, convicted of multifold acts of peculation and tyranny, was, by Alexander, sentenced to die. Impeached at the same time, Oxartes, administrator of Bactriana, was not only acquitted, but deservedly had the limits of his government enlarged.

The Musicani compelled to submission, Alexander stationed a garrison in their capital. Thence he proceeded against the Præsti*, a distinct Indian tribe: Oxycanus, their king, had shut himself, with a great body of men, in a fortified city. This Alexander reduced after a siege of three days; and Oxycanus, as he retired into the citadel, sent to the conqueror ambassadors to treat for his surrender: But before these could reach Alexander, two towers fell with a stupendous crash; ascending on the ruins, the Macedonians captured the citadel; and Oxycanus, with a few who offered resistance, was killed.

The fort demolished, and the captives sold, Alexander entered the territories† of Sabus rajah. Having accepted the submission of several towns, he took the strongest city by a tunnel formed by his miners. As though they had seen a prodigy, the Barbarians, untaught in

* By inference, situated on the west of Sewee, at the foot of the mountains. *Vincent.*

† By inference, situated on the Lukhy mountains approaching the Indus at Sewee. *Vincent.*

engineering, were confounded, when their enemies appeared almost in the middle of the city, rising from a subterraneous passage, of which no trace was previously seen. Clitarchus writes, that in this region eighty thousand Indians were slain, and a great number of captives sold to slavery.

27. Again in arms, the Musicani revolted. To suppress them, Pithon was detached. This officer took prisoner, and brought to Alexander, the prince of this tribe; whom, as he was the mover of the revolt, Alexander caused to be crucified.

The king then marched retrogradely to the river, where he had ordered his fleet to wait for him. Thence descending the river, he came, on the fourth day, to a town through which was a road to the dominions of Sabus. The rajah had recently submitted: but the citizens, refusing to obey Alexander, shut the gates. The king, despising their small number, ordered five hundred Agrians to advance under the fortifications, and then, gradually retiring, to entice out the enemy, ready, doubtless, to pursue, should they believe the flight to be real. The Agrians, as instructed, having insulted the enemy, suddenly turned to retreat: chasing these with eager disorder, the Barbarians fell in with another body under the king's personal command. In the

renewed fight, out of three thousand Indians, five hundred were slain, and a thousand taken prisoners: the remainder took refuge in the town.

But the result of the victory was not completely felicitous; for the Barbarians had poisoned their swords. The wounded expired suddenly: nor could the physicians detect the cause that made the deaths so precipitate, and slight gashes incurable. The Indians sanguinely hoped, that the king, habitually rash, was one of the wounded: combating among the most exposed, he was yet happily unhurt.

28. Ptolemy, wounded in the left shoulder, not indeed deeply, but, it was evident, dangerously, attracted the chief anxiety of the king. Related by consanguinity to Alexander, he was considered by some as a son of Philip, having been born of one of his concubines [given, when pregnant, in marriage to Lagus]. A guard of the presence, a most intrepid soldier, yet more highly accomplished in the arts of peace, of moderate and courteous manners, liberal in the highest degree, easy of access, he had assumed nothing of princely state. It was problematical, whether these qualities endeared him more to the king, or to the common soldiery. On this critical occasion, was first expressed the affection of his fellow-countrymen. A presage of

his subsequent elevation, the care of the Macedonians on account of Ptolemy emulated that of the king; who, overcome by the labours of the field and by anxiety, in order to remain in the apartment with the patient, caused his own couch to be lifted in. As soon as he had extended himself on it, Alexander sunk into a profound sleep. He declared, on awaking, 'That, in a dream, a dragon had appeared to him, presenting a herb in its mouth, as an antidote to the poison.' He described the colour of the plant, affirming his readiness to identify, if any one should find it. The search, prosecuted at once by numbers, was not unsuccessful; and the king applied the remedy. Ptolemy's wound became immediately divested of anguish, and in a short time was perfectly healed.

As the first hope of the Barbarians was frustrated, they surrendered themselves and their city.

Thence Alexander proceeded to Pattala*, the seat of a neighbouring tribe. The rajah Mæris, from the evacuated city, had fled to the

*Olymp. cxiii. 3.
A. C. 326, July.
Ætat. Alex. 31.
Reg. 11.
Imp. 5.*

* The site of the city is assigned by most geographers to the place of the modern Tatta, at the beginning of the lower delta, formed by the diverging streams of the Indus. Tatta is situated, according to the idea of a gentleman who resided there, about 125 miles from the sea, by the course of the river. — RENNELL'S *Mem.* 2d edit. p. 179.

There is a tradition among the people of Sindi, that Alexander

mountains. Alexander took possession of the metropolis, and ravaged the country. The pillagers carried away a vast spoil, in flocks and herds, and in corn, accidentally discovered. Having taken guides conversant with the navigation, he descended to an island, formed by accretions, in the middle nearly of the channel.

CHAP. IX.

Progress from Pattala to the ocean. Fleet stranded by the Bore.

29. AS the guides had escaped from relaxed custody, Alexander was obliged to protract his stay. Parties sent to bring in other guides could not find any. His uncontrolled desire—to see the ocean, and the limits of the earth,—induced him to commit, without local pilots, the lives of himself and his brave men to an unknown river. The navigators were unacquainted with the channels through which they were borne, nor knew the distance of the sea, nor what tribes inhabited the shores, nor whether the estuary was free from shoal-water, and calculated for long ships; in every thing dependent on blind conjecture. Their consolation for

crossed the Indus, on his return to Persia, at a point considerably higher than Tatta. If the tradition is to be relied on, Pattala, therefore, stood in the superior delta.—RENNEIL'S *Memoir*, p. 367.

their superior's temerity, was his unvarying success.

They had advanced four hundred stadia, when the marine commanders reported, that a sea-breeze was perceptible, and that they did not consider the ocean to be very distant. Alexander, with joyous emotion, exhorted the crews to row diligently: 'The consummation of labour, sought by the prayers and vows of the Macedonians, was approaching. Nothing would be wanting to their glory; nothing remain for bravery to subdue; the world would be won without another combat. Nor would nature's territories extend beyond theirs. Ready to open on their view, were places known only to the gods*.'

Alexander, however, debarked on the coast a small detachment, instructed to make captives from the wandering savages, from whom he hoped to learn particulars approaching accurate intelligence. To the question, 'How distant is the sea?' the Barbarians replied: "We have never heard any sea so much as

* Ignorance of the true form of the earth gave birth to the wildest conceptions: but the extravagances of the text are nobler than those which peopled the ulterior of ancient geography, with men with horses' heads, and other varieties of the human species, which still remain to be discovered.—See *Sequel to the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*.

“ named ; but, in three days, you will come to
“ bitter water, which corrupts the sweet.” It
might be collected, that, ignorant of its nature,
they spoke of the sea. The mariners, therefore,
bend over the oars with robust alacrity ; and
as each day carried them nearer the object of
their hopes, their ardour rose. On the third
day the insinuations of the sea were perceptible
in the river, blending their unequal waves by a
gentle influx*.

To the second island, seated in the middle
of the river, the navigators were then borne
somewhat more slowly, because the stream was
counteracted by the tide. They moor their
vessels, and separate in parties to forage, with-
out a presentiment of the disaster which over-
takes mariners locally uninstructed.

30. About the third hour†, the ocean, ac-
cording to a regular alternation, began to flow
in furiously, driving back the river. The river
—at first arrested ; then, impressed with a new
force—rushed upward with more impetuosity
than torrents descend a precipitous channel.
The mass on board, unacquainted with the na-

* Hence may be calculated the present distance of the fleet from
the ocean. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the tides should
not be visible in this river at a greater distance than sixty or sixty-
five miles from the sea. — RENNELL'S *Memoir*, 2d edit. p. 181.

† Nearly answering to our nine o'clock, A. M.

ture of the tide, saw only prodigies and symbols of the wrath of the gods. Ever and anon, the sea swelled; and, on plains recently dry, descended a diffused flood. The vessels lifted from their stations, and the whole fleet dispersed,—those who had debarked, in terror and astonishment at the calamity, ran from all quarters toward the ships. But tumultuous hurry is slow. These, with boat-hooks, are hauling up their gallies: these, while fixing their seats, prevent the oars from being paired: some, hastening to sail, without waiting for the complement of mariners, impel sluggish hulls, and unmanageable, crippled in the wings of navigation: other transports could not hold those who inconsiderately pressed into them: deficient, or redundant, numbers equally obstructed the impatient. Here was clamoured, “Lay to:”—here, “Row off.” Dissonant voices, circulating inconsistent orders, prevented the multitude from acting by their own observation, or from hearing the general command. Nor availed the pilots; whose directions were either undistinguished in the tumult, or disobeyed by terrified and promiscuous crews.

Vessels dash together; and oars are by turns snatched away, to impel other gallies. A spectator would not imagine a fleet carrying the same army, but hostile navies commencing a

battle. Prows strike against sterns; on the invading vessels, others drive aft. The fury of altercation carried the mariners to blows.

31. Now the tide had inundated all the fields skirting the river, only tops of knolls rising above it like little islands: to these, from the evacuated ships, the majority swam in consternation.

The dispersed fleet was, partly, riding in deep water, where the land was depressed into dells; and, partly, resting on shoals, where the flood had covered elevated ground:—Suddenly breaks on the Macedonians a new alarm, more vivid than the former. The sea began to ebb; the deluge, with a violent drain, to retreat into the frith, disclosing tracts just before deeply buried. Unbuoyed, the ships pitched, some upon their prows, others upon their sides. The fields were strewn with baggage, arms, loose planks, and fragments of oars. The soldiers, neither daring to descend to the ground, nor reconciling themselves to stay in the transports, awaited what calamities could follow heavier than the present. They scarcely believed what they suffered, and witnessed—shipwrecks on dry land, the sea in a river. Nor yet ended their unhappiness; for, ignorant that the speedy return of the tide would set their ships afloat, they predicted to themselves famine and death.

Terrifying monsters, too, left by the waves, were gliding about at random*.

Now night approached; and the desperate circumstances touched the king with concern: but no anxieties could overwhelm his invincible courage. All night, he superintended the watches: he sent forward horsemen to the mouth of the river, to bring intelligence when the access of the tide commenced†. Mean-

* Probably, for the most part, aquatic serpents. Upon approaching the mouths of the Indus, [Vincent's *Periplus*, INDIA, V.] the sea is white; and the sign of land, before it is seen, is a multitude of snakes, called *graii*, floating on the surface. This circumstance, which seemed fabulous to the ancients, and some of the moderns, is now known to be a fact that takes place down the whole coast of Malabar, as well as on the approach to the Indus. There might be alligators, too, among the *amphibia*. M. de St. Croix, *Examen Critique*, édit. 2de. p. 411, after translating the *belluæ* of Curtius by "*des monstres*," seems to doubt the fact — as if in Natural History there were no chapter for amphibious animals: but adds, "Monstrous fishes could scarcely swim about, for want of water, on the shore." At Madras, soon after the opening of the bar in October, 1815, a great shoal of sea snakes entered the river; and many natives in fording it were bitten, some on the very margin of the land. From two to three hundred snakes of various species were caught alive by the fishermen.—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xiii. p. 329.

† As from two passages above, it would appear that the mass of Alexander's soldiers were wholly unacquainted with the phenomenon of the tide; so from this and another below, it is evident that Alexander had a previous knowledge of such a phenomenon, as it occurred in some other places, but was unapprised of the magnitude of the tides in the Indian sea. Although the tides are hardly perceptible in the Mediterranean, yet Alexander, and his officers, who were men of education, might have read in Herodotus, [lib. ii. c. 11.], 'That in the Red Sea, there was a regular ebb and flow of the tide every day.'

while, he ordered the shattered ships to be refitted, the overset to be propped up; and the mariners to be prepared, and attentive, against the flux of the tide.

32. The night consumed in vigilance and exhortations, the horsemen are descried, flying back in full career, followed by the tide. By a gradual diffusion, the inundation began to raise the ships; presently, flooding all the fields, it set the fleet in motion. Along the banks, resounded from the soldiers and mariners shouts of boundless joy, celebrating an unhopcd deliverance. ‘Whence reissued suddenly so great a sea? Whither the day before had it retreated? What were the nature of the element, elsewhere refusing, and here acknowledging, perodical laws?’ with wonder they inquired.

From what had happened, the king conjectured the appointed time of the flux to be just after sunrise. To anticipate the tide, he, at midnight, descended the river with a few

This notice of the phenomenon, without description or explanation, is all that is given by Herodotus. In the rivers which fall into the Indian ocean, the *bore*s are highest about the equinoxes, and at the middle periods between them cease altogether. — Lord TEIGNMOUTH’S *Life of Sir Wm. Jones*, p. 286, n.

That sort of tide called the *bore*, is met with in some European harbours on the Atlantic, as well as in India. Its violence cannot be truly described, without an appearance of hyperbole. No anchors are a security.

vessels; and, passing its mouth, advanced four hundred stadia into the sea. A favourite object accomplished, he sacrificed to Neptune and the local deities, and returned to the fleet

CHAP. X.

Nearchus detached to navigate the ocean. Distress of Alexander's army in Gedrosia. Bacchanalian procession in Carmania.

THE fleet then ascended the river; and, on the next day, anchored in the vicinity of a salt lake: the properties of the water unknown, it deceived great numbers who rashly bathed in it. These were attacked with cutaneous eruptions, and the contagious disease circulated among their companions: oil was the specific remedy.

Leonnatus was then sent forward, in order to sink wells in the inhospitably arid country, through which the appointed line of march for the army lay. Alexander, with the halted forces, awaited the recurrence of *spring**: and founded,

* Calculating the voyage to have commenced about the 1st of October, and to have taken up nearly ten months, the time of Alexander's arrival at Pattala must be assigned to the end of July; and

meanwhile, [between the branches of the river] some cities and harbours †. Nearchus and

as each Olympiad begins at the new moon which follows the summer solstice, the date of the year will be *Olymp.* cxiii. 3. A. C. 326. By a comparison of Strabo with Arrian, Nearchus appears to have set sail about the 1st of October following; Alexander's departure from India by land had preceded, and cannot be dated later in September than the autumnal equinox, which then fell on the 27th.

Two different grounds may be imagined for Curtius' mistake in detaining Alexander till *spring*. 1. He had erroneously stated, ante, p. 262, that the *times* of the seasons in India are inverted; a phenomenon which takes place, geographically, only in countries which are Antaci to each other: but Rome and Pattala are both north of the ecliptic. Believing, however, the preceding representation himself, he would consistently call the season, which in India is coincident with the end of September, the beginning of spring. 2. There are local variations in the weather, dependent on the monsoons, which, though they would be improperly referred to distinct seasons, resemble spring and winter in their effects on the voyager and traveller. Though we say the monsoons are alternate, six months each way, we ought to subtract one month from the beginning and ending of each, which are not only fluctuating, but tempestuous. The south-westerly monsoon is not finally settled till the beginning of June, a little earlier, or later, according to the full or change of the moon; and still it is to be observed, that during June and July the weather is so bad, that navigation is in some degree impracticable. In August it is more moderate, and in September the weather is still fairer.—*Oriental Navigator*, p. 211.

† *Urbes plerasque*.—Freinshemius thinks this an error of the copies, and proposes to read *urbes portusque*; which the Translator has followed. From Justin, Diodorus, Arrian, and Pliny, the names of three have been deduced: *Barce*, *Potana*, and *Xylenopolis*. Neither Diodorus, nor Curtius, notice the voyage down the *left* branch of the Indus, which Arrian represents Alexander to have performed during this interval.—See ADDITIONAL NOTES (AA).

Onesicritus, proficient in the naval art, he commissioned, [as admiral and first pilot of the fleet,]
‘ To conduct the stoutest ships into the ocean,
‘ and penetrate as far as they could with safety,
‘ in order to ascertain the nature of the sea.
‘ When they designed returning to him, they
‘ might ascend either the Indus, or the Euphrates.’

33. The stormy weather moderated, he fired the unserviceable ships, and conducted the army by land. In nine days he reached the territory of the Arabitæ; thence, in an equal time, the country of the Gedrosii*. This free nation, after holding a council, accepted his protection; from such as thus submitted he exacted only provisions.

A march of five days brought him to the river Arabus†. A desert destitute of water obstructed his circuit: this traversed, he penetrated to the Horitæ. The greater part of the army he here transferred to Hephæstion;

* The Gedrosia [Proper] of Strabo and Curtius, is situate inland. The Gedrosia [Latio] of Arrian, comprehends the Arabitæ, the Oritæ, the Ichthyophagi, and the Gedrosii or Gedrosia Proper.

† The course of Alexander is explained on the map. By a circuit, sometimes nearly retrograde and apparently involved, he probably proposed fully to explore this difficult country; with a view to establish, through it, a military road from Persia to India; an attempt which the recorded loss of armies under Semiramis and Cyrus might forbid, or stimulate, according to the character of a leader.

and, with Ptolemy and Leonnatus, divided the command of the light forces. The three detachments, simultaneously ravaging India*, carried off considerable spoils. Ptolemy vexed the coast; the king, contiguous places; and Leonnatus, the upper district. In this country Alexander founded a city; to people which, Arachosians were brought.

Hence he passed to the Maritime-Indians [the Ichthyophagi]. A horde dispersed along a barren expanse, they never intermingle with their neighbours in the fraternities of commerce; and solitude has aggravated their natural wildness. Their protending nails are never pared; their ropy locks grow equally neglected. They garnish their huts with shells, and other recrements of the sea; cover themselves with the skins of beasts; and feed on fishes dried in the sun, or monsters which the swell discharges.

In consequence, the Macedonians, having consumed their provisions, first suffered scarcity, and afterwards extreme famine. The roots of the palm, the only tree there produced, they everywhere dug out for food. This resource exhausted, they proceeded to kill the beasts of burden, nor spared even their horses. As it

* The country westward from the Arabus is not, geographically, India: but it might be then India, as it is now Persia. The territory which the Macedonians are reducing partly answers to Beloochistan.

became impossible to transport their baggage; they burnt the spoils for which they had penetrated to the ulterior regions of the East.

34. Pestilence stalked in the rear of famine. The new juices of insalutary aliments, together with the fatigue of marching, and the soreness of anxiety, induced contagious diseases; and to remain, or to proceed, was to embrace destruction. Famine preyed more on the halting; infection more on the advanced. With the corpses which strewed the plains, mingled, and equally countless, lay the supine half-dead. Those whom slighter sickness oppressed could not keep the rapid step of the main division; for every one deemed himself nearer the hope of safety, in proportion as his speed left the infected behind. Such as had sunk down, implored passing intimates and strangers to assist them to rise. But there were no beasts of burden to receive the disabled; and the persevering soldier with difficulty carried his arms. The spectre of impending destruction hovered in every eye. Individuals, repeatedly invoked to return, could not summon humanity to look back on their friends; for all pity was extinguished in chilling horror. By the public temples, by the witnessing gods, — the prone, forsaken wretches conjured the king to relieve them. Pathetic importunities were wasted on

deaf ears; rage succeeded despair; and the dying wished him such an end as theirs, such friends and companions as their deserters.

Grief and shame stung Alexander, conscious that he had occasioned this waste of lives. To Phrataphernes, satrap of Parthia, he sent an order to bring cooked provisions on camels; and to the governors of other neighbouring provinces announced his distress. Nor were these tardy in conveying relief. The army, thus rescued at least from famine, at length touched [at a farther point] the frontiers of Gedrosia Proper. Of all Gedrosia, this district is alone liberally fertile. In this Alexander prolonged his encampment, to reinvigorate, by repose, the harassed troops*. Here he received intelligence from Leonnatus, that that officer had combated eight thousand foot and five hundred horse of

* Arrian, who paints a scene of distress from drought, similar to that in p. 169, ante, states this march, distinguished by unexampled hardships, to have lasted two months, reckoned only from the time of quitting the Oritæ. Plutarch says, that it cost Alexander near one hundred thousand men: but, from his own data, Dr. Gillies, with reason, pronounces this a palpable exaggeration. The Greek biographer estimates the WHOLE army, at its departure from India, to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse:—a part was embarked with Nearchus; a considerable division marched, under Craterus, through the territories of the Arachosii and Drangæ, to meet Alexander in Carmania. Whether the reader estimate the deaths at thirty, or ten, or twenty, thousand,—the impression on the mind is painful.

the Horitæ, and gained a victory*. From Craterus, a messenger announced, that Ordones and Zariaspes, Persian noblemen, while moving a revolt, [in Arachosia], had been seized by him, and were retained in custody.

35. The king, in consequence, nominated Sibyrtius administrator of that province, in the room of Menon, lately dead. He then advanced into Carmania. Aspastes, its satrap, was suspected to have meditated innovations during the king's absence in India. Alexander, whom he came to meet, veiled his dissatisfaction under a courteous reception; and continued him in his dignity, till he could investigate the charges against him.

Meanwhile, the governments of India, having sent, in conformity to his requisition, from every province under his dominion, a great contribution of horses, beasts of burden, and draught-cattle,—he filled the vacancies in the baggage train. The arms were restored to splendour; for the forces were not far from Persis, which enjoyed peace and opulence.

Emulating Bacchus, not only in the glory derived from conquering these countries, but in

* After the departure of Alexander, the Horitæ, rebelling, had risen upon the detachment under Leonnatus, and killed, with momentary impunity, a number not inconsiderable.

the fame of his triumphant procession, (whether that were a pageant appointed by Bacchus, or a frolic of his train,) Alexander, ambitious to surpass human grandeur, willed to return in the same manner. ‘ Cars to hold large parties
‘ of soldiers, ornamented as booths, some with
‘ white curtains, and some with silk,’ (he directed) ‘ to be prepared ;—The villages through
‘ which his route lay, to be strewed with flowers
‘ and garlands ;—goblets and large vases,
‘ filled with wine, to be set at the doors of
‘ the houses.’

The *Friends* and the royal cohort led the procession, crowned with variegated flowers. Here was heard the bold chant of the trumpets ; here the soft lay of the lyre. In furnished vehicles, one for every captain’s band, rode the army devoted to revel : arms, tastefully superb, hung around the cars. A chariot, piled with bowls and massy flagons of gold, carried the king and his conviviais. Thus, during seven days, paraded this column of bacchanals ; a prey ready for seizure, if the conquered have courage to strike the rioters — a thousand sober men may overwhelm them in their triumph, oppressed by a seven days’ debauch. But fortune, which decrees the reputation and value of things, turned this stain on the military

character into glory. The contemporary age heard, and posterity have read, with incredulous astonishment, of this reeling procession through countries imperfectly subdued. But the Barbarians construed temerity into confidence.

The executioner attended the spectacle: and Aspastes, above mentioned, the satrap of the province, was ordered to be killed. Thus neither cruelty interrupts luxury, nor luxury obstructs cruelty.

QUINTUS CURTIUS.

BOOK X.

THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER. THE ELEVATION OF
ARIDÆUS. THE DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE AMONG
THE LEADING CAPTAINS.

CHAP. I.

*Great officers of Media imprisoned. Nearchus
sent back to prosecute the voyage to Babylon.
Alexander's designs. Abisares dies. Orsines
and Phradates executed. Catastrophe of Zo-
pyrio. Flight of Harpalus.*

1. ABOUT this time, arrived Cleander and Sitalces, Agathon and Hericon, who had been actors in killing Parmenio under the king's order: with them, came five thousand foot and a thousand horse. They were followed by accusers from the province, in the government of which they had held departments. To coun-

terbalance their numerous perpetrations, their subserviency in an execution eminently grateful to the king, was inadequate. They had invaded every secular depositary of wealth; nor had the temples been spared from pillage; virgins and married princesses, who had endured their violations, were weeping under their insults. The avarice and lust of these officers had made the Macedonian name odious to the Barbarians. Cleander, transcendant in outrage, had given a ravished virgin of rank, as a concubine, to his slave.

The major part of Alexander's friends, contemplating the atrocious offences charged against the arraigned, less vividly than they recollected, that Cleander and his colleagues had slain Parmenio, (which alone pleaded for these with the king,) rejoiced that his vengeance must fall upon its own ministers. Nor is power acquired by vassalage to crime ever permanent.

In pronouncing on the allegations, Alexander observed: "The accusing have omitted the
" principal delinquency of the accused, a pre-
" sumption that their sovereign would perish;
" for they had never adventured on such enormities, had they wished, or believed, that I
" should return from India." Indeed, he con-

signed these governors to chains*, and six hundred soldiers, who had been the instruments of their cruelty, to death. The same day, the movers of a revolt†, whom Craterus had brought in, were executed.

2. Not long subsequently, arrived Nearchus and Onesicritus, whom the king had instructed to proceed in the navigation of the ocean. They reported, first, their own discoveries and observations: "The island seated below the mouth
" of the Indus, abounds in gold, but is destitute
" of horses. Each horse, which persons from
" the continent have the boldness to transport
" thither, is purchased at a talent. The sea
" is full of whales, which follow the course of
" the tide; their bulk rivals that of large ships:
" They will follow the fleet: but, terrified by
" the fierce notes of the trumpet, plunge under
" the waves, and as sinking vessels, make the
" displaced sea roar."

These other representations were derived from inhabitants of the coast. "The Red Sea‡
" was named, not from its colour, as most are
" ready to suppose, but from king Erythras.

* Except Heracon, who was acquitted, they were ordered to execution. Heracon, soon afterward, was convicted at Susa of plundering a temple, and was punished. — *Arrian, Plutarch, and Justin.*

† Ordones and Zariaspes, ante, p. 369. The junction of the forces under Craterus had taken place in Carmanin.

‡ Correspondent is p. 263, ante, line 2.

“ Contiguous to the continent [of Carmania] is
“ an island*, planted with numerous palm-
“ trees; in the middle of the grove rises a co-
“ lumn erected to the memory of Erythras,
“ with an inscription in the characters of his
“ nation.” They added: “ Such merchant-
“ ships as the masters have carried into the
“ island [of Nosala], drawn by the fame of its
“ gold, having never been seen to return.”

Alexander, impatient to obtain increased information, “ again sent out his navigators,
“ instructed to coast along till the fleet reached
“ the Euphrates, and to ascend that river to
“ Babylon.”

As soon as he should have subdued all the shores of the East, his vast designs embraced an expedition from Syria into Africa Proper; for Carthage had incensed him†. Afterwards, having traversed the deserts of Numidia,—from Gades, where tradition placed one of the columns of Hercules, he proposed to march through Spain, which the Greeks, from the river Iberus, call *Iberia*; and to pass thence, over the Alps, to the coast of Italy. The transit to Epirus would be short.

* The *Oaracta* of Arrian in *Indicis*. Dr. Vincent identifies *Oaracta* with the modern Kismis; then *Tyrina* will appear to correspond with Ormuz, as *Organa* is concluded to be Arek.—*Neurchus*, 2d edit. p. 348.

† Vol. i. pp. 356, 367, 376.

He therefore directed his administrators in Mesopotamia—to fell timber in mount Libanus; to convey it to Thapsacus, a city in Syria; and to lay down keels there of the largest rates: all the septiremes, when completed, were to drop down to Babylon. The kings of Cyprus were commanded to supply copper, hemp, and sails.

Amidst these arrangements, letters to Alexander, from the sovereigns Porus and Taxiles, announce, that Abisares was dead from illness, and Philip, the viceroy [over the Oxydracæ and the Malli], from a wound; and that those [insurgent mercenaries] who killed him had been crushed. In consequence, Alexander substituted for Philip, Eudemon, general of the Thracians; and delivered the kingdom of Abisares to his son.

3. The king then advanced to Persagadæ. Of this Persic district the satrap was Orsines, in nobility and riches pre-eminent among the Barbaric princes. He traced his pedigree from Cyrus; to treasures inherited from his ancestors, he had accumulated accessions during a long continuance in authority. He met the king, with presents of every descriptions, designed not only for his majesty, but for his friends,—studs of trained horses; chariots with silver and gold devices; costly house-furniture;

transcendant jewels; massy vessels of gold; wardrobes of purple; and four thousand talents in coined silver.

This striking liberality occasioned his death; for, while he courted all the king's friends with gifts surpassing their expectations, he demonstrated no respect to Bagoas the eunuch, who had enslaved Alexander by abominable obsequiousness. Reminded by some persons how strongly this submenial possessed Alexander's favour, he answered: "I honour the king's friends, but not his corrupters; nor is it the custom of Persians to compliment apostates from humanity." Acquainted with this reply, Bagoas exerted, with his influence, contrivances, only less detestable, to destroy a high-minded and innocent prince. He armed some worthless wretches of the same nation with fabricated charges, instructed not to prefer them till he should dictate. Meanwhile, as often as he was alone with the king, he deposited aspersions in his credulous ears; concealing the cause of this hostility, to give the prelude to impeachment greater weight. Not yet suspected by Alexander, Orsines was sinking from favour; secretly maligned, and ignorant of his danger. And the revengeful eunuch never forgot his purpose, even in his most grovelling prostrations; whenever Alexander was absurdly pos-

sessed by the perdition of his influence, introducing allegations, now of avarice, and now of disloyalty, against Orsines.

4. The machination to circumvent the guiltless was matured ; and destiny was fulfilling one of its inevitable appointments. The tomb of Cyrus Alexander incidentally caused to be opened, to burn sacrifices before the embalmed corse. From a tradition among the Persians, he had believed it to be full of gold and silver ; but, besides a rotten buckler, two Scythian bows, and a scimitar, nothing was found. Having, however, placed on the coffin a crown of gold, he covered it with the mantle which he had been used to wear ; apparently surprised that so illustrious a prince, who left behind immense treasures, should not have funereal appendages more costly than a private person. Bagoas, who stood at the king's elbow ; turning to him, said : “ What wonder that the sepulchres of our monarchs should be empty, when the palaces of the satraps cannot contain the gold thence derived ? As to my personal knowledge, I have not seen the tomb before ; but from Darius I. received the account, that three thousand talents had been buried with Cyrus. Hence that generosity toward you ; that what Orsines could not

“ possess with impunity, might, dispersed in presents, procure him favour.”

He had already excited the king's anger; when those to whom he had committed the affair appeared. Bagoas, on one side, and the false witnesses, suborned by him, on the other, engrossed the attention of the king. Orsines, before he could surmise himself to be impeached, is in chains. The minion, not satisfied with the death of an innocent man, struck him going to execution. Looking indignantly at him, “ I had heard,” said Orsines, “ that, in past times, women have reigned in Asia: but it is new, that a eunuch should reign.” This was the undeserved end of the highest nobleman of Persia, who, on the altar of liberality, had offered uncommon riches to the king.

5. Phradates, suspected to aim at regal dignity, was, at the same time, put to death. Alexander had become precipitate in crediting accusers and commissioning the axe. Prosperity certainly has the power to transform the disposition; and rarely is any one sufficiently circumspect amid surrounding felicities. Thus the same man who, not long before, could not prevail with himself to condemn Alexander the Lyncestean impeached by two witnesses; who suffered the arraigned of inferior rank to be li-

berated, contrary to his own inclination, because they appeared to the rest innocent; who had restored kingdoms to vanquished enemies; —at length so far degenerated from himself, that in dereliction of his personal sentiments, at the caprice of a Cinædopolite, he surprised those individuals with viceroyalties, and from these snatched their lives.

About this time, he received letters stating the transactions in Europe and Asia Minor, while he had been subduing India. Zopyrio, his lieutenant over Thrace, in an expedition against the Getæ, by adversities and commotions suddenly rising, had been overwhelmed with his whole army. Informed of the slaughter, Seuthes had stimulated the Odryssians, his fellow countrymen, to revolt. Thus is Thrace nearly lost:

Nor indeed remained Greece* unconvulsed. —For several of Alexander's satraps, while his arms had been detained in the distant sphere of India, had, by a course of most heinous tyranny, oppressed his provincial subjects: the punishment of particular governors animated the terrors of the others, expecting the same retribution for delinquency. The latter — either confided themselves to the attachment of the

mercenary troops, intending, if summoned to execution, to defend themselves by their arms; or, had begun to fly with what money they could levy. On report of this, letters are despatched to the commanders throughout Asia; on sight of which, they are enjoined immediately to disband all the foreign stipendiary troops. Among the criminal, was Harpalus; whom, on account of his former banishment by Philip, incurred through devotion to Alexander, this prince numbered among his most faithful friends; and, after the death of Mazæus, had conferred on him the satrapy of Babylon, and the custody of the treasures. When this governor had dissipated his reliance on the affluent favour of the king, by the multitude of his enormities, he took out of the royal treasury five thousand talents, hired a band of six thousand mercenaries, and escaped to Europe. For a long time before, carried headlong in excess by unrestrained appetites, he had despaired of his master's pardon; and, for a refuge from his anger, looking round to foreign aid, had assiduously courted the Athenians, whose power was far from contemptible, and whose influence over the other Greeks, as well as their secret antipathy to the Macedonians, he knew. He buoyed his adherents to hope, that the Athenians, on his arrival, witnessing the display of his forces

and treasures, would immediately confederate their arms and councils: For he considered, that among an undiscerning, fickle people, led by unprincipled and venal men, he might, by largesses, effect every thing.

6. Harpalus*, with his party, in thirty ships, passed to Sunium, a promontory, in Attica, whence his plan was to steer for the harbour of the city. Discovering the correspondence, Alexander, equally incensed against Harpalus and the Athenians, ordered a fleet to be prepared, intending to sail to Athens. While he was meditating this procedure, letters announce, ' That Harpalus had indeed entered Athens, and, by a lavish policy, had won the chief citizens. Soon afterwards, commanded by an assembly of the people to quit the city, he retired to his Greek soldiers, who would not receive him. He was at length slain [in Crete], by the treachery of [Thimbron,†] one of the confidential companions of his journey.'

Well pleased, Alexander rescinded the design of moving to Europe. He, however, enjoined all the cities of Greece, to recal their exiles, except such as were stained with civic blood shed in insurrection.

* Curtius, resumed.

† Diocl. lib. XVII. s. 106

The mass of Greek states, not daring to disobey his mandate, although they esteemed it the commencement of a dissolution of their laws, restored to the deprived their property where it could be recognized.

The Athenians, alone assertors of their own and the general liberty, unaccustomed to regal control over their public votes and customs, warned from their frontiers the refuse of men, because they were indisposed to order. The Athenians were prepared to endure extremities, rather than readmit reprobates, now, in the seats of exile, sunk as low as, formerly, in the city.

CHAP. II.

Alexander pays the debts of the army. The dismissal of the veterans causes a sedition.

THE senior soldiers discharged to march home, the king appointed a selection of thirteen thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to remain with him in Asia; deeming a contracted army sufficient to secure Asia, supported by the garrisons which he had numerously distributed, and by colonies planted in the newly founded cities, ready to repress innovation.

7. Before, however, he separated those to be retained, his edict required all the soldiers openly to state what sums they owed. He was apprised that the greater part were immersed in debt; which, however it were incurred through luxury, he had willed to discharge. They, suspecting an experiment, to distinguish at once the profuse from the economical, again and again procrastinated. The king, persuaded that delicacy, not insensibility, prevented the disclosure, caused counting tables to be distributed through the camp, and delivered out ten thousand talents. At length the soldiers gave in faithful lists; nor of the vast devoted treasure were more than one hundred and thirty talents left. So that an army, which had subdued so many affluent nations, carried from Asia a greater share of honour than spoil.

As soon as it transpired, that some were to be sent home and some retained, the troops concluded that he would establish the seat of empire in Asia. Frantic, and inattentive to military discipline, they filled the camp with stormy eloquence; and, besieging the king more insolently than at any previous time, all at once demanded their discharge, showing their scarred fronts and grey hairs. Impressed neither by the correction of the officers, nor by respect for the king, with popular cries and

martial fierceness, they interrupted his offers to speak, declaring they would never march a step thence, unless toward their country.

At length—silence made, rather because they supposed him to be affected, than because themselves could be moved—they waited to know what he designed to do. “Why,” inquired Alexander, “this sudden sedition? what is this insolent disorder to deprecate? I hesitate to pronounce my will. You have openly assailed my authority. I am a king maintained by entreaty, to whom you have not left the prerogative to animate, to understand, to counsel you, or to turn on you a guardian eye. And, strange indeed! when I had arranged to dismiss some to our country, and to bring the remainder myself shortly afterwards, I hear the same outcries from those now to go, as from those with whom I appointed to follow. What is this to express? this unanimity in clamour from motives in conflict? I desire to know, whether the bands who depart, or the bands reserved, intend to complain?”

8. To an auditor, the uproar of all would have appeared to come from a single throat, so equally the whole assembly cried: ‘We all complain.’—“That all should fall together into a tone of discontent, from the pretext

“ seized, I cannot be persuaded ;” said Alexander ; “ the pretext cannot affect the major part
“ of the army ; for I release more than I retain. Doubtless, the evil must be seated
“ more deeply, that steals you all from me. When, in fact, has an entire army deserted
“ their king ? Slaves do not in a body run
“ from their masters : round a master abandoned by others, shame retains some who
“ had else been renegades.

“ But, forgetting the character of this tumult, I am tempering incurable rage. My
“ cherished hope of you, was a profligate illusion. Nor as my companion in arms, which
“ you are no longer, have I resolved to treat you, but as I ought the eminently ungrateful.
“ Entranced by affluent felicities, you forget
“ what condition, through my offices, you
“ quitted—in which you might worthily have
“ grown grey : for you govern yourselves better in adversity than in prosperity. The
“ tributaries, within memory, to Illyria and to
“ Persia*, at length disdain the dominion of
“ Asia, and the spoils of uncounted nations.
“ The half-naked bands of Philip trample on
“ purple mantles. Silver and gold are offensive
“ to their eyes ; they long for wooden vessels,
“ basket bucklers, and rusty swords. Thus
“ gallantly equipped, I received you, and five

* See ADDITIONAL NOTES (B B).

“ hundred talents of debt : when all the regal
“ furniture, the foundation for my works, did
“ not exceed sixty talents. With these, how-
“ ever, (invidious estimations apart,) I have
“ raised an empire, embracing the greatest
“ part of the earth. Are you weary of Asia,
“ the scene of glorious achievements, which
“ have rendered you peers of gods ? From
“ your forsaken king you are impatient to fly
“ to Europe, although the majority would be
“ now destitute of travelling equipments, un-
“ less I had satisfied private creditors with the
“ despised Asiatic treasures. Carrying about
“ in that abyss, the belly, the spoils of con-
“ quered kingdoms, you are not ashamed of
“ wishing to return to your wives and children,
“ although few can display at home the prizes
“ of victory ; for the rest, anticipating your
“ hoped discharge, have mortgaged your splen-
“ did arms.

“ But I shall miss such hearty soldiers, and
“ the concubines upon whom the poor remnant
“ of their riches is lavished. Be every barrier
“ open to my fugitives ! Hence, break away
“ swiftly ! I and the Persians will protect your
“ rear. I detain no one : relieve my insulted
“ eyes, ye ungrateful citizens ! Joyous parents
“ and children will embrace you returning
“ without your king ; will crowd the ways to
“ meet traitors and renegades !

“ Over your desertion I will triumph, by
“ Hercules! in every province will avenge it,
“ by cherishing these with whom you leave
“ me, and preferring them to you. Soon you
“ will know what an army can effect without
“ a leader, and what my single presence might
“ avail.”

9. Gnashing with rage, he sprang from the tribunal, and threw himself into the midst of the armed: having marked the boldest revilers*, he seized with his own hand one and another; and delivered thirteen, none adventuring resistance, to the custody of the body-guards.

CHAP. III.

The mutiny subsides. Alexander addresses the foreign troops, and delivers to the Persian nobles the principal military commands.

WHO could anticipate that the ferocious assembly would be abruptly hushed by fear? When every one saw men dragged to punish-

* Some cried, ‘ That he had no farther use for *them*: his father Hammon could fight his battles.’ The scene of these trying incidents was at Opis on the Tigris.—GILLIES after ARRIAN.

ment daring no weightier things than their comrades,—the prodigal clamour and menacing violence of the soldiers became repressed—not merely so that none withstood the king rushing among them; but all, palsied by dread, as thunderstruck, awaited his decision respecting themselves. Awed—whether by the attribute of majesty, which nations, obeying kings, worship among their deities; or, by personal veneration for Alexander; or, by his intrepid exercise of the energy of power—the concourse displayed a pattern of singular docility. They were so far from incensed at the punishment of their companions, when they knew them to have been executed at the approach of night, that they omitted no act by which individuals could express heightened obedience and attachment. Next day, denied admission into the palace, while it was granted to the Asiatic soldiers, they proclaimed their penitence in the mournful camp: ‘They would cease to live if the king persisted to be angry.’

Olymp. cxiii. 4.

A. C. 324.

Ætat. Alex. 32.

Reg. 12.

Imp. 6.

The Macedonians restricted to their camp,—Alexander, pertinaciously constant to whatever he had meditated, summoned an assembly of the foreign troops; and thus addressed them by the medium of an interpreter:

10. " When I planned to pass from Europe
" into Asia, I expected to add to my empire
" many renowned countries, and powerful com-
" munities of men. Nor in crediting fame
" concerning these, was I deceived. Around
" me I see men brave, beyond her representa-
" tions, and of invincible piety toward their
" kings. I had imagined every thing here to
" be dissolved in luxury ; every thing, through
" excessive opulence, immersed in pleasures.
" But you discharge all the military duties
" with surmounting vigour of mind and body,
" and cheerful diligence ; and, while support-
" ing a reputation for courage, do not culti-
" vate it more than loyalty. I declare this now
" for the first time : I have known it long ; and
" therefore selected your young men, and incor-
" porated them with my soldiers. Your habili-
" ments and arms are the same ; but your ready
" obedience to orders far surpasses theirs. "

" Thus estimating my new subjects, I was
" induced to wed the daughter of Oxartes, the
" Persian ; not disdaining to raise children from
" a captive. Desirous, by numerous branches, to
" multiply my lineage, soon afterwards I took
" in marriage the daughter of Darius. I encou-
" raged my most valued friends, to become the
" heads of families born of Persian mothers,
" that, by this sacred connexion, I might anni-

“hilate the difference between the vanquished and the victors*. Consider yourselves, therefore, in respect to me, natural-born, not adopted, subjects. Asia and Europe constitute one state. I arm you as Macedonians. Alien noviciates I have veteranized; and you are my freemen, my soldiers: all things are taking a uniform complexion. It is no dishonour for Macedonians to assume the Persian manners, nor for Persians to imitate the Macedonians. Equal rights ought those to enjoy, who live under the same king.”

[After thus speaking, he distributed to Persian nobles the principal military commands, distinguished particular bodies of Persian infantry and cavalry by the appellation “royal,” selected from them an armed retinue, and committed to Persians the guard of his body. As Barbarian officers were leading to execution several Macedonians who had kindled the sedition, one of the latter, distinguished by rank and seniority, is reported thus to have addressed the king.]

* In the palace of Susa, Alexander publicly espoused Statira, and bestowed her sister Drypetis on Hephæstion, saying, that he wished their children to be kinsmen. Perdikkas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, intermarried with illustrious female Persians. The soldiers followed the example; and above ten thousand Greeks and Macedonians, a catalogue of whose names was presented to the king, married Asiatic women.—*Gillies' Greece*, chap. 39.

CHAP. IV.

Reconciliation of Alexander and the Macedonians. Antipater recalled. Death of Hephæstion. Expedition against the Cossæans. Despising the warning of the soothsayers, Alexander enters Babylon. Navigates the Pallacopas. His return to Babylon, and sickness.

11. “HOW long, sir, will you gratify your
“ anger, by executions conducted in a foreign
“ manner? Your own soldiers, your fellow-
“ citizens, without being allowed to plead, are
“ hauled to punishment by their captives. If
“ you deem us to merit death, at least change
“ our executioners.”

Alexander had received the friendly remonstrance, could he have borne with truth: but his rage had proceeded to madness. Therefore, he ordered those who had charge of the prisoners, because they had paused a moment, to plunge them into the river, chained as they were. Nor did this unusual punishment raise a second mutiny: but, repairing in companies to the chief officers and royal favourites, the soldiers desired, ‘ That if the king yet judged any
‘ others to be implicated in the past offence,

‘ that he would order them to be killed : and
‘ they offered their own bodies to his ven-
‘ geance,’

Apprised*, at length, that he had transferred their posts to the Persians, and that the Barbarians were formed into regiments under Macedonian denominations, while they had been ignominiously discarded, their grief almost overcame their reason. All at once they flock to the palace, deposit their armour at the gate ; and, standing in their shirts, ready for punishment, with tears demanded admission. ‘ They
‘ prayed to be relieved, not from expiating their
‘ guilty obstinacy, but from the king’s anger,
‘ to them more intolerable than death.’ And though their wretched cries and deportment, not remitted after the sun had withdrawn, proved their contrition, the king’s resentment stood out against their entreaties two days. On the third, vanquished by their perseverance, Alexander appeared ; and, slightly reproving the waywardness of the army, declared, while both parties shed tears, that he was reconciled.

This issue appeared worthy to be consecrated by the higher sacrifices. After solemn offerings, he called to a banquet the principal Macedonians and Persians. Nine thousand

* SUPPLEMENT of Freinshemius, revised.

guests, at the king's invitation, tasted libations from a common flagon: while, in concert, the Grecian and Barbarian priests, leading and blessing the invocations, which the assembly repeated, prayed, that the union of the empires might be eternal.

This solemnity was followed by a disbanding of the invalids. To some of the senior FRIENDS, he also gave leave of absence; including Clitus surnamed Albus, Gorgias, Polydamas, and Antigenes. To the arrears of pay, he added a talent for each discharged soldier, under the name of a travelling-provision. Their children, by Asiatic wives, about ten thousand, he ordered to be left with him, lest, transported into Macedon with the father, and mixed with his antecedent wife and offspring, they should fill every family with discord: Alexander undertaking, as a charge on himself, that the infants should be nurtured in Macedonian customs, and instructed in the military art. Thus he dismissed ten thousand veterans: Craterus, an intimate of his confidence, was nominated to conduct them back: if that officer's death should supervene, they were to obey Polysperchon. At the same time, he wrote to Antipater to this effect: "Honour the victors in pensioned retirement: let them, wearing chaplets, have the first seats at the public games and spectacles. On

“ their decease, continue their pay to their
“ children. It is my will, that Craterus be
“ viceroy of Macedon, with the countries de-
“ pendent on its government: while, in his
“ place, you will repair to me with the re-
“ cruits.”

Alexander was apprehensive that the embittered dissensions between Olympias and Antipater would provoke some disastrous consequence. For, in their successive letters, one alternately accused the other of conduct tending to sully the king's dignity at home, or weaken its foundation. It was invidiously represented, that, an idle rumour which had slain Alexander, penetrating to Pella, his mother and his sister Cleopatra were seized with consternation, and Olympias flew to Epirus, her paternal country. While letters of this kind were passing, it happened that Hephæstion, an associate in all the secrets of the king, was looking over with Alexander the correspondence unsealed by him. Nor did the king forbid him, but drawing his seal from his finger, pressed it on the mouth of the reader, intimating, that no hint of what those lines ask must transpire. The king is reported to have blamed both; and, moved with the haughtiness of his mother, to have cried, ‘That for the ten months’ dwelling which she gave him in her womb, she demanded a

‘ heavy reward.’ Nevertheless, against Antipater he entertained the imputation, that the victory over the Spartans, and the delegation of power prolonged to him so many years, had rendered him arrogant, and elated above the condition of a lieutenant. Therefore, when some attendants were expatiating on that officer’s prudence and integrity, he remarked, “ White he appears, indeed, externally; but, “ if you could look within, he is all purple.” Alexander, however, drew the mask over his suspicion, nor betrayed any further symptom of an alienated mind.

Weighty authorities deny, and numerous writers affirm, that Antipater, concluding that he was summoned away in order to be sacrificed, was the known director of wicked machinations, to which should be ascribed the death of the king, which soon followed.

Meanwhile Alexander, at once repairing the waste of the army, and assimilating the manners of his subjects, adopted into the Macedonian ranks the best of the Persian soldiers: to a superior thousand, separated from the excellent, he gave the intimate station of body-guards: another, a band of not less than ten thousand spearmen, he appointed to watch round his pavilion. On the other hand, he introduced, into Barbarian corps, Greeks and Macedonians,

in the proportion of four Europeans to twelve Asiatics*. Amid these arrangements, Peucestas arrived with twenty thousand slingers and archers, levied in his province, which were distributed through the army.

The king repeatedly visited several cities of the central provinces. Moving from Susa across the Tigris, he encamped successively at Sittacæ, at Carrhæ, at Sambana, and at Celonæ. This town was inhabited by a colony of emigrants from Bœotia, which Xerxes had conveyed thither. They preserved the evidence of their origin in their dialect, composed for the most part of Grecian words; although, from the necessity of intercourse, they used the language of the neighbouring Barbarians. Thence he entered Bagistames, a country of pleasant orchards; in the simple aliments essential to life, and in delicacies which flatter the palate, equally abounding.

About this time happened a vehement feud between Eumenes and Hephæstion. The servants of Eumenes having pre-occupied quarters for their master, Hephæstion expelled them, that Evius, a flute-player, might be entertained there. Afterwards, the reposing rancour between the king's secretary and the king's first friend was awakened by a new quarrel; sallies of

* Arrian, lib. vii. p. 158.

defiance and bitter reproaches were interchanged. This exhibition of their enmity was arrested by the interference and authority of Alexander: he even threatened Hephæstion, and more perseveringly withdrew his countenance from Eumenes, desirous to be reinstated in his favour.

The army proceeded to the plains of Media, where lordly herds of horses were grazing, of distinguished size and beauty, denominated *nisæi*. In this region of pasture, Alexander obtained fifty thousand steeds. Their number formerly, was thrice as many: but, during the convulsions of war, marauders had carried off the greater part. To the king, who remained here thirty days, Atropates, satrap of Media, conducted a hundred female Barbarians, expert equestrians, armed with half-moon shields, and battle-axes: whom some have believed to be the remains of a nation of Amazons.

In seven days, Alexander reached Ecbatana, the capital of the province. Here he solemnized sacrifices to the gods, proclaimed musical and gymnastic games; and, to recreate his mind for new cares and operations, resolved to unbend the time in festivity. He had collected from Greece three thousand players and musicians*.

* Plut. *de fortun. Alexand.*

He prepares to meet in the theatre the heroes of Sophocles: fate forces on his attention another scene. He was viewing some boys contending in a race, when it was announced that his best beloved friend, Hephæstion, was dying: indisposition, contracted by a drunken vigil, had confined Hephæstion to his couch seven days. Alexander rose in alarm, and hastened to the quarters of his friend, who had expired before he arrived.

The intemperance of his tears and complaints declare this to have been felt by Alexander as the most adverse incident of his life. Subdued by the weight of his grief, he gave many proofs of an abdicated mind. During three days and nights, he neither changed his apparel, nor tasted food. Meditating for the corse the most honourable obsequies, he would not have it interred at Ecbatana: but to Babylon, whither himself was preparing to remove, appointed Perdiccas to convey it. There he, afterwards, built a monument, at the unprecedented expense of twelve thousand talents. He ordered a general mourning throughout the empire; and, in funeral games in the great cities, employed the three thousand performers previously collected. To the cavalry of the allies which Hephæstion had commanded, Alexander nominated no other leader, but decreed that it

should be called the cavalry of Hephæstion, and that the banners should not be changed. His friends, eager candidates for his favour, vied in inventing offerings to the memory of the deceased, to sustain it with greater lustre. Eumenes, who imagined that, by his dispute with the favourite, he had incurred the king's displeasure, dedicated himself and armour to Hephæstion, and contributed largely from his treasures to grace the funeral: and many officers followed his example. At length the effrontery of flattery persuaded the king, frantic with sorrow, that Hephæstion was a demigod.

At this time, Agathocles of Samos, one of the captains, fell into great danger, because he was seen, in passing Hephæstion's grave, to weep. Perdiccas, however, feigning the manes to have appeared to himself evoking it, swore, by all the gods, and by Hephæstion, '*That, from the spirit of the hero, he knew*, that Agathocles had not mourned him as a dead man, idly decked with the glories of a false divinity, but had been, from the recollection of past social hours, unable to restrain his tears.' But for this, a brave officer, meriting well of the king, had received on his innocent head a heavy retribution for affection to his friend.

To divert his melancholy, Alexander undertook an expedition against the Cossæans. A

fierce and untamed tribe, inhabiting a mountainous district on the southern frontier of Media, the Cossæans subsist by plunder. By an annual tribute, the satraps of the adjoining provinces had been accustomed to compound a peace with them, lest these, descending from their ridges, should make the lower country the seat of their ravages. The attempts of the Persic armies, the Cossæans had easily foiled, defended by rugged fastnesses, into which they retired whenever they were defeated in a skirmish. At the periodical return of the court from the summer-palace of Ecbatana to Babylon, the great king had habitually conciliated them by presents, to obtain an undisturbed passage through their defiles.

Assailing these Barbarians with the army in two divisions, in forty days Alexander and Ptolemy completely subdued them. Repeatedly forced, the surviving Cossæans, to recover their prisoners, surrendered their last recesses. At suitable points, the king erected fortresses, lest the obedience of this untractable horde should expire, as soon as his army had withdrawn.

The march toward Babylon Alexander conducted slowly, to refresh the wearied troops. Scarcely now thirty stadia from the city, he was met by Nearchus, whom he had sent thither

by the ocean and the lower Euphrates. Nearchus besought him, 'Not to enter a city, in that case fatal to him, as he had learnt from the Chaldæans, the certitude of whose art had been established by the repeated coincidence of events with their predictions.' Impressed by his friend's earnestness, and by the reputation of the priests, Alexander detached the greater part of his attendants into the city; and passing, by another road, beyond Babylon, encamped distant thence two hundred stadia.

Soon afterwards, stimulated by Anaxarchus, in contempt of the dehortation of the Chaldæans, whose learning he pronounced shallow and useless, he entered the city. There, in audiences, he gave many days of dignified attention, as the acknowledged master of the world, to a confluence of ambassadors from Spain, and various nations in Italy*, from Carthage, Libya, and Ethiopia, from the Celts, from the Scythians, and from remote countries in Asia. He then

* The Brutti, Lucani, and Tyrrheni or Tuscans. Many authorities give these names. According to Clitarchus, as cited by Pliny, lib. III. cap. 9. other deputies came even from Rome; and Aristus and Asclepiades relate, that Alexander, having informed himself of the manners, and political institutions of this people, predicted their future greatness. Arrian preserves this, from the two latter; but treats of the occurrence as rather improbable. Diodorus, lib. xvii. s. 112, says generally, that all those who inhabited the countries between the northern coast of the Adriatic Gulf and the Columns of Hercules, sent embassies:

resigned his thoughts to the obsequies of Hephæstion, which, through the emulous devotedness of all, were so solemnized, that, in richness of cost, and combinations of pageantry, they had never been exceeded by the funeral sacrifices of any king that had lived *.

The king was now desirous to navigate through the canal Pallacopas to the borders of Arabia. Conveyed thither, discovering an eligible site, he founded a city, which he peopled with invalid Greeks, and other Greeks whom inclination detained from their country. Secure now of the future, he ridiculed the Chaldæans, because he not only had entered Babylon in safety, but had gone out of it in health. His return, however, through the turbid lakes, which the Euphrates, distributed by the Pallacopas, forms, was attended by a malign omen: as he was steering his own vessel, some overhanging boughs swept the diadem from his brow into the flood: after which, he wore on-board a sailor's cap. Other portents have been related. Calanus, the only Brahmin who could be induced to follow him from India, fell sick in Persia: Before the eastern sage was carried to the pyre, on which he had resolved to devote himself, Alex-

* Casbin (*Kazveen*) is famous as the burial-place of Hephæstion. It was afterwards one of the chief cities of the Parthian empire; and has since been the residence of many Persian kings.

ander visited him : Calanus embraced the rest at the interview ; but refused to take leave of his royal friend, saying, ‘ That he should see ‘ him again in Babylon.’ Robbed of serenity by superstitious fears, the king offered daily sacrifices, according both to the Grecian and Barbarian rites, to conciliate the menacing gods.

Having, with recovered confidence, returned to Babylon, he received delegates bringing crowns of gold from the Grecian republics. As a prelude to distant enterprises, he reviewed his troops and galleys. From a splendid entertainment which he had given to Nearchus and the captains of the fleet, Alexander, retiring to rest, was met by Medius of Larissa. This officer, prolonging at his own board a separate feast to his friends, strenuously invited the king to honour the sitting. Alexander remained with the party of Medius the rest of the night, and all the following day, in the course of which he drank a cup to each of the twenty guests*. The indisposition under which he was carried from this scene of excess, incessantly increased in violence ; and, on the sixth day, disease had nearly exhausted in him the powers of nature. Meanwhile, the anxious soldiers obtained admission to his presence†.

* Plutarch and Athenæus.

† The *Supplement* of Freinshemius ends with the chapter.

CHAP. V.

Death of Alexander. Grief of the Macedonians and Persians. Sisygambis dies by abstinence. Character of Alexander.

12. AS they saw him, their tears springing, they presented the appearance, not of an army of visitors to their king, but of mourners over his grave. Of the circle round his bed the grief was eminently full: as Alexander beheld them, "When I am gone, where," said he, "will you find a king worthy of such men?"

It transcends belief, that in the sitting posture to which he had raised himself when the troops were admitted, he remained till the whole army, to the last man, had saluted him. The multitude dismissed, as discharged from the last debt of life, he threw back his weary frame,

His friends having been bidden to approach close, for his voice began now to fail, his signet drawn from his finger he delivered to Perdikkas, accompanied with an injunction to convey his body to Hammon. To those inquiring, 'To whom he devised the empire,' he answered: "To the most worthy* — I already fore-

* Diodorus represents his answer to have been, "To the bravest, or strongest." And Le Tellier is anxious to construe the "*optimus*" of Curtius in that sense. But is it not painting Alexander little better than a fiend, thus to make him deliberately leave to his

“ see, in that debate, mighty funeral games prepared for me.” Asked by Perdiccas, ‘ When he willed that divine honours should be paid him,’ he replied, “ When themselves were happy.” These were the last words of the king : Soon afterwards he expired *.

Olymp. cxiv. 1.

A. C. 324.

Ætat. Alex. 33.

Reg. 13.

Imp. 7.

lieutenants only a legacy of social war? Justin has it, unambiguously, “ To the most worthy.”

The translator supposes—that Alexander, in the signet, meant to confer the supremacy on Perdiccas; that, surprised and offended at the subsequent question, ‘ To whom he left the empire,’ his answer “ To the most worthy” implied, “ Have I not already disposed of it?” and that “ *certamen*,” in the translation represented by “ debate,” does not allude to an *armed contest*, which Alexander, according to the general construction, was instituting, and connected with which the word “ foresee” is inapposite, but alludes to *bustling symptoms of cabal*, which he overheard among the rivals of Perdiccas while they were still round his pillow.

*. On 28. Dæsius.—*Diary of EUM. and DIOD. apud ATHEN.* lib. x. p. 434. Usher makes the 28th of Dæsius, in this year, answer to 22. May of the Julian Kalendar; M. de Sainte-Croix, to 18. August. The impossibility of determining the month in which the event fell, prevents the year from being assigned with certainty.

It may be useful to recapitulate here the times at which the different eras commence, omitting that of the Christian, as universally known.

The OLYMPIAD, or space of four years between each recurrence of the Olympic games, begins on the *first new moon after the summer-solstice, which then fell about June 27.*

ALEXANDER WAS BORN 21. July? Plutarch commemorates, that the Macedonian month Loüs answered — at that era — to the Attic month Hecatombæon, which — governed by the new moon — began on the 16th July,

In the first fit of grief, the whole palace resounded with lamentations and with smittings of the breast:—anon all things lay, as in a desert, couched in dreary silence; anguish diverted to the contemplation of what was to follow.

The young nobles accustomed to guard his person; with ungoverned distress; passed out of the palace, and, wandering like maniacs, filled the city with sorrow and complaint; nor omitted any extravagance which mournful emotions could prompt.

13. The guards, who had stood without the palace, as well Barbarians as Macedonians, in consequence rushed in; nor, in the common distraction, could the vanquished be distinguished from the victors. The Persians invoking their most just and most merciful master;

in that year. A letter of Philip written about eighteen years after the birth of Alexander—preserved in Demosthenes' Oration on the Crown—distinctly states, that Louïs, *at that time*, corresponded with the Attic month Boëdromion. Hence many have dated Alexander's birth on 20th September.

ALEXANDER began to REIGN OVER MACEDON, 24. September.

— began to REIGN OVER PERSIA some time in July.

The sum which Aristobulus, *apud* ARRIAN. lib. VII. cap. 28, assigns to Alexander's age, is thirty-two years and eight months; and Cicero says: "Did not Alexander the Macedonian die in his thirty-third year?" *Philipp. V. c. 7.*

See ADDITIONAL NOTES (C C).

the Macedonians their greatest, bravest king,— it seemed a contest in wretchedness. The voices were, also, heard of passionate murmurers: “ So happy a prince, in the blossom-
“ ing of life and fortune, snatched, from the
“ government of men, by the envy of the gods.” The vigor and countenance with which he led engagements, commenced sieges, mounted in escalades, and assembled the troops to reward the brave, were present to their imaginations. Then the Macedonians expressed regret, for their refusal to him of celestial honours; and termed themselves undutiful, ungrateful, inasmuch as they had wronged his ears of his due title. After they had long continued telling, now of their veneration for the king, now of their attachment to him, their compassion turned upon themselves. Marched from distant Macedonia beyond the Euphrates, they perceived themselves to be unsupported in the midst of enemies who despised their new empire; and that in the deficiency of a determinate heir to the king’s dominions, every general would attract to himself a part of the forces. They foreboded the civil wars which afterwards occurred. Their blood must once more flow, their scars be opened by new wounds, not to win the empire of Asia, but to decide who should be their master. Aged, infirm, having just demanded dismissal from their rightful

sovereign, they must be sacrificed for the elevation of some, perhaps, ignoble satellite.

14. As they were revolving these apprehensions, night surprised them, and increased their terror: the troops watched under arms: the Babylonians stood, some on the walls, others on the tops of the houses, inquisitively looking, as expecting decisive things. None dared to employ lights; and as vision was suspended, the ear, devoted to the din, analysed every sound. Great numbers, roving panic-struck, encountered in bye-alleys; borne along, mutually suspected and anxious.

The Persians, their heads, according to their manner, shaven, habited in mourning, with their wives and children, forgetting how recently the conqueror had been an enemy, bewailed him, with true affection, as their lawful king. Accustomed to live under a monarch, they confessed that they had never had a ruler worthier to be remembered. Nor was their grief circumscribed by the city-walls: with the report of its calamitous cause, it spread to the adjoining country, and afterwards pervaded that large section of Asia on this side the Euphrates.

The news flew to Dariüs' mother. Her usual attire rent, and replaced by melancholy weeds, she, with torn tresses, flung herself on the ground. Sitting near her, was one of her grand-daughters, lamenting her husband He-

phæstion, lately lost : with the public grief, she was retracing her personal sorrows. But Sisygambis alone was marshalling all the ills of her family : — she wept her own lot, she wept the condition of her grand-children : the new afflictions revived the past. It might be imagined that Darius had died only now, and that the same day witnessed the obsequies of two sons of this disconsolate. She mourned the dead and the living. “ Who would protect her girls ? “ who would be another Alexander ? They “ were again captives, again fallen from the “ pinnacle of majesty. Their father dead, “ they had found a guardian ; after Alexander, “ doomed to find no commiserating friend.” During the utterance of these reflections, it assailed her mind — That eighty of her brethren had been butchered, in one day, by that cruellest of kings, Ochus, who added the immolation of her father to the slaughter of his children : — Of seven children which herself had borne, but one survived : — Darius had flourished a while to meet a terrible extinction.

At length she sunk under her sorrows : her head veiled, turned away from her granddaughter and grand-son, who were kneeling at her feet, she refused equally food and light. On the fifth day, after abjuring life, she expired.

The exit of this princess, is a strong argument of Alexander’s courtesy to her, and cle-

ment treatment of all the captives: she who could endure to survive Darius, revolted from surviving Alexander.

15. And, indisputably, to persons justly estimating Alexander, it is plain, that his great qualities were parts of his nature; his bad traits, either vitiations of prosperity, or ebullitions of youth*. Half-incredulous, we wonder at the force of his spirit; his perseverance in labour, abstinence, and watching, almost to excess; his bravery transcending that of other kings, and even of men without another endowment — death, which appals mankind, he habitually despised. His bounty frequently imparted more than the sanguine ask of the gods. How many kingdoms did his moderation and beneficence, to the vanquished, restore or give! His too great love of applause and renown, is venial in a young man who had performed such achievements. If filial fondness proposed to enshrine Olympias as a goddess, filial duty had avenged Philip. His courtesy entertained al-

* The translator has been guided by the context, independent of which, such is the ambiguity of "*fortuna, vel ætatis*," that the passage might be paraphrased, "his vices, owing to casual circumstances, or the character of the age." On such sentimental blanching, the translator would observe, that if man is indeed the creature of circumstances, let one of the circumstances thrown round him be a severe reprobation of crimes — not a false and pernicious system of accommodating ethics, which will extinguish improvement and animate degeneracy.

most all his officers; his benevolence embraced the army. Equally with magnanimity, he displayed wisdom, and an early policy which mature years sustained. Immoderate appetites he had tempered to a mean; long he observed the institutes of nature; and never invaded the conjugal rights of another. These were great qualities.—The stains of his prosperity were—Requiring divine honours, in emulation of the gods; crediting oracles which had instigated such extravagancies; discharging inequitable vengeance on those who would not stoop to adore him*; taking an effeminate foreign dress; adopting the degenerate manners of the vanquished, which, before the battle of Arbela, he had despised. As to his proneness to anger, and love of wine, as fervid youth had increased, so sedate age might have moderated, these faults. It must, after all, be confessed, that he was indebted, how much soever to great endowments, still more to fortune, which he,

* The modern apologists for Alexander are more tenacious of his reputation: "Had he remitted," says Dr. Gillies, "formalities consecrated by the practice of ages, he must insensibly have lost the respect of his Asiatic subjects." But were not the Macedonian customs equally venerable; and was not the respect of freemen as important as that of the slaves whom they had conquered? Or would the Persians, who had witnessed the fate of Darius and Bessus, deem that invincibility and divinity necessarily enshrined a monarch who received the ceremony of prostration?

alone of all mankind, seemed to lead in his train. How often did she rescue him from death! how often, with constant favour, shield him rashly committed to peril! To his life, and his glory, she assigned one period. The fates delayed until—the East subdued, and the Ocean attained—he had effected as much as a mortal could effect.

To this great king and leader, a successor is wished: but the weight is more than any individual can support. His name, and the fame of his achievements, distributed kings, and apportioned kingdoms, over well-nigh all the world; and illustrious were accounted the inheritors of minor proportions of such greatness.

CHAP. VI.

Deliberations respecting a Successor to Alexander.

16. AT Babylon, whence began our digression, the guards of the presence convened, in the palace, the principal courtiers and leaders of the army: there followed a concourse of soldiers, eager to know on whom Alexander's dominion would devolve. As an impenetrable crowd excluded many officers from admission, a herald proclaimed that none should approach

besides those called by name: but the precarious regulation was despised. A strong wailing burst out, subsided, and was reëxcited. At length, the tears of the multitude repressed, expectation held them silent.

The regal chair, in which were the diadem, the robes, and the arms of Alexander, exposed to public view, Perdiccas then deposited in the chair the signet which the king had given him the day before. On seeing these vacant ensigns, the assembly once more wept.

“ I here,” said Perdiccas, “ surrender to you
“ the ring delivered by the king himself to me,
“ with which he was used to seal his acts of
“ power. Although to match the calamity,
“ with which we are afflicted, not one could
“ be devised by incensed gods; yet the vast-
“ ness of his achievements justifies us in be-
“ lieving, that the celestials lent such a man to
“ human affairs, and that, their destinations ac-
“ complished, they have suddenly taken back
“ their offspring. Since, therefore, nothing re-
“ mains of him, more than 'is always shut out
“ from immortality, let us, as soon as possible,
“ discharge the last duties to his corse and
“ name; mindful in what city, among what
“ people, we are, and of what a king and cham-
“ pion we have been deprived.

“ Our present deliberations, fellow-soldiers !

“ must embrace measures to keep the conquest
“ won among the conquerors. A head is in-
“ dispensable: to constitute this, either single
“ or multifold, is now in your power. But it
“ behoves you to know, that a military mass
“ without a leader, is a body without the intel-
“ ligent principle. Roxana’s declared preg-
“ nancy has proceeded six months: we pray,
“ that she may bear a son: become an adult,
“ his shall be the kingdom, the gods assenting.
“ By whom ye will be governed meanwhile,
“ now determine.” Thus, Perdiccas.

17. Then Nearchus spoke: “ That the blood
“ and lineage of Alexander will alone grace the
“ imperial dignity, no one can deny — — But
“ to wait for a king not yet born, and to pass
“ by one already in existence, suits neither the
“ inclination of the Macedonians, nor this
“ crisis: there is a son of the king by Barsiné:
“ to him let us yield the diadem*.”—This

* By the name *Barsiné*, Arrian designates Darius’ elder daughter, whom Curtius, Justin, and Plutarch, call *Statira*. Eusebius, after Porphyry, makes Barsiné daughter of Pharnabazus; Plutarch, daughter of Artabazus, and widow of Memnon the Rhodian, taken captive at Darnascus: [Curtius, book iii. chap. 13.] As Arrian himself attests the ready agreement of Alexander’s generals to set aside his son Hercules by Barsiné, it is probable that she was not the daughter of Darius, nor had been treated as a queen, nor married to the king as Roxana and Statira. The variation of the other writers respecting the father of Barsiné, is an additional argument that her birth was comparatively obscure.

speech pleased no one: the soldiers, therefore, in their manner, clashing their spears and shields, perseveringly interrupted it; and had nearly proceeded to tumult, because Nearchus stubbornly maintained his opinion.

“ An offspring entirely worthy to rule the
 “ Macedonian nation,” then observed Ptolemy,
 “ is the son either of Roxana or Barsiné! it
 “ will grate Europé to pronounce the name of
 “ a king, having so much captive blood in his
 “ composition. Have we subdued the Persians
 “ to serve their progeny; which those rightful
 “ lords of the East; Xerxes and Darius, with
 “ armed myriads, and powerful fleets, in vain re-
 “ quired us to do? My proposition is, that,
 “ Alexander’s throne fixed in his pavilion,
 “ those who were associated to his councils
 “ there meet, as often as it be needful to deli-
 “ berate in common: and as to any point which
 “ the majority of these decree, let it stand a so-
 “ vereign act: let the generals and viceroys obey
 “ these.” With Ptolemy some agreed, but the
 greater number with Perdicas.

Then Aristonus arose to speak: “ When
 “ consulted as to whom he left the kingdom,
 “ Alexander willed that the most worthy should
 “ be elected. His disposal of the signet, shows
 “ that himself adjudged Perdicas the most
 “ worthy. Nor was this companion of the dy-

“ing king alone with him : but the king, casting his eyes round, singled, from a crowd of friends, this, to whom he delivered his ring. It pleased him, therefore, to confer the supremacy on Perdiccas.”

The assembly entertained no doubt that Aristonus had rightly construed Alexander's last act; they therefore unanimously desired Perdiccas to step forth, and take up the royal signet. Perdiccas hesitated between avidity and bashfulness; and imagined that the more modestly he approached the object which his wishes were embracing, the more it would be pressed upon his acceptance. After lingering, long undetermined how to act, he retired behind those who sat next.

But Meleager, one of the captains, whom the indecision of Perdiccas had elated, began with fortified spirit: “The gods can never permit the fortune of Alexander, the dignity of such power, to descend on those shoulders; men, assuredly, will never suffer it. I speak not of individuals more ennobled than he is, but of any consciously men: by whose revolting minds there is no obligation that it should be endured. Nor does it concern us, whether we have, for a king, the son of Roxana, whenever he shall be produced, or Perdiccas, since the latter, under the title of

“ protector, will seize the sovereignty. Hence
“ it is, that he will hear of no king, unless it
“ be one in embryo : and while it were just and
“ requisite that all things be expeditiously set-
“ tled, he alone is waiting the full term of
“ months, having already divined that a boy is
“ conceived : do you doubt that Perdiccas is
“ prepared at least to substitute one? If so-
“ lemnly adjuring us, Alexander had left us
“ this man for a king, this alone of all his com-
“ mands, I should judge it right to disobey.
“ Why, Macedonians ! do you not separate to
“ pillage the treasuries ; for to these imperial
“ riches the people is heir.” Having thus
spoken, Meleager broke away through the
armed crowd ; and those who had opened for
him to pass, followed to the promised spoil.

CHAP. VII.

*Aridæus is saluted king under the name of Philip.
Opposite measures of the nobles. Skirmish in
the apartment containing Alexander's corse.
Submission of Perdiccas.*

18. A DENSE volume of soldiers gathered about Meleager, the assembly having been diverted to tumult and discord : when there now

spoke one of the lowest class, unknown to the greater part of the Macedonians: "What need
" of arms and civil war, when you have with
" you the king whom you seek? Aridæus, son
" of Philip, brother of the late king Alexander,
" his companion in the sacred ceremonies, now
" his sole heir, is passed over by you. What is
" his demerit; what crime has he committed;
" why is he excluded from the public law of
" nations? If you seek the equal of Alexander,
" you will never find him; if the next in right,
" Aridæus is the person." Having heard this, the multitude, at first, remained silent, as awed by authority. Afterwards, they all at once clamoured: "Let Aridæus be called; they deserve death who would hold the assembly
" without him."

Pithon, then, commenced an appeal with profuse tears: "Now it appears how deeply
" Alexander ought to be mourned, torn from
" the service and society of such citizens and
" soldiers, who are so absorbed in contemplating the name and memory of their late
" king, that they are blind to other things." A sarcasm, not ambiguously, aimed at the young prince to whom the empire was about to be assigned. But Pithon excited more hostile blood against himself, than contempt for Aridæus; because the military, while sympathizing with

Aridæus' misfortune, began to feel as partisans. They, therefore, declare, with steady acclamation, 'That they will suffer to reign, none except him who had been born to that hope.' They order him to be sent for. Meleager, hating and hated by Perdiccas, promptly brought Aridæus into the palace; and the troops conjointly saluted him—Philip! king!

19. This was the vote of the vulgar; different, the determination of the nobles. Pithon, in execution of the project of Perdiccas, appointed Perdiccas and Leonnatus, who were of the royal lineage, guardians to the expected son of Roxana. He subjoined a stipulation, 'That, in Europe, Craterus and Antipater should administer the government.' Then from every individual was exacted an oath, that he would hold true allegiance to the issue of Alexander.

Meleager, not without cause, apprehensive of punishment, seceded from his party. Bringing Philip again with him, he, soon afterwards, rushed into the palace, exclaiming: "The public hopes conceived of the new king are supported by his vigorous manhood. Let us make an experiment of Philip's offspring, the son and brother of our last two kings; and let us put most confidence in our own judgment."

The deepest sea, the most disturbed estuary, has not more fluctuations than popular caprice, wherever it can wanton in the exercise of a new liberty to last but an interval. A few voted the empire to Perdiccas; far many more than Philip had expected pronounced it to be his. They neither approved, nor rejected, any thing long. Now they repented of their own purpose; now of their penitence. At length, however, they settled in a favourable disposition to the royal line.

Awed by the power of the leading nobility, Aridæus had withdrawn from the assembly. During his absence, the soldiers' partiality had been rather quiet than languid. Aridæus, summoned back, is invested with his brother's mantle, the same which had been laid upon the throne. And Meleager, in his corslet, took arms, and followed the new king, as captain of the body-guard. Clanging their shields against their spears, the phalanx menaced: " We must
" have atonement, from the blood of those
" who reached at dominion no wise belonging
" to them. In the same house and family, the
" command of the state shall remain; we will
" rescue hereditary power," and the royal line:
" as our fathers, we venerate the name of majesty; and no one shall assume it, unless born
" to reign."

20. In alarm, Perdiccas caused the barricaded hall, where the king's body lay, to be locked. Six hundred men were with him, of tried courage. Ptolemy had also joined him, and the band of young noblemen. It was not, however, difficult for so many thousands of the phalanx to break to pieces the door. Surrounded by his guards, who were led by Meleager, the king likewise rushed in. Perdiccas, indignant, called for such to come over as would defend Alexander's corse: but those who had broke in launched darts at him. Numbers wounded, at length the seniors of the phalanx, taking off their helmets to be better recognised, entreated that the adherents of Perdiccas would desist from hostilities, and submit to the king and the majority. Perdiccas laid down his arms, and was followed by his party. Invited by Meleager to remain with the corse of Alexander, these, deeming that an opportunity for treachery was sought, went out at another part of the palace, and flew to the precinct of the Euphrates. The cavalry, consisting of the most distinguished young men, in a strong body, followed Perdiccas and Leonnatus. It was agreed to quit the city, and encamp in the field—except by Perdiccas, who did not despair of the accession of the infantry to his standard: he therefore

remained in the city, lest, by withdrawing with the horse, he should appear to have severed himself from the rest of the army.

CHAP. VIII.

Perdiccas intimidates the guards sent to apprehend him, and repairs to Leonnatus. Forlorn air of the court. Blockade of the city. Aridæus summons the cavalry. Reunion of the army.

MEANWHILE, Meleager never ceased to represent to Aridæus, 'That the death of Perdiccas was necessary to confirm his sovereignty. Unless that uncontrollable spirit were prevented, he would unsettle the succession. He could not forget what retribution he deserved from his king; and no man is faithful to him whom he distrusts.' The silence of Aridæus, who rather suffered than assented to these suggestions, Meleager understood as a command. In the king's name, by a party of guards, he sent for Perdiccas, and charged them to kill him, should he hesitate

to come. Apprised of their mission, Perdiccas posted himself at the door of his house, accompanied by sixteen, in all, of the royal band of youths. The messengers, whom, in a severe rebuke, he addressed as Meleager's slaves, he so awed by his determined spirit and countenance, that they fled in a panic. Perdiccas directed the young nobles to mount their horses, and proceeded to Leonnatus with a few adherents: his guard reinforced, he was now ready to repel any violence.

21. Next day, the Macedonian infantry viewed it as a flagitious affair, that Perdiccas' life was brought into danger; and they resolved to apply, under arms, for vengeance on the temerity of Meleager. The satellite, having foreseen the sedition, when they appeared before the king, asked him, 'Whether he had ordered that Perdiccas should be apprehended?' Ariæus answered: "I ordered it, by your advice: but the troops ought to dismiss alarm; for Perdiccas lives."

The assembly thus dissolved, Meleager, terrified at the separation of the horse, seeing no expedient, as he had incurred the displeasure of the foot by endeavouring to direct it against his enemy, spent three days in revolving unstable schemes.

During these transactions, the form of a

court was preserved; the ambassadors of the nations continued to present themselves before the king; the chiefs of the army, to attend; and body-guards and lance-bearers filled the area before the palace. But impulsive gloom sat on every face, the index of the last despair; mutually distrustful, the courtiers durst neither associate nor converse; each ruminating alone. A comparison with the new king, awakened regret for their departed leader — — Where is he whose power and auspices we followed hither? Disaffected, untamed, nations, as they can seize opportunity, will avenge themselves on their unsupported conquerors.

While such thoughts were gnawing away their courage, it was announced, that the cavalry under Perdiccas, possessed of the avenues, obstructed the carriage of corn to the city. Hence scarcity began to be felt, and then famine. The forces within the walls voted, that a reconciliation with Perdiccas must be negotiated, or battle given.

22. It had happened, that the rural inhabitants of Babylonia, apprehensive that the farms and villages would be plundered, took refuge in the city, and the towns-people, as their provisions failed, repaired to the open country: to each party change of situation appearing safer. The Macedonian infantry, afraid

of the convulsion attending these migrations, assembled in the palace, and delivered their opinions. It was decreed, that deputies should be sent to the horse to demand the cessation of discord and the surrender of their arms. Pasas, the Thessalian, Amissas, the Megalopolitan, and Perilaüs, dispatched in consequence, by the king, bore back this answer to his orders: "The cavalry will not lay down their arms, unless the movers of the sedition are delivered up." On this being announced, the soldiers, unbidden, ran to arms.

"There is no need for this tumult," said Aridæus, whom the uproar had drawn from the palace; "the prize for which the combatants will be slaughtered, will fall to such as shall have remained inactive. Remember, no less, that the dispute is with your fellow-countrymen; and to take from them suddenly the hope of accommodation, is precipitating social war. Let us try, by another embassy, whether they are to be conciliated: I am persuaded that they will all unite, as Alexander's remains are not yet buried, to discharge the last solemnities. For myself, I had rather resign this dignity, than maintain it by the blood of my countrymen. And if there is no other excitement to concord, elect, I entreat you, a more popular leader." Then,

while tears started, he took the diadem from his head; holding it out in his right hand, that any might take it who deemed himself worthier.

This attempered speech excited great expectations from his talents, hitherto eclipsed by his brother's celebrity. All, therefore, pressed him to prosecute whatever he designed. He commissioned the same negociators, to claim from the cavalry their acceptance of Meleager among them as third general. This was obtained without difficulty; for Perdiccas was desirous to remove Meleager from the king; and he considered that one could not cope with two.

Meleager, in consequence, leading out the phalanx, was met by Perdiccas conducting the horse. The columns, after mutual salutation, unite, permanently established, as they suppose, in harmony and tranquillity.



CHAP. IX.

Perdiccas circumvents Meleager.

23. BUT the fates were now scattering on the Macedonian nation civil wars. The crown, which will not endure partners, is sought by

many competitors. First, the leaders concentrated their forces, then distributed them. As they had loaded the trunk with more than it could support, the limbs began to decay; and that empire which under one sovereign might have subsisted, under the grasp of many falls to ruin.

It is therefore with due gratitude, that the Roman people ascribe their salvation to their prince*; who, on the night which we had nearly dated as our last, shone on us a new star. Incontestably, the rising of this sun restored light to the shadowed world, when the divided members of the state were trembling without a head. How many fire-brands did he extinguish! how many swords, sheath! what a tempest dissipate, by interposed serenity! Hence the reinvigorated empire flourishes. May envy never touch him; may he live through the age; be his house established, his line perpetual!

To proceed in the order from which a contemplation on our public happiness diverted me:—Perdiccas reposed all his hope of personal safety in the death of Meleager: this man, giddy at once and perfidious, always meditating sudden changes, and paramourly hostile to him-

* Claudius probably. See the Preface.

self, it was his purpose to arrest. This purpose Perdiccas buried in the depth of dissimulation, that he might surprise him unguarded. Among the forces under his command, he suborned individuals, who openly complained, as without his knowledge, that Meleager was made equal to Perdiccas.

On a report of their discourse, Meleager, agitated with rage, communicated to Perdiccas what he had heard. As alarmed by an unexpected circumstance, the latter began to express wonder and sorrow, assuming the aspect of a person hurt. He ultimately consented, that the authors of such seditious expressions should be apprehended. Meleager thanked Perdiccas, and embracing him, extolled his fidelity and generosity toward himself. Then they concerted measures for crushing the guilty: it was agreed to purify the army in the national manner: and the recent division was made the ostensible cause.

24. The kings of Macedon were accustomed thus to purify the troops. At the extremities of the field into which the army was to be led, the inwards of a bitch, cut in two, were deposited by each party. In the intermediate space ranged all the forces, the cavalry on one side, the phalanx on the other.

On the day appointed for this ceremony, the

king, with the horse and elephants, had posted himself opposite the foot, which was commanded by Meleager. The cavalry now began to move: the phalanx under sudden terror on account of the late sedition, anticipating some procedure not purely friendly, deliberated a moment whether they should withdraw into the city, inasmuch as the plain was favourable to the horse. Ashamed, however, lightly to impeach the fidelity of their fellow-soldiers, they remained, with minds prepared for conflict, if attacked.

The approaching lines were divided but by a small interval; when the king, at the head of one of the wings, rode up to the foot; demanding for execution, by Perdiccas' advice, the principals of the sedition, whom he ought to have protected; and he threatened to fall upon the refractory with his squadrons and elephants. The infantry were confounded by the unforeseen evil; nor in Meleager himself prevailed superior courage or counsel: they deemed it safer rather to await their lot than provoke it. Then Perdiccas, seeing them torpid and stooping to the lash, drew out about three hundred, who had followed Meleager sallying from the first assembly held after Alexander's death, and cast them to the elephants in the sight of the army. The ponderous beasts trod them to

death; and Philip neither forbade nor authorized the scene, watching to challenge that procedure only for his own, which the event should justify.

To the Macedonians this was the presage and source of civil wars. Meleager, too late comprehending the artifice of Perdiccas, remained quiet with the phalanx, as no violence was then offered to his person. Afterwards, despairing of safety, when he perceived his enemies pervert to his ruin the name of that prince whom he himself had made king, he took refuge in a temple, where he was slain, unsheltered by the sanctity of the place.

CHAP. X.

Division of the empire under the supremacy of Aridaeus. Alexander's corse embalmed. Rumour noticed, that Alexander had been poisoned. His remains finally deposited at Alexandria.

25. PERDICCAS, having conducted the army into the city, held a council with the purpled leaders, [Leonnatus, Aristonus, Ptolemy, Lysi-

machus, Pithon, Seleucus, Eumenes, Nearchus]. It was voted, that the empire should be divided, but that Philip Aridæus should retain the supremacy:—Ptolemy obtained the viceroyalty of Egypt, and of all the African nations under Macedonian jurisdiction: Syria, with Phœnicia, was assigned to Laomedon: Cilicia, to Philotas: they confirmed Antigonus in the government of the Greater Phrygia, with Lycia and Pamphylia: Cassander was sent into Caria: Menander, into Lydia: the Minor Phrygia, adjoining the Hellespont, was accepted by Leonnatus: Cappadocia and Paphlagonia fell, in this partition, to Eumenes, who was enjoined to guard the borders as far as Trapezus, and to make war on Ariarathes, who, alone, refused the imperial yoke: [the Nine confirmed Peucestas in the satrapy of Persis. Craterus was associated to Antipater in the administration of Greece and Macedon:] Pithon was appointed to Media: Lysimachus received Thrace, with the contiguous Pontic tribes; the vicegerents presiding over India, Bactriana, Sogdiana, and the coasts of the Erythræan, were established in their dominions with the accustomed limitations*:—Perdiccas stipulated to remain with Philip Ari-

* The names of these governors might be collected from the preceding *History*: but the reader will find them with less trouble in the *Synopsis of the division of Alexander's empire*, subjoined, TABLE II.

dæus, and to command the forces which followed the sovereign. It has been believed by some, that the provinces were thus distributed by the will of Alexander: but we discover this report, though transmitted by several authors, to be unfounded*.

Each lieutenant was intent to grasp his estate in the apportioned empire: all might have established their power, could moderation have controlled ambition; recently the king's servants, they had now, under colour of upholding the authority of another, possessed themselves of large kingdoms: causes of war seemed removed, as they were commanders of one nation, and the bounds of their jurisdiction defined. But it was difficult to be content with what fortune had presented; for the first boons are despised, when greater are expected. All thought to augment their dominions more expeditiously than they acquired them.

26. Seven days Alexander's remains were lying trestled on a bier; the cares of the nobles diverted from his obsequies to the constitution of a government. No climate is more sultry than that of Mesopotamia; in its zenith, the estival sun kills the greater part of animals, not

* According to Diodorus, lib. xx. 81, Alexander had deposited in the city of Rhodes a testament by which he disposed of his whole dominion: but if such a document had existed, those interested in suppressing it, took care that it should not appear.

under shelter: so intensely torrid is the air, that every thing is scorched as by a fire: un-failing springs are so rare, that the inhabitants draw from them by stealth, and conceal them by artifice from strangers*. When, at length, Alexander's friends had leisure to attend the corse, they perceived no symptom of corruption: the vivid hue of life had not left it. The Egyptians and Chaldæans, appointed to embalm it, durst not, at first, operate on a body appearing to breathe. Afterwards, entreating that it might be lawful for mortal hands to touch his relicks, they proceeded to purify them: costly aromatics filled the coffin of gold, and the ensign of majesty was placed on the head of the embalmed.

Most persons believed Alexander to have died from poison†, and that one of the attendants of his table, Jollas, a son of Antipater, administered it, by his father's order. It is certain, that Alexander had been frequently heard to say: "Antipater aspires after royalty: he is

* These wells are all lined with masonry. The natives have a way of covering them with boards, heaped with sand, which effectually conceals them from an enemy. — ELPHINSTONE'S *Caulbul*, Introduction, p. 6.

† Arrian, after mentioning this, and correspondent reports, observes: "These I have recorded, rather that I might appear not to be ignorant that they were then circulated, than that I deem them worthy of credit." Plutarch asserts, that the tale of the poisoned cup was not heard of till some years afterwards, when Olympias wished to render the family of Antipater odious.

“ too powerful for a lieutenant ; inflated with
“ that mottoed plume, *The Spartan victory*, he
“ challenges, as his due, all the honours which
“ I bestow.” It was surmised too, that the mission of Craterus, when he conducted home the band of veterans, was to take off Antipater. Such is the virus of a poison made up in Macedon, that it dissolves iron, and can be contained only in a vessel formed of a beast’s hoof. The source of the pestiferous venom is the Arcadian Styx. Cassander brought some of this water, and delivered it to his brother Jollas, who infused it into the king’s last cup. However these reports originated, they were soon stifled by the power of those whom their prevalence arraigned. For Antipater seized the kingdom of Macedon and the government of Greece ; his son succeeded to his power, and slaughtered those who, by consanguinity, however remote, were allied to Alexander. [Intercepting the funeral procession travelling, after a delay of two years, from Babylon to Hammon,] Ptolemy, to whom Egypt had devolved, conveyed Alexander’s body to Memphis, and thence, subsequently, to Alexandria, where [was erected to the founder of the city, a magnificent temple, surrounded by a grove for the celebration of military games and sacrifices, and where] all heroic honour is continued to his memory and name.

SYNOPSIS
OF THE
DIVISION OF THE EMPIRE OF ALEXANDER.

In Two Alphabetical Tables ;
THE FIRST ARRANGED BY THE NAMES OF
HIS RELATIVES AND OFFICERS ;

THE SECOND, OF
THE PROVINCES :

Illustrated by a
CONCISE NARRATIVE UP TO THE BATTLE OF IPSUS.*

TABLE I.

The first Partition is implied, when no other is indicated.

ALEXANDER ÆGUS, posthumous son of Alexander by Roxana, was proclaimed legitimate co-heir with Philip Aridæus. In his thirteenth year, and six years after the death of Aridæus, it was stipulated in a treaty between Antigonus and Demetrius with Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, that Cassander should deliver up to the young prince the throne of

* The *Tables* are translations from the learned *Collation of Authorities* by Freinshemius, corrected and enlarged : the *Narrative* is founded on ancient authorities, and the luminous result of modern researches, particularly Gillies' *History of the World*, chapters ii.—vii.

Macedon, at the expiration of his minority. The execrable Cassander soon afterwards secretly murdered Alexander Ægus and his mother Roxana, by the agency of Glaucias, keeper of the citadel of Amphipolis, in which they were confined.

AMPHIMACHUS, *on the second partition*, succeeded Arcesilaus, lieutenant over Mesopotamia.

AMYNTAS (one of the satraps designated in Curtius, book x. chap. x. 25, by the names or situation of their provinces) was continued in the government of Sogdiana and Hither Bactriana.

ANTIGENES, commander of the Argyraspides, *in the second division by Antipater*, obtained a nomination to the satrapy of Susiana, which was renewed by Polysperchon.

ANTIGONUS, remotely allied to the royal house of Macedon, was confirmed in viceregal dominion over Lycia, Pamphylia, and the Greater Phrygia, with Lycaonia.—See his subsequent imperial greatness and fall in the *Narrative*.

ANTIPATER was associated with Craterus in the administration of Greece and Macedon; of which, on Craterus' death, he resumed the entire dominion. Soon after the fall of Perdiccas, he was elected by the controlling army protector of the empire, which he settled anew.

ARCESILAUS acquired the viceroyalty of Mesopotamia.

ARCHON, the Pellæan, was satrap of Babylonia.

ARIDÆUS, son of Philip, and king after Alexander.—See PHILIP ARIDÆUS.

ARIDÆUS, the general, who conducted Alexander's remains to Egypt; after Perdiccas' death, sometime joint-protector with Pithon; *in the second division of the empire*, received from Antipater Hellespontian Phrygia.

ARISTONUS, a leader of the *companions* and a *guard of the presence*, assisted the counsels of Perdiccas, and afterwards attended Antipater to Europe.

ASANDER, whose relations, as lieutenant of Caria—alternately pacific and hostile toward other satraps—show him to

have been a devoted adherent to Antipater's house, was probably sub-governor and afterwards viceroy under Cassander. — See the *Narrative*, section 10, note.

ASCLEPIODORUS, *on the third partition by Antigonus*, succeeded Peucestas as governor of Persis.

ATROPATES, a Median nobleman, who had a daughter married to Perdiccas, had been made governor of his native country by Alexander. When at length Pithon obtained a sufficient detachment to take possession of the Greater Media, Atropates, by permission of the Macedonians, reserved the northern district, which he afterwards maintained in defiance of them, and transmitted to his descendants. From him the dissevered province acquired the name of Atropatena.

BLITER, *on the third partition*, obtained Mesopotamia.

CASSANDER was sent into Caria. *At the second partition*, his father Antipater set him over the *equestrian companions*. He died possessed of the kingdom of Macedon.

CLEOMENES, who under Alexander had been superintendent of the building of Alexandria, and treasurer of the revenues of Egypt and Africa Proper, was associated to Ptolemy as second governor of Egypt.

CLEOPATRA, Alexander's full-sister, widow of Alexander of Epirus; courted, after Alexander's death, successively by ambitious generals who had derided her licentious character; was assassinated by the contrivance of Antigonus when on the point of marriage with Ptolemy.

CLITUS, a conspicuous naval commander, *at the second partition*, obtained Lydia from Antipater.

CRATERUS, of Orestis, while marching to supersede Antipater, received an appointment to be joint-viceroy of Macedon, and guardian of Aridæus' hereditary kingdom.

CYNNA; daughter of Philip by an Illyrian woman, and widow of Amyntas, an unfortunate competitor with Alexander for the crown; in the army, which she followed to Asia, admired as a heroine; was assassinated by Perdiccas the regent.

EVAGORAS, after the *third partition*, administered the viceroyalty of Persis, perhaps as deputy to Asclepiodorus.

EUDAMUS was joint-superintendent of the Indian provinces, with Pithon the son of Agenor.

EUMENES, of Cărdia, was appointed to subdue and govern the united satrapy of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.—See his subsequent acquisitions in the *Narrative*.

EURIDICE, grand-daughter of Perdiccas III. Philip's eldest brother, was married to Philip Aridæus. She was the daughter of Amyntas and Cynna.

HERCULES, son of Alexander by Barsiné, widow of Memnon, more than four years old when Alexander died, was set aside on account of his illegitimacy. On the death of Alexander Ægus, about thirteen years afterwards, he sailed from Pergamus into the Peloponnesus, to join Polysperchon, who invited him to claim the vacant throne. When the opposing forces were ready to engage on the borders of Macedon, Polysperchon, influenced by the bribes and promises of Cassander, murdered Hercules.

LAOMEDON, of Mitylene, received the government of Syria with Phœnicia. Although confirmed by Antipater, he was expelled by Ptolemy.

LEONNATUS, of Pella, remotely descended from the royal house of Macedon, obtained Hellespontian Phrygia.

LYSIMACHUS, of Pella, had assigned to him, Thrace and the bordering Pontic tribes.

MELEAGER, son of Neoptolemus, was slain before the first division of the empire.

MENANDER resumed the dominion of Lydia.

NEARCHUS, of Crete, the celebrated navigator, governed Lycia and Pamphylia, not by the appointment of the parties voting the first partition, but as the lieutenant of Antigonus.

NEOPTOLEMUS was nominated satrap of Armenia. Orontes is known to have held that dignity; whether in opposition to Neoptolemus, or as his successor, is uncertain.

NICANOR, in *Antipater's division*, was substituted for Eumenes, over Cappadocia: but the power of Eumenes annulled the appointment. Nicanor, afterwards, under Antigonus, succeeded Hipparstratus in the command of a Macedonian force in Media, to control Orontobates.

NICATOR, *the victor*, a surname of SELEUCUS.

OLYMPIAS, after a career of intrigue and hideous crime, met a tragic death.—See the *Narrative*, sect. 18.

ORONTES, after Neoptolemus was killed in battle, governed in Armenia.

ORONTOBATES, a Mede, *at the third partition*, was raised, by Antigonus, to the government of his native province, controlled by a Macedonian army under Hipparstratus.

OXARTES, father-in-law to Alexander, governed the Parapamisadæ with Ulterior Bactriana.

PERDICCAS, of Orestis, allied by remote descent to the royal house of Macedon, exercised paramount sovereignty in the name of Philip Aridæus, and afterwards of the kings, and was commander-in-chief of the imperial army. He was leader of the *companions*, and seems to have held the satrapy of Susiana by a lieutenant.

PEUCESTAS was confirmed in the government of Persis.

PHILIP ARIDÆUS, half-brother of Alexander, was elected king, but deemed incompetent to govern without a protector. His power was strengthened by a marriage with Euridice. His titular sovereignty was divided with Alexander Ægus.—See his catastrophe in the *Narrative*, sect. 18.

PHILIP, the general, *in the second partition*, received Parthia.

PHILOTAS obtained Cilicia.

PHILOXENUS, *on the second division*, succeeded Philotas, who appears to have fallen, in hostilities with Eumenes.

PHRATAPHERNES held the dominion of Hyrcania, with the districts of the Tapuri and the Mardi.

PITHON, son of Agenor.—See PYTHON.

PITHON, son of Crateas, was nominated to the viceroyalty of Media.

POLYSPERCHON acted in Macedon as the lieutenant of Craterus and Antipater; nominated by the latter to succeed him as protector of the kings, he gradually sunk from unmerited power into obscurity.

PORUS, one of the Indian kings, retained his enlarged territories.

PTOLEMY, reputed son of Philip, received Egypt and its African dependencies, with part of Arabia.

PYTHON, son of Agenor, seems to have presided over the tract between Arachosia and the Indus. In conjunction with Eudamus, he superintended the Indian colonies and satraps.

SELEUCUS had been placed, by Perdiccas as his lieutenant, over the *equestrian companions*. In the *second partition*, he was constituted, by Antipater, satrap of Babylonia, and general of the *companions*. He was surnamed NICATOR, and founded the Greek dynasty in Upper Asia.—See, in the *Narrative*, his acquisitions up to the battle of Ipsus; and see *Ariana*, in the second Table.

SIBYRTIUS retained the provinces of Arachosia and Gedrosia.

STASANDER, of Cyprus, in the *second division*, obtained Aria and Drangiana.

STASANOR, of Soli in Cyprus, in lieu of the provinces transferred to Stasander, received, on the *new settlement by Antipater*, Sogdiana and Hither Bactriana.

TAXILES retained his sovereignty in India.

THESSALONICA, half-sister of Alexander, taken prisoner, seven years after his death, at the reduction of Pydna by Cassander, was compelled to intermarry with the subverter of her house. One and twenty years after this marriage, Cassander having died, and his eldest son Philip, and Antipater and Alexander disputing the succession, she abetted the cause of the youngest. Amidst rapid reverses, in a moment of victory, the

abominable Antipater shocked the Macedonians, habituated to spectacles of blood, by refusing life to his mother, who conjured him, to spare her, by the breasts which had nourished him. The last of Alexander's relatives—if we exclude Ptolemy, and some collaterals of the maternal line surviving, it might be, in Epirus—thus perished Thessalonica.

TRYPHON had ratified to him the satrapy of Carmania.

TABLE II.

The first Partition is implied, when no other is indicated.

ADIABENE, including the district of Arbela, obeyed the satrap of Mesopotamia.

The *African* dependencies, including Marmarica, Cyrené and Lybia, or Africa Proper, over some of which the Macedonian jurisdiction was nominal, devolved, with Egypt, to Ptolemy.

Agria was committed to Antipater and his colleague, as an appendage to Macedon.

Arabia, contiguous to Egypt, as far as it had been subdued, was consigned to Ptolemy. Arabia, bordering on Chaldaea, AFTER THE FOURTH PARTITION, was awed by the arms of Seleucus.

Arachosia continued under Sibyrtius.

Aria was committed successively to Stasanor and Stasander.

Ariana; a region comprehending Media, Persis, Parthia, Hyrcania, Margiana, Sogdiana, Bactriana, Aria, Arachosia, Drangiana, Gedrosia, and Carmania; came ultimately under the supremacy of Seleucus, with Assyria, Asia Minor,

and the Indian satrapies. The era of the extinction of the Greek empire under the Selucidæ is marked in the *Narrative*, sect. 30.

Armenia, it appears, was successively governed by Neoptolemus and Orontes.

Asia Minor, SUBSEQUENTLY TO THE FOURTH DIVISION, was added to the empire of Seleucus, already established over Assyria and Ariana.

Assyria, comprehending Armenia, Mesopotamia, Adiabene, Susiana, Chaldæa, and Syria; was, IN THE FOURTH PARTITION, with the exception of Cœle-Syria and Palestine, guaranteed by Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, to Seleucus, who then held as well Ariana.

Babylonia was assigned successively to Archon and Seleucus.

Bactriana (*Hither*), on the removal of Amyntas, passed to Stasanor.

Bactriana (*Ulterior*) obeyed Oxartes.

Cappadocia was decreed to Eumenes.

Caria devolved as a viceroyalty from Cassander to Asander.

Carmania remained under Tlepolemus.

Cilicia was committed to Philoxenus, as the successor of Philotas.

Drangiana, with Aria, was transferred from Stasanor to Stasander.

Egypt, received as a province, Ptolemy transmitted to his descendants in full sovereignty.—See the era of its subjection to Rome, *Narrative*, sect. 30.

Gedrosia continued under the satrap of Arachosia.

Greece was disposed of as a dependency of Macedon.

Greek empire in Asia.—See *Ariana*.

Hyrcania was confirmed to Phrataphernes.

The *Indian* feudatory kingdoms remained under Taxiles, Porus, and the son of Abisares: the Macedonian colonies were superintended by Eudamus and Python.

Isaura revolted, with the adjoining district, *Laranda*, when the Pisidians slew *Balacrus*.

Lycaonia was added to the satrapies of *Antigonus*.

Lycia formed part of the government of *Antigonus*, under the sub-lieutenancy of *Nearchus*.

Lydia, after *Menander* had fallen, was committed to *Clitus*.

Macedon, under the nominal supremacy of *Philip Aridæus* and *Alexander Ægus*, was governed by *Craterus* and *Antipater*. *Cassander*, by the procedure related in the *Narrative*, sect. 16, *et seq.* acquired the dominion of *Macedon*. The era of the extinction of *Macedon*, as a kingdom, is specified in the *Narrative*, sect. 30.

The whole of *Media* continued under the sovereignty of *Atropates*, till the nomination of *Pithon*, son of *Crates*, in part, took effect.

Mesopotamia successively fell to *Arcesilaus*, *Amphimachus*, and *Bliter*.

Palestine, ultimately dismembered from *Syria*, obeyed *Ptolemy*.

Pamphylia was included in the allotment to *Antigonus*.

Paphlagonia followed the various appropriations of *Capadocia*.

The *Parapamasiæ* remained subject to *Oxartes*.

Parthia appears to have been transferred from *Phrathernes* to *Philip*.

Pattala had been confided to *Porus*.

Persia, as an empire, embracing *Asia Minor*, *Egypt*, *Assyria*, *Ariana*, and part of *India*, formed, with the kingdom and dependencies of *Macedon*, the titular dominions of *Philip Aridæus* and *Alexander Ægus*. All that had been conquered from *Darius*, except *Egypt* and part of *Syria*, at length fell under the sway of *Seleucus*. The era of the extinction of the Greek empire, under the *Seleucidæ*, is specified in the *Narrative*, sect. 30.

Persis remained under Ptolemy till he was superseded by Asclepiodorus.

Phœnicia formed part of the satrapy of Syria.

Phrygia (the Greater) remained the chief province of Antigonos.

Phrygia (the Less), when Leonnatus had fallen, was given to Aridæus, a commander in the phalanx.

Pisidia, after its first rebellion, affected independence under Alcetas.

Sogdiana, on the removal of Amyntas, fell to Stasanor.

Susiana, on Perdiccas' death, was conferred on Antigènes.

Syria enjoyed a short tranquillity under Laomedon.

The *Tapurians* were included in the government of Phrataphernes.

Thrace became an independent kingdom under Lysimachus. — See the era of its extinction, in the *Narrative*, sect. 30.

NARRATIVE SKETCH OF THE SUCCESSORS OF ALEXANDER.

Consequences of the First Partition.

Olymp. cxiv. 1. 1. AFTER the partition of the empire, Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Leonnatus, proceeded without delay to their satrapies. While Perdiccas was procrastinating the investiture of other viceroys, and while rival generals were counteracting his design to govern in the name of Aridæus, many dependencies revolted. The Greek colonists, planted in new cities on the north-eastern frontier, participating impatient wishes to return to Greece, assembled for that object, and one armed body of twenty-three thousand

began their march. In the island of Rhodes, the citizens expelled the Macedonian garrison. The Athenians and Eto-lians asserted their independence. The Thracians prepared to resist Lysimachus. The Paphlagonians and Cappadocians to oppose Eumenes. The Pisidians, in rebellion, breathed defiance. The Bactrians and the Indians manifested an hostile inclination. Syria, however, and Persis, and the provinces nearer Babylon, readily transferred their allegiance to the new regency.

2. Well received in Egypt, Ptolemy cultivated the attachment of his subjects, and augmented the provincial fortifications, fleets, and armies. He appropriated eight thousand talents in the treasury at Alexandria, having destroyed Cleomenes under the pretext that he was a partisan of Perdiccas. Cyrené had been invaded by that Thimbron who slew Harpalus in the island of Crete: but all the places in which he had gained footing, with the rest of that kingdom, invaded by Ophellus, Ptolemy's general, became an appendage to Egypt.

3. Lysimachus, in Thrace, soon reduced the vale of Hebrus, and the level coast of the Euxine. On the other side of Hæmus, he extended his dominion to the Danube. The mountaineers, however, under Seuthes, obstructed the communication between the cultivated districts of Thrace.

4. After Meleager's death, Leonnatus had holden, for a few days, the regency with Perdiccas. This share of supreme power he resigned for the satrapy of Hellespontian Phrygia; by Olympias, ever intriguing against Antipater, he was allured to direct his views to the sovereignty of Macedon, and keep his forces prepared to land in Europe. Alexander's queen Roxana bore the expected son for whom the nobles had appointed guardians in Perdiccas and Leonnatus. The royal infant was proclaimed co-heir with Philip Aridæus.

5. Pithon was long prevented from entering on the government of Media. To check the migrating Greek colonists, Perdiccas draughted, by lot, from the army, three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. The detachment, permitted to choose its commander, fixed on Pithon; and the neighbouring provinces were commanded to reinforce him, with ten thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry. Pithon showed a design of conciliating the armed Greeks, and enlisting them under his standard, that he might increase his forces to forty thousand, and secure Media, with some of the contiguous provinces. Perdiccas, to defeat this project, sent him PUBLIC orders: "The safety of the empire requires a great example; punish the rebellious emigrants, and divide the spoils among the soldiers." Subsequently, in a battle, part of the Greeks deserted to Pithon, who defeated the remainder, and granted them conditions, stipulating for their return to the allotted settlements. The treaty was ratified by oaths; regardless of which, and the authority of their general, the Macedonians, tempted by a rich booty, under colour of the orders from Perdiccas, surprised and massacred the confiding Greeks, now in the same camp. Pithon, mortified, retired, according to his instructions; transformed by impatient revenge into a secret enemy of the regent.

6. Under the Persian dynasty, the Less and the Greater Cappadocia had been HEREDITARY satrapies: the latter, with its dependency, Paphlagonia had, since the era of Smerdis the *Magus*, been exempted from tribute, as a remuneration to Anaphas, for assisting to destroy that usurper. Ariarathes, the present vassal king of Cappadocia, who might readily have submitted on the terms which had strengthened his allegiance to Darius and to Alexander, naturally opposed an appointment which required his own deposition. On intelligence that Ariarathes had levied a strong army, Perdiccas ordered Antigonus and Leonatus to assist Eumenes in reducing his province. Antigonus;

who had held his satrapies under a commission from Alexander, disdaining submission to Perdicas, and unwilling to have the able Eumenes for a neighbour, refused to support his pretensions. Eumenes then applied to Leonnatus, whose army exceeded twenty thousand men. In return for a confidential disclosure by Eumenes, of his antipathies and views, Leonnatus, who was on the point of leading an expedition into Thessaly, ostensibly to assist Antipater, imparted to Eumenes his real design: in consequence of overtures from Cleopatra, he intended to marry her at Pella, and, aided by the party of Olympias, to mount the throne of Macedon. Repelled by the wildness of the project, Eumenes seized an opportunity to escape to Perdicas with his troops, only five hundred men, and his treasures, amounting to five thousand talents. With the royal army, the protector then moved to establish Eumenes in his satrapy. With Ariarathes, who had collected thirty thousand infantry, and fifteen thousand cavalry, a single battle terminated the war; and Eumenes entered on his viceroyalty.

The protector then marched against the Pisidians, who had slain their governor Balacrus: nor was their obstinate resistance overcome, until the capital of one revolted district was taken, and another destroyed.

7. Meanwhile Ptolemy, jealous of Perdicas, had been secretly negotiating with Antipater, for mutual support. Perdicas, whose vigilance detected the transaction, employed his brother Alcetas to defeat it, by another treaty, in consequence of which he married Nicaea, a daughter of Antipater.

8. The decree, which Alexander had enforced, for the readmission into Greece of the exiles from the various states, had given equal offence to the Athenians and to the Etolians. After his death, their dissatisfaction, which had brooded in sullenness, was openly expressed: they were apprehensive that dominion would be less mildly exercised by Alexander's suc-

cessors, whose mutual hostilities seemed to offer Greece an opportunity to regain independence. Phocion perceived, that the situation of Greece was not favourable to the attempt. But on the motion of Hyperides, the Attic people decreed, that their fleet and army should be equipped, and ambassadors dispatched to every city of Greece. Demosthenes, in banishment, joined some of the deputies, and inveighed against Macedonian oppression.

Many inferior cities, regardless of the authority of their ancient capitals, entered on their own account into a confederacy with the Athenians. But Thebes was extinct; Sparta rejected a league, of which Athens was the head; and the Achæans and Arcadians feared to engage in distant warfare, and trust their territories to the forbearance of Sparta.

Leosthenes, the Athenian general, enlisted eight thousand disbanded mercenaries returned from Asia. The Athenians levied about six thousand domestic troops; and when Leosthenes, with his army, approached Etolia, seven thousand, the finest young men of that nation, joined his standard: farther his emissaries procured successive reinforcements from the Dorians, Phocians, and Thessalians.

To arrest the invasion, Antipater, with only thirteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse, advanced into Thessaly: having summoned Leonnatus to his aid, and sent messengers to accelerate the return of Craterus. Each party aimed to anticipate the other in the possession of Thermopylæ. The Bœotians, apprehensive that a new revolution would compel them to relinquish lands acquired on the demolition of Thebes,

opposed the Athenians on their march: but, reinforced by Leosthenes, who had already gained the straits, the Athenians vanquished and dispersed their unpatriotic adversaries. At Thermopylæ, the allied Greeks awaited Antipater's approach.

Antipater, struggling to force the pass, met with a severe check. Unable to renew the attack, or to regain Macedon,

he threw himself into Lamia, a Thessalian fortress. Leosthenes, after endeavours to storm the town, converted the siege into a blockade; during which the Etolians obtained permission to return home. On this, Antipater made a sally: valiantly repulsing him, Leosthenes fell. Antiphilus was elected to the vacant command.

Leonnatus now landed in Europe with three and twenty thousand men, including two thousand five hundred cavalry. The Greeks quitted their works at Lamia, and deposited their military engines, baggage, and ineffective followers, in neighbouring Thessalian castles. With a well-equipped light force, they marched to prevent the junction of Leonnatus with Antipater. Notwithstanding the defection of the Etolians, they mustered as many men as the enemy, whom in cavalry they exceeded by a thousand. A battle took place on the northern frontier of Thessaly. Conducted by Menon the Thessalian, the allied horse routed the cavalry led by Leonnatus, who fell in the charge: the Macedonian phalanx in disorder, took refuge on the bordering mountains. Antipater joined the vanquished forces, and receded toward Pella, across the ridges of Olympus.

Meanwhile, Clitus, the Macedonian naval commander in the Hellespont, had defeated the Athenian fleet under Eëtion.

At length Craterus arrived in Thessaly, with a thousand Persian archers, and fifteen hundred cavalry, in addition to the ten thousand veterans; and effected a junction with Antipater, to whom he resigned the chief command. The united force of the rallied Macedonians amounted to forty thousand heavy-armed, three thousand archers and slingers, and five thousand cavalry. Secessions similar to that of the Etolians had weakened the Greek army. Antiphilus and Menon, as long as possible, eluded an engagement. *Olymp. cxiv. 2.*
 The Macedonian generals at length forced *B. C. 323.*
 them into the unequal conflict, between the town of Cranon and the mountains of Cynocephalæ. The

Thessalian horse maintained their triumphs; but the Grecian infantry, after losing five hundred men, yielded to the shock of the Macedonian veterans, and retired to the neighbouring hills, where they were joined by the cavalry.

Antipater refusing to treat with the defeated Greeks in conjunction, by easy terms of peace detached the Thessalians from the confederacy. Meanwhile, Eëtion, the Athenian admiral, a second time defeated by Clitus, had lost great part of one hundred and seventy gallees.

To prevent Antipater from pursuing his march into Attica, the Athenians, till now refractory, sent Phocion, Demades, and Xenocrates, to supplicate, rather than to negotiate. The embassy met him near the ruins of Thebes. The Athenians agreed to new-model their government, to surrender Demosthenes and Hyperides, and to receive a Macedonian garrison into the fortified harbour Munychia. Meanwhile, Perdiccas, who interfered as regent, had decided for the reinstatement of the exiled Samians, the dispute between whom and the Athenians had occasioned the war.

Ten thousand fierce Etolians, blockaded in their hills and fastnesses by the Macedonians whom they had repulsed, were ultimately relieved by a peace, granted by Antipater and Craterus, in haste to depart into Asia to support Antigonus against Perdiccas. Encouraged by the latter, they afterwards renewed the war.

9. The marriage of Perdiccas with Antipater's daughter, Nicæa, neither pleased Olympias, nor was approved by Eumenes, Perdiccas' chief friend. Eumenes persuaded him, that an alliance with the house of Alexander was essential to his elevation: Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, had returned to Sardis; and Perdiccas, in order to marry her, repudiated Nicæa.

The Macedonian people were desirous to fortify the greatness of Philip Aridæus by an union with Euridice, lineal descendant of the elder brother of the great Philip. Her mo-

• ther, Cynna, in armour, had often fought in the first lines; and Euridice inherited this martial spirit. Cynna warmly supported her daughter's claim to share the throne. Perdiccas, alarmed, contrived the secret murder of Cynna; the suspicion of which so incensed the troops, that, to prevent a mutiny, he himself promoted the nuptials of Aridæus and Euridice.

Perdiccas, having recovered popularity in the camp, and relying on the support of the military leaders, Alcetas, Aristonus, Seleucus, Pithon, Eumenes, and of the high-admiral on the Syrian coast, Attalus, ventured to summon Antigonus to answer for disobedience to the royal mandate in the Cappadocian war. Antigonus, with his son Demetrius, and confidential adherents, escaped to Ephesus; and thence, in an Athenian vessel, to Macedon; where he exposed to Antipater and Craterus, Perdiccas' ambitious views, and tyrannical transactions. An embassy from Ptolemy seconded the representations of Antigonus. Preparatory to an expedition into Phrygia, the administration of Macedon was committed to Polysperchon; Phila, a daughter of Antipater, was given in marriage to Craterus; the confederates signed a treaty, stipulating that Antigonus should have his dominions restored and augmented, and that Craterus should succeed Perdiccas in the protectorship.

10. Meanwhile Perdiccas had annexed the forfeited satrapies of Antigonus to the government of Eumenes. On the invasion from Macedon, he deliberated, in a council of generals, whether it were expedient to meet Antipater and Craterus with the undivided controlling army, or, leaving a force sufficient to repel them, to march in person against Ptolemy. The latter course was adopted.

Arrived in Syria, he summoned the satrap of Egypt, to answer articles of impeachment before the royal army. Ptolemy appeared, and vindicated himself successfully. After his departure, the unsteady multitude revived the impeachment, with the additional article, that he had arrested the funeral convoy

of Alexander, and interred his remains at Alexandria, in opposition to the dying conqueror's solemn injunction.

Perdiccas advanced from Syria against Pelusium, attended by the fleet under Attalus. After elaborate approaches, from desperate assaults on Pelusium, and a fortress called the camels-wall, he successively retired foiled. He then made judicious arrangements for crossing the Nile at Memphis. Flanked above by elephants to break the force of the stream, and below by cavalry to pick up stragglers who might lose their footing, a division effected their passage. A sudden increase of depth, in the bed of the river, or the volume of water, prevented the rest of the army from following. Of those who attempted to swim back, two thousand were lost. Ptolemy treated the prisoners as his brethren, and buried the slain with honourable rites. In the moment of disaster and dissatisfaction, Pithon, in the royal camp, headed a conspiracy against Perdiccas. Surprised at night, the pavilion was entered by assassins, and the protector fell. Attalus now sailed from Pelusium with a view to wrest Caria from Cassander*. Intercepted by the naval forces of Rhodes, and defeated in a sea-fight, the remnant of his fleet in inactivity mouldered away.

11. Antipater and Craterus had antecedently crossed the Hellespont into Phrygia, unmolested in their debarkation. Eumenes was not cordially supported even by Alcetas, brother

* Perdiccas assigned Caria to CASSANDER, according to Curtius, Diodorus, Justin, Orosius, Arrian, lib. 1. in Phot.; to ASANDER, according to Dexippus, and Arrian, lib. 9. The satrap of Caria, whatever was his name, now the ally, and now the enemy, of Antigonus, is identified in interest with Antipater and his son. As the history proceeds, however, he may be distinguished from Cassander; and the compiler supposes, that Asander was lieutenant to Cassander as the viceroy of Caria, and became viceroi of Caria when Cassander acquired the throne of Macedon.

of Perdiccas: other officers were equally dissatisfied with his appointment as supreme commander in Lesser Asia: Neoptolemus conspired against his life, and, when detected, defied him in the field: totally defeated by him, he escaped to Antipater's camp with three hundred horse. Induced by the statement of Neoptolemus to divide their forces, Craterus marched to depose Eumenes, and Antipater toward the Cilician passes to support Ptolemy.

As Craterus was popular with the army, Eumenes sought to bring his Macedonians into action before they should learn that the enemy was Craterus. He reported, that Neoptolemus, at the head of some ill-accounted Barbarians, was again in arms, and ordered that no messenger should be received from the rebel.

Eumenes' cavalry, six thousand, exceeded in nearly a treble proportion that of Craterus. The infantry on each side, was twenty thousand. The inferiority of Eumenes' troops consisted in a numerous mixture of Asiatics. He opposed his Asiatic horse to the enemy's right wing commanded by Craterus; and with a select band of three hundred cavalry, prepared to combat Neoptolemus in person. As the enemy descended from a hill near the Troad, the Paphlagonian cavalry, whom Eumenes had ordered neither to hear parley nor give quarter, rushed forward to the conflict. Craterus, fighting valiantly, was at length dismounted and trampled in the route. A few of his cavalry escaped to the protection of the phalanx. In the other wing, Eumenes and Neoptolemus, encountering with fierce animosity, were both dismounted in the shock. The latter first regained his feet: but the former, while down, by a desperate stroke, hamstrung his adversary. Supported on his knee, Neoptolemus fought on till, in the act of returning a severe, for a mortal, wound, he expired. Eumenes, hastening to his left-wing, testified to the dying Craterus, his regret that he had been obliged to treat him as an

Olymp. cxiv. 2.
B. C. 322.

enemy. The adverse phalanx, surrounded, obtained permission to disperse to the neighbouring hills for supplies: at night they dishonourably marched to join Antipater. Eumenes, who now controlled great part of Asia Minor, transferred his headquarters to Celænæ, and dispatched the joyous intelligence of his victory to Perdiccas, who, two days before the arrival of the messenger, was no more.

12. On the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy, declining the office of protector, voted to him by the troops, recommended it to be conferred on Pithon, conjointly with Aridæus, the commander who had conducted Alexander's funeral procession into Egypt. The army ratified this nomination until the arrival of Antipater.

While Perdiccas held the regency, the turbulent spirit of Euridice, wife of Philip Aridæus, had been overawed. The influence of the colleagues was inferior to that of Perdiccas: and Pithon was personally disagreeable to her, on account of the oblique contumely which he had levelled against the prince, in the debate respecting a successor to Alexander. Counteracting their edicts by open interference, to which she was emboldened by conscious popularity, Euridice regulated the pay and promotions of the army. At length, the regents finding their authority annulled by her ascendancy, in a public assembly resigned their office.

The soldiers of Alexander were commanded by a woman, when Antipater arrived at Trisparadisus in Upper Syria. Euridice opposed the reëstablishment of a regency, maintaining the competency of Philip Aridæus to direct the state and army. The Argyraspides and soldiers of the phalanx espoused her cause, and Antipater had nearly fallen a victim to their rage, in asserting the power delegated to him by the cavalry and officers. Antigonus and Seleucus, by harangues to the troops on "home" and "booty," and other welcome subjects, gained time for him to escape, across a bridge, to the division which

he had brought. Touched soon afterwards with compunction, the army recalled him to the supreme command.

Second Partition of the Empire.

13. **ANTIPATER** made a new settlement of the empire. He renewed the declaration, that Alexander Ægus was co-heir with Philip Aridæus. Eumenes, satrap of Cappadocia, was proscribed, *Olymp. cxiv. 3. B. C. 322.* and Nicanor appointed to succeed him. Menander and Philotas, governors of Lydia and Cilicia, had fallen, it is to be inferred, in hostilities with Eumenes: Clitus and Philoxenus were substituted for them. The satrapy of Babylonia was given to Seleucus, and that of Susiana to Antigeneſ. Pithon received a detachment to take poſſeſſion of Media, which Atropates, a native, forcibly detained. Aridæus, the general, obtained Hellespontian Phrygia. As Antipater intended to reſide in Macedon, and thence to iſſue his edicts in the name of the kings, he conſtituted Antigonus general of the empire in Aſia, committing to him a great proportion of the royal army, and directed him to puniſh the proſcribed ſatrapſ. He made Caſſander general of the *companions*, the ſecond poſt in the army.

Many officers of diſtinction, diſſatisfied with the new apportionment of power, joined Alcetas and Attalus, who had eſtabliſhed themſelves in the ſtrong-holds of Piſidia. Mean-while, Alcetas and Attalus rejected overtures from Eumenes, to make a common cauſe with him.

14. Antigonus delayed to attack Eumenes, that, in the abſence of Antipater, he might reap excluſively the advantages of ſucceſs. Caſſander reported to his father his ſuſpicion, that Antigonus had ambitious deſigns. With confidence ſlightly ſhaken, Antipater continued him in his command, but

required that part of their armies should be exchanged, and then, carrying with himself the persons of the kings, and an army comprising seventy elephants, crossed the Hellespont.

Antigonus immediately took the field against Eumenes. A battle followed; Apollonides, who had been corrupted, deserted with the Paphlagonian horse, and the Cappadocian army was defeated with great slaughter. Antigonus continued the pursuit to an unusual distance; while Eumenes by a secret path returned, and burnt on two large pyres the bodies of his slain. Having lost eight thousand men, he was disabled from again facing Antigonus: but, acquainted with the intricate avenues of Taurus, he occasionally harrassed his pursuers. Finding his troops too few for combat, and too numerous for flight, he disbanded the majority, fixing a rendezvous for them to re-join his standard, should a favourable crisis occur. With six hundred horse unalterably devoted to him, he threw himself into the impregnable fortress of Nora: exceedingly steep at the sides, and two furlongs in circuit, this place produced corn, wood, and water. At an interview under the security of hostages, in answer to overtures from Antigonus, Eumenes declared, that he would never acknowledge a superior except in the family of Alexander.

Antigonus left Nora blockaded, and by a rapid march surprised the Pisidians before they could occupy the passes. The Pisidian Macedonian leaders were defeated. Attalus and Docimus, with Laomedon, a fugitive from his satrapy of Syria, were taken prisoners; and Alcetas eluded the vindictive pursuit of Antigonus by suicide.

15. Meanwhile Ptolemy conquered Syria, and Antipater died. Cassander, having soon quitted his uneasy station as second in command in Asia, *Olymp. cxv. 2.* had been employed, during his father's sickness, in the administration of Macedon and Greece. Antipater had, however, nominated Polysperchon to be regent of the empire. *B. C. 319.*

To counterbalance the troublesome influence of Euridice, the new regent recalled Olympias, from the honourable exile in Epirus in which Antipater had placed her.

16. Cassander, unwilling to be a cipher under Polysperchon, sent instructions to Nicanor, one of his partisans, to take the command of the Macedonian garrison, in the Athenian harbour Munychia. While resident on his estates, he completed arrangements for progressive movements in Macedon and Greece; then, under the pretext of going to a hunting-match in Phrygia, he crossed the Hellespont. From Antigonus, to whom he applied for aid, he obtained thirty-five war-gallies and six thousand veterans.

To undermine Cassander's established interest in Greece, Polysperchon published an imperial edict, restoring in every city the ancient democratic form of government, on condition that the inhabitants engaged never to bear arms against the kings. He circulated a letter in his own name, exhorting the republics to avenge themselves on the enemies of their liberties. By plebeian fury suddenly stimulated and unchained, individuals of rank and merit were, in most of the municipalities, plundered, and exiled, or put to death. But, in Athens, the nobles maintained the ascendancy, supported by Nicanor, commanding in the Munychia and the Piræus, the latter of which he had recently seized.

Olymp. cxv. 3.
B. C. 318.

The regent detached his son Alexander against Nicanor, with a large Macedonian force, and an armed body comprising numerous exiles from Athens, mixed with inhabitants of its rural territory: Himself slowly followed, with Philip Aridæus, and the royal guards. In prospect of recapturing the harbours from Nicanor, Phocion had advised Alexander not to resign them to the republic, but to curb the popular faction by vigorous garrisons. This counsel transpiring, occasioned a revolution in the city against the aristocracy. Polysperchon, with

whose dark policy the procedure recommended was not in unison, sacrificed Phocion to the Athenian people, who, misconstruing the motives of his advice, decreed his execution.

Four days after Phocion's death, Cassander debarked his veterans in the Piræus: he maintained this fortress, while Nicanor defended the Munychia, against the Athenian insurrection and Polysperchon's army of twenty-five thousand men and sixty-five elephants. The regent, compelled by scarcity of provisions to divide his forces, left Alexander to besiege the harbours; proceeded to Arcadia; and, from an unsuccessful attack on Megalopolis, returned into Macedon. Cassander gained the republics in the Peloponnesus. Athens capitulated to him, retaining its navy and revenue, and the representative system under some modifications. Demetrius Phalereus, his friend, was appointed chief magistrate.

17. Antigonus, meanwhile, tendered to Eumenes an instrument, granting his demands, provided the besieged satrap would swear to maintain amity with himself. Eumenes introduced uniformly before the word "Antigonus," the names of the kings and Olympias; an insertion which the negotiators for the Asiatic generalissimo, unsuspecting of their master's views, readily admitted. He signed the treaty, and, as the blockade was raised, with his liberated adherents galloped from Nora.

Antigonus disclosing his ambition, had expelled Clitus, who repaired with his fleet to Polysperchon; had made encroachments on Hellespontian Phrygia; had seized Ephesus, and detained four vessels touching at that harbour, freighted with six hundred talents for the kings.

To counteract Antigonus, Polysperchon sent an imperial delegation to Eumenes, constituting him sole general of the army in Asia, and subjecting to his disposal the treasures in Susa and the Cilician fortress Kuinda: The Asiatic satraps were ordered to join his standard; and Polysperchon promised to conduct an army from Europe, if necessary.

Polysperchon had sent Clitus, with a numerous fleet, to assist Aridaeus, governor of the Hellespontian coast. Cassander, with the thirty-five vessels of Antigonus combining sixty-five Athenian gallies, detached Nicanor to cruise against Clitus. In the naval battle of Byzantium, Nicanor, defeated, had more than half his ships taken: the remnant took refuge in the port of Chalcedon. Antigonus, who, on shore with an army, had witnessed the disaster; collected by active agents, during the first hours of the night, the craft and merchantmen at Byzantium; embarked in them chosen light troops; and assailed, before dawn, the fatigued and unsuspecting victors, who had landed at the Thracian coast. Clitus ordered his men to fly to their ships: such as put to sea were intercepted by Nicanor, whom Antigonus had reinforced with a detachment acting as marines. The regent's fleet was captured, except the admiral-galley, from which Clitus debarked in Thrace, and was killed by some deserters.

Olymp. cxv. 3.

B. C. 318.

18. On the return of Olympias to Pella, bringing with her Alexander Ægus,—Euridice, who in the intriguing Cassander had a lover as well as a political partisan, summoned him to her aid in Macedon. Meanwhile, with troops furnished by her brother Æacidus, king of Epirus, Olympias marched to Evia, near the lake Lychnitis, where her rival was encamped. By insults she provoked the high-spirited Euridice to battle. While the hostile lines were forming, she advanced between them: her bold aspect, commanding voice, and graceful action, the tender childhood, the auspicious name of Alexander Ægus, so affected the Macedonians, that they unanimously deserted the standard of Euridice. This unfortunate princess, with Philip Aridaeus, were arrested in their flight toward Amphipolis, and thrown into a dungeon. The first successor of Alexander, who had reigned six years and four months, after receiving several days monstrous indignities from triumph-

Olymp. cxv. 4.

B. C. 317.

ant malice, was dispatched by Thracian assassins. To the fallen queen, Olympias sent a dagger, a cord, and a poisoned chalice. Euridice, praying that her adversary might herself soon want her abominable gifts—she needed them not—prepared her zone, in presence of the messenger, as an instrument of death. Before she became her own executioner, she asserted her superior right to the crown. The implacable Olympias caused a hundred nobles, adherents of Cassander, to be attainted and slain; she took up and exposed the mouldering bones of Jollas, proclaiming that that son of Antipater, the trusty cup-bearer of Alexander, had poisoned his royal master.

While Polysperchon guarded the south frontier of Macedonia, and the Etolians occupied Thermopylæ, Olympias committed her army to lieutenants, and, as shuddering at her own crimes, secluded herself in the fortress of Pydna, with Roxana and Alexander Ægus.

Cassander, having sent against Polysperchon, Callas, an able commander, sailed in person to Thessaly, and laid siege to Pydna. Blockaded by sea and land, Olympias was compelled by importunate famine to surrender. She stipulated only for life. Cassander publicly arraigned her: refusing to appear, she was condemned capitally. She disdained flight, or distrusted facilities for escape allowed her. Her demand for a new trial, was answered by a mission of two hundred armed men: the majesty of her looks disarmed these, but the kinsmen of her victims avenged their blood. She suffered with apathy as unfeminine, as the exultation with which she had acted the destroyer. Aristonus shared her fate, as committed in her schemes. As yet no catastrophe overtakes the other captive personages. Cassander guarded Roxana and Alexander Ægus in the citadel of Amphipolis; retained Deidamia, Olympias' niece, as an hostage for the fidelity of the Epirots; and married Thessalonica, youngest daughter of Philip, to strengthen his ambitious pretensions.

He then founded on the ruins of Potdiæa the new city Cas-sandria, and rebuilt Thebes.

19. Eumenes had been joined, on his release from Nora, by several thousand provincial troops. He proceeded to Kuinda, and, by dispensing a portion of its treasures, raised levies in Caria and Pisidia, and drew recruits from Greece and Tarentum in Italy. The Argyraspides acknowledged his powers. To confirm their reluctant submission, he professed to have seen a vision, in which Alexander pointed to an altar; round which, should the chiefs deliberate, the departed genius promised to direct their councils: Eumenes deposited on the golden throne the late king's armour and regalia; and consecrated to public use five hundred talents, which he possessed as a personal gift from the regent.

Ptolemy, averse from maintaining the indivisibility of the empire, sent a fleet of observation to the Cilician harbour Zephyrium, and disturbed the camp of Eumenes by emissaries. The seditions raised by these, and similar incendiaries employed by Antigonus, were defeated by the vigilance of the new commander-in-chief.

Eumenes, having conducted fifteen thousand men into Phœnicia, had nearly recovered it for the kings: but, on the approach of Antigonus with four and twenty thousand select soldiers, he retired by forced marches to Babylonia.

Seleucus, after respectfully receiving an embassy from Eumenes, endeavoured to seduce the Argyraspides from his standard; and, by opening an old canal from the Euphrates to the Tigris; inundated his camp; then offered to him a truce, and an unobstructed passage to Susiana, while he sent messengers to accelerate the march of Antigonus. Eumenes now entered Susa; his demand on the treasury was readily obeyed by the keeper of the citadel, while, as commander-in-chief, he summoned military aid from the governors of Media and other provinces in Ariana.

Pithon, not less ambitious than Antigonus, had destroyed the satrap of Parthia; but defeated afterwards by the governors around; who confederated for their preservation, was now a fugitive at the court of Seleucus. The allied antagonists of Pithon cordially united with Eumenes: Peucestas brought thirteen thousand foot and one thousand horse; Eudamus, one of the administrators over India, contributed three thousand infantry, five hundred cavalry, and one hundred and twenty elephants: there arrived, conducted by different satraps in person, except Oxartes, from Carmania, Arachosia, Aria, and the Parapamisadæ, divisions amounting to five thousand foot, and about three thousand horse. On the dissevered pinnacles of a mountain, stretching five hundred miles from the Paratâcæne ridge to the mouth of the Persian gulf, the old Persian government had established a telegraphic chain of centinels, who could orally transmit intelligence, in twenty-four hours, along the space of a month's journey. By their agency, Peucestas suddenly called in ten thousand archers.

Near Babylon, Antigonus suspended his march to collect levies. Joined by fifteen hundred cavalry under Pithon, and by a detachment from Seleucus, he proceeded over the Tigris into Susiana; and proclaimed Seleucus governor of that province, as well as of Babylonia. On the deep and rapid Coprates,

about five hundred feet broad, he collected
Olymp. cxvi. 1. boats: a considerable part of his army having passed, was preparing for encampment,
B. C. 316.

when Eumenes seized the decisive moment to surprise his enemies: four thousand surrendered; more than that number were killed in flight, or perished in the river. Induced by this disaster to defer a general engagement, Antigonus marched hastily into Media; and, annoyed by the Cosæans, lost in the passes a number of men. But he was reinforced by levies raised by Pithon in the province, and by troops brought by Pithon, administrator of India.

20. The recorded junction with Eumenes, of the Mésopotamian contingent under Amphimachus, probably took place while Antigonus' stay in Media left the communication open. Dissentions in his army prevented Eumenes from reaping his full advantages. He espoused the proposition of Peucestas to defend Persis instead of seizing Asia Minor, and thereby offended the *Argyraspides*.

By the influence of a magnificent entertainment, given to the whole army, Peucestas endeavoured to draw its divided attachment to himself; and, prompted by Sibyrtius, and other creatures of his, the fickle soldiers were openly exclaiming, that the man who had saved the life of Alexander was alone worthy to command them:—when Eumenes produced a forged letter from Orontes, governor of Armenia, stating the complete establishment of Polysperchon and the kings, the death of Cassander, and the departure of an army from Macedon to coöperate with the imperial commander in Asia. This news suddenly recalled the assembly to loyalty; and Sibyrtius, accused by Eumenes of treason, fled. Holding a precarious supremacy, involved in perplexing relations, Eumenes rivetted the interested fidelity of Antigonus, Eudamus, and other leaders, by borrowing from them large sums, at high interest, in the name of the kings. Then, instituting a general banquet, he vied in popular liberality with Peucestas.

While illness, contracted by intemperance at the late festivities, fixed him to his couch, he decamped to meet Antigonus now advancing to invade Persis. The hostile armies descried each other on the frontiers of Media. Antigenes and Peucestas led Eumenes' van: but the troops called aloud for their sick general, who was in the rear:—the sudden alacrity infused by his presence, the skilful dispositions which followed, astonished Antigonus, till he saw the litter of Eumenes gliding briskly along the lines, when he exclaimed, with his usual burst of loud laughter: " See the machine which has pro-

“duced these wonderful movements!” Disappointed in surprising the enemy, he declined an engagement.

At length the stratagems of the two generals concurred to bring on a battle at the foot of the Paratacæne mountains.

Antigonus had twenty-eight thousand foot,
Olymp. cxvi. 1. eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-
B. C. 316. five elephants. Eumenes marshalled infantry

at least as numerous, some authorities state thirty-five thousand, six thousand cavalry, and one hundred and twenty-five elephants. After a stubborn conflict, Antigonus' centre and left gave way: but the Argyraspides, who had principally contributed to the victory, created, by too impetuous a pursuit, a vacancy in the line: this enabled Antigonus, when thinking only of retreat, to rout the whole of Eumenes' left wing. Both armies rallied by moonlight, and passed the night under arms. Eumenes, whose loss had been decidedly the lighter, was prevented by divisions among the allies from renewing the engagement; and Antigonus withdrew to Gamorga in Media. Meanwhile, Mithridates and Philip, respectively, marched to assist Eumenes, from the wide extremes of Pontus and Bactriana.

In a subsequent battle, the intrepid Eumenes was feebly supported by Peucestas and other envious satraps: his cavalry suffered greatly: the Argyraspides retrieved the field; but, provoked by the loss of their wives and children along with the baggage, refused to improve their victory by a fresh effort, and, while they defied the enemy, reviled Eumenes as a Thracian. At the instigation of Teutamus, they seized their general, and delivered him, as the price of a dishonest peace, to Antigonus. Demetrius and Nearchus interceded for him: but, urged by ambition, and by the officers who had betrayed the new commander-in-chief, Antigonus precipitated his death. Antigenes and Eudamus, who remained faithful to the kings, the triumphant usurper also slew. He interrupted the congra-

tulations of his new and old allies, by disembodysing the Argyraspides, and by committing them in divisions to obscure satraps, who were instructed to consume them with dangers and fatigues: his ally, Pithon, whom it would have been unsafe to attack in Media, he drew to his camp, by an offer of the command in the eastern provinces, and in one day arraigned, condemned, and executed him: Peucestas he deposed from the satrapy of Persis, but suffered him to live undistinguished in his train.

Third Partition of the Empire.

21. **ANTIGONUS** assumed the exercise of the regent's power. He gave Media to Orontobates, a native, under the control of Hippastratus; set Asclepiodorus over Persis; and added Susiana to the province of Seleucus. He collected in Media and Persis fifteen thousand talents; and, on receiving from the governor of Susa the keys of that citadel, intended as a mark of homage, he took thence treasure to the same amount. He then marched to Babylon. Seleucus, having entertained him with unbounded hospitality, was obliged to fly, to avoid degradation and death, and escaped with forty horsemen into Egypt.

Ptolemy and Seleucus sent ambassadors to Cassander and Lysimachus, to inveigh against the tyranny of Antigonus. Antigonus sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, to vindicate his proceedings. Meanwhile, he drew from the treasury of Kuinda ten thousand talents, and collected from the eastern satraps eleven thousand.

In his progress toward Syria, diplomatic agents from the allied princes, whom Asander, satrap of Caria, had joined, met him, and announced their demands. Ptolemy claimed a

recognition of his right to Syria. Seleucus required the restitution of his provinces;—Lysimachus, the annexation of Lesser Phrygia, by which he would command both shores of the Hellespont. Asander insisted on retaining his conquests in Lycia and Cappadocia. Cassander, who had established his dominion over Greece and Macedon, concurred in summoning Antigonus to account for the money taken from the royal treasuries, that it might be equitably divided. Antigonus replied, that he was marching against Ptolemy, and when he had settled his disputes with that lieutenant, he would treat with the other perfidious and insolent confederates.

22. Antigonus proceeded to reduce Syria, and prepared mighty naval armaments. By emissaries, he detached the isle of Cyprus from Ptolemy's alliance. A division of his forces expelled Asander, and his partisans, from Pontus and Cappadocia:—But on the opposite coast of the peninsula, supported by Egyptian and Macedonian armaments, Asander defeated the naval and military commanders of Antigonus:—Syria confided to Demetrius, his father therefore took the field in person against Asander, whom, after two arduous campaigns, he finally dispossessed of Caria. Meanwhile, he had won to his interest Polysperchon; obtained, from the Macedonians in his army, a decree proscribing Cassander; and by a fleet and expedition awed Greece, with the exception of Thessaly, into a dereliction of his cause.

Lysimachus, who had invaded Hellespontian Phrygia, was disabled from retaining it, by commotions which Antigonus fomented in Thrace. Overtures of peace, which the confederates were reduced separately to offer, were now rejected by their triumphant enemy.

23. At length, Ptolemy recovered Cyprus, led an army into Syria, and scoured Cilicia, from which he carried a rich

booty. The son of Antigonus, by forced marches, came up with him returning to Syria. In an engagement, in which Ptolemy was assisted by Seleucus, and which Demetrius, now in his twenty-second year, fought against the advice of his military mentors, the latter lost Python, the son of Agenor, and five thousand killed, chiefly cavalry; and, of fifteen thousand infantry, had nearly eight thousand taken prisoners. Ptolemy left his general, Killes, in Syria. Demetrius, having collected the veteran garrisons of Asia Minor, returned and surprised Killes; and the Egyptians were compelled to evacuate Syria.

Antigonus, intoxicated with success, lost in two expeditions against Petra, the fastness and emporium of the Nabathæan Arabs, about six thousand men. His nephew, Ptolemy, curbed in a generous policy toward Greece, from rising aversion to the tyrant, began to correspond with the confederates. The mercenary Alexander, Polysperchon's son, had gone over to them. 'Lysimachus was growing formidable. Commotion pervaded the provinces beyond the Euphrates, some of which were lost.

24. Seleucus, with only a thousand infantry, and three hundred cavalry, furnished by Ptolemy, had made a successful expedition against Babylon. He progressively increased his forces, defeated Nicanor and Evagoras advancing from Media and Persis to attack him, and enlisted great part of their superior divisions. During his absence from Babylon, Demetrius approached with fifteen thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and Patrocles, the governor, persuaded the inhabitants to a temporary emigration of that gorgeous city. Of two neighbouring castles garrisoned by Patrocles, Demetrius had taken but one, at the time fixed by his father for returning into Syria. Five thousand foot, and one thousand horse, whom he

left behind, soon afterwards surrendered unconditionally to the concentrated army of Seleucus.

25. But Ptolemy and Cassander now signed a peace with Antigonus, which abandoned to him the dominion of all Asia; to which Lysimachus acceded. This treaty stipulated, that all the Greek cities and colonies should be restored to freedom; and that when Alexander Ægus, now in his thirteenth year, attained full age, Cassander should resign to him the throne of Macedon, and accept some provincial government. On this acknowledgment of his title, the public voice demanded for the young prince, at present immured with his mother in the castle of Amphipolis, an establishment suitable to his birth. The atrocious Cassander eluded this requisition, by the secret murder of his infant sovereign and Roxana.

Polysperchon, as nominal regent, retained some fortresses in the Peloponnesus. Intimating the late king's death to Hercules, Alexander's son by Barsiné, now seventeen years old, and residing at Pergamus, he invited him to

Olymp. cxvii. 3. Greece, to assert his claim to the empire.

B. C. 310. Joined by the youth, the protector led twenty thousand Etolians and Macedonians, under the royal standard, to the frontiers of Macedon. Cassander, whose army wavered in allegiance, by promising to Polysperchon the dominion of the Peloponnesus, prevailed on him to destroy his ward. After this horrid tragedy, the peninsular Greeks, assisted by the Bœotians, prevented the traitor from returning. Cassander ceded to him an obscure castle, commanding a district between Epirus and Locris; after which, no account of the monster sullies history.

The late treaty silently abandoned the interests of Seleucus; and Antigonus, in undisturbed possession of Asia Minor and Syria, conducted an army to the East. A stubborn battle, equally poised, was interrupted by night: Seleucus' troops

slept in armour, at dawn surprised the invader, and triumphed so completely, that Antigonus does not appear to have renewed the enterprise.

Cleopatra, on whom strong pretensions to the succession had devolved by the death of the princes, accepted overtures of marriage from Ptolemy. *Olymp.* cxviii. 1. When she was preparing to leave Sardis, the *B. C.* 308. barbarous Antigonus procured her clandestine murder: while he buried her with royal honours, to disguise his crime, his aggravated wickedness executed her attendants.

26. Circumstances soon encouraged the confederates to make the peace a handle for recommencing hostilities against Antigonus. *To liberate a Grecian colony*, Ptolemy sailed to Caria, and besieged Halicarnassus: compelled to relinquish that object by the superior fleet of Demetrius, he directed his interference to the *Ægean isles*. In Cos he was joined by Ptolemy, the nephew of Antigonus, who, disgusted with being made an instrument of oppression over Greece, had previously revolted to the allies. But his sincere plans to rescue Greece were not embraced in good faith by the Egyptian satrap, who presently accused him of tampering with his adherents, and compelled him to drink poison. The Egyptian satrap united young Ptolemy's armament with his own, was admitted into Corinth and Sicyon, as the champion of Grecian independence, and agreed with Cassander that each should retain his acquisitions.

27. Demetrius, with five thousand talents, and two hundred and fifty galleys, sailed to emancipate Greece. His benefactions to Athens won the consistent republicans; who conferred on him the title of king, dedicated to a patron of vice a temple with priests, as to a divinity, and decreed that his actions were essentially good. Polygamy was one of the pernicious customs brought by the Macedonians from the

East: Demetrius, whose wife Philla, widow of Craterus, was living, married Euridice, a descendant of Miltiades, during his stay at Athens. Ordered thence to Cyprus by his father, in operations against Salamis, he first displayed that genius for inventing battering-engines and conducting sieges, which is celebrated in his surname of *Poliorketes*. A naval victory over Ptolemy, was followed by the submission of the whole island.

Aristodemus, whom Demetrius sent to announce this success, saluted Antigonus "king." His courtiers and guards repeated, and his people resounded, a title, which he adopted and shared with his son. Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, equally assumed the style and ensigns of royalty.

28. Preparing to conquer Egypt, Antigonus assembled near Gaza eighty thousand foot and ten thousand horse. Demetrius was to coöperate, with one hundred and fifty gallees and one hundred ships carrying batteries and missiles. Sailing at a tempestuous season, the greater part of the fleet foundered, or was wrecked. The army, unable to pass the swollen Nile, of which all the branches and mouths were effectually guarded by Ptolemy's garrisons, was compelled, by want of provisions, to retreat. Antigonus, turning his baffled arms against Rhodes, as a dependency of Egypt, sent thither Demetrius *Poliorketes* with two hundred ships of war, and forty thousand men. Rhodes, defended by intrepid citizens and able engineers, was powerfully succoured by Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus. The assailant persevered with augmented forces, and employed battering machines, which thirty thousand workmen had assisted him to construct. After the civilized world had been agitated a year by the siege, the intercession of fifty states for this favourite seat of commerce, and a request from the Athenians and Etolians for immediate

aid against Cassander, were preferred at one crisis to Demetrius; and the destruction of his storming parties in several desperate assaults, inclined him to embrace an honourable pretext for quitting the enterprise. The treaty recognized the independence of the Rhodians, who became the allies of Antigonus, without taking part in the war against Ptolemy. They erected a temple to the latter, whom they surnamed *Soter*, the saviour.

Olymp. cxix. 1.

B. C. 304.

Demetrius, who commanded the greatest naval armaments of his time, transported his soldiers to Greece, and dislodged the Macedonians from the countries between the Isthmus and Thermopylæ. He wintered in Athens; and, while wallowing in execrable excesses, received from the servile people ascriptions, intended for honours, more extravagant and impious than before, and fulsome to recite. In the following campaign, he subdued the whole Peloponnesus. He increased his partisans by a marriage with Deidamia of Epirus. The Greeks elected him their general, and by contingents increased his army to 65,000 men. To Cassander, alarmed for Thessaly and Macedon, the haughty Antigonus now refused peace but on unconditional submission,

Olymp. cxix. 2.

B. C. 303.

Fourth Partition of the Empire.

29. **MEANWHILE** Seleucus had established his dominion over the eastern provinces. Sandracottus, a native of India, having learned the art of war in Alexander's camp, had quitted the standard of the conqueror's lieutenants, collected a force in his own country, reduced the Macedonian garrisons in Nysa, Mazagæ, Aornos, and extended his dominion south-eastward to Palibothra on the Ganges. After fruitless hostili-

ties, Seleucus cultivated peace with Sandracottus, and received his daughter in marriage, with a dowry, including five hundred elephants. Seleucia—which he had founded, and substituted as a capital for Babylon—as an emporium, was only second to Alexandria.

Lysimachus had transformed the fierce Thracians into willing subjects. The Triballi, the Getæ, and numerous Illyrian tribes, had felt the superiority of his arms. The new commercial city Lysimachia almost rivalled Byzantium.

Ptolemy, having repelled the invasions of Perdiccas and Antigonus, had multiplied the resources of Egypt and Cyrene, during twenty years of internal peace.

With these three established sovereigns, Cassander, commanding in Macedon, without a title, and critically situated, was forced, by the arrogance of king Antigonus, to become a zealous and enterprising ally.

In execution of a secret treaty, Lysimachus, reinforced by a detachment from Cassander, landed in Asia
Olymp. cxix. 3. Minor, subdued the western coast, and burnt
B. C. 302. a hostile fleet in the harbour of Ephesus.

Roused from security, Antigonus, before the allies could assemble, came up with Lysimachus, who, confining himself now to defensive warfare within an entrenched camp, removed successively, from Synnada, to Doryleum and Heraclea.

Meanwhile, Demetrius, having conquered Thessaly, was ready to enter Macedon with sixty thousand men. But recalled to Asia by a message from his father, he signed a peace with Cassander, stipulating that Greece should be free.

Of a detachment of twelve thousand foot and five hundred horse, sent by Cassander, under his brother Pleistarchus, to Heraclea, one third was taken by the enemy's guard-ships, and one third perished in a tempest. Meanwhile, several thousands of Lysimachus' soldiers deserted to Antigonus, who commanded the treasures in Kuinda. Ptolemy, neglecting to

reinforce the confederate army, pursued a selfish, timid policy in Syria and Egypt.

At length Seleucus joined Lysimachus in Phrygia with twenty thousand infantry, twelve thousand cavalry, one hundred armed chariots, and four hundred and eighty elephants. After an interval, which the belligerents consumed in collecting every disposable force, a battle took place at Ipsus.

The line under Antigonus and Demetrius consisted of nearly seventy thousand infantry; above twelve thousand cavalry, and seventy-five *Olymp. cxix. 4.* elephants. Lysimachus and Seleucus com- *B. C. 301.* manded the same number of cavalry, sixty-four thousand infantry, and the formidable train of chariots and elephants brought by the latter. Antigonus long consulted with Demetrius, before he decided on his order of battle. The combat began with a charge of cavalry, led by young Antiochus, son of Seleucus. Demetrius repulsed him; but, having carried his squadrons too far in the pursuit, was prevented from returning, by a line of elephants which Seleucus interposed. Of Antigonus' phalanx, thus uncovered in flank, numerous sections in alarm deserted. Out-flanked now even by the opposite infantry, the remainder of the deep line was cut in pieces, or driven to disorderly flight. Antigonus, in his eighty-first year, perseveringly fought, expecting his son with the cavalry to retrieve the day. While his attendants followed the tumultuous route, he fell, overpowered by a shower of javelins; and Demetrius returned from partial victory, only to learn the total defeat and death of his father. Joining the fugitives, he reached his fleet at Ephesus with five thousand foot and four thousand horse.

In consequence of this battle, Asia Minor, except the province of Cilicia, was annexed to the dominion of Lysimachus: Cilicia was given as a principality to Pleistarchus. Cassander was established in the sovereignty of Macedon, and as much as he had recovered of the dominion of Greece. Seleucus,

acquiring Assyria west of the Euphrates, held the whole of that imperial region, with Ariana. Ptolemy insinuated his garrisons into Cœle-Syria and Palestine, as appendages to Egypt.

Notices of the final Destinies of the four Greek Kingdoms.

30. THRACE proved an ephemeral monarchy, scarcely surviving early triumphs, which extended, and seemed to consolidate, its greatness. Thirteen years after the battle of Ipsus, its founder had coöperated with Pyrrhus to expel Demetrius from the throne of Macedon: he soon dispossessed Pyrrhus of his share of territory, and added all Macedon to the empire of Thrace and Asia Minor. From this elevation, a domestic tragedy accelerated his fall. Arsinoë, his young Egyptian queen, burnt with an incestuous flame for Agathocles, his son by a former wife. In revenge for the repulse which she received from her virtuous son-in-law, Arsinoë, by dark machinations, infused unjust suspicions of him into the king; and in prison was secretly executed, a prince whose military energy had recently recovered Caria, Ionia, and Lydia, for his father occupied in Macedon, when Demetrius had nearly compensated for his expulsion from that kingdom, by a bold enterprise on the opposite continent. The murder of Agathocles excited disgust and horror in the subjects of Lysimachus universally; and many governors of Asia Minor, abjuring allegiance to him, invited Seleucus, who was already jealous of his power, to invade their provinces. In the battle of Corupedion, in Hêlespontian Phrygia, twenty years after the battle of Ipsus, Lysimachus was defeated and killed. All his possessions in Asia Minor immediately fell to Seleucus; who consumed about a year in establishing his power there, before he entered Thrace. After Alexander, son of Lysima-

chus by an Odrysian princess, had meanwhile governed the latter country, Ptolemy Keraunus, who murdered and supplanted Seleucus stepping on the throne of Macedon, urged pretensions to the sceptre of Thrace. The native independent princes of the three great districts, Bessica, Odrysia, and Eastern Thrace, opposed his odious usurpation, and claimed independence. Their insurrection against Keraunus, and hostilities against each other, *Olymp. cxxv. 2.* were followed by an invasion of the Gauls, *B. C. 279.* which annihilated the monarchy founded by Lysimachus.

MACEDON continued to obey Cassander, who died of a dropsy three years after the battle of Ipsus. Philip, his eldest son, who peaceably succeeded, did not long survive him. Philip's brothers disputed the succession; and Alexander, the youngest son of Cassander by Thessalonica, finally expelled Antipater, the second son, the abhorred maternal parricide. Meanwhile, Demetrius *Poliorcetes*, son of the fallen Antigonus, the most extraordinary subject of vicissitude in history, had acquired great ascendancy in Greece: he proceeded to Macedon, as the auxiliary of Alexander, and, opposing distrust and treason with diabolical resources, circumvented him, and succeeded to his power. Demetrius, already the fourth king since Cassander's death, reigned in Macedon—and trampled over rather than governed Greece—seven years: when he could number in his forces, one hundred and ten thousand soldiers, and five hundred war-gallies, some of them with sixteen tiers, his frantic vanity, insolence, and despotism, provoked his armed subjects to revolt, during demonstrations against Greece by the fleet of Ptolemy, and an invasion of Macedon by the armies of Pyrrhus and Lysimachus;—he escaped in disguise to Greece: the tutelary god of Athens, who, during his second greatness, had made her ambassadors wait two

years for an audience, was in his second extremity again prohibited from entering that city: he left his Peloponnesian garrisons to his son, Antigonus Gonatas, and made a desperate irruption, with transient splendour, into Asia Minor:—defeated by Agathocles, cut off from his fleet, after many adversities, this dangerous adventurer surrendered to Seleucus, his son-in-law, who protected him from his enemies, but restricted his residence to the small Syrian Chersonesus:—resigning hunting and manly amusements, when he could not convert them into means of escape, Demetrius, by a farewell letter, enjoined his son to consider him as dead; to treat as forgeries subsequent letters coming in his name; and to guard vigilantly the Greek cities:—he died, soon afterwards, a prey to despondency, intemperance, and sloth. Meanwhile, Pyrrhus and Lysimachus had divided Macedon. Lysimachus soon seized the whole. On his fall, Alexander, an adult son by an Odrysian woman, exercised a brief authority confined to barbarous Thrace. Lysimachus, sixteen years of age, the elder of two infant sons by Arsinoë, withdrawn with the mother for safety into Cassandra, was heir to his Macedonian kingdom: Seleucus claimed it by right of conquest: a latent villain prepares to claim it by descent. The conqueror at Corupedion, within a year after, crossed over to Thrace, on his way to Pella, accompanied by Ptolemy Keraunus. Keraunus, despairing of attaining his birth-right in Egypt, conspired to snatch the crown of Macedon from the grasp of Seleucus; founding his own pretensions on being a grandson, maternally, of Antipater, and paternally, of the great Philip. Near Lysimachia, he stabbed his benefactor with his own hand, announced himself to the citizens there as the avenger of Lysimachus, purchased the Asiatic army with Seleucus' treasures, and, at Pella, took up a sceptre, which, since Alexander's death, had tumbled from the lifeless trunks, or feeble hands, of three protectors and ten kings. Keraunus married the wicked Arsinoë, and

butchered her children; and, before he had reigned two years, was slain by the invading Gauls. During the irruption of the Gauls, several kings, *Olymp. cxxv. 2.* elected by the people perished. When it had *B. C. 279.* spent its fury, Antigonus Gonatas, who had firmly grasped the dominion of the Peloponnesus, recovered the throne of Macedon. The dynasty of this prince and his descendants, after continuing one hundred and nine years, terminated with the battle of Pydna, when Perseus was defeated by the Roman *Olymp. cliii. 1.* consul Æmilius. *B. C. 168.* Twenty-two years afterwards, Macedon was made a province of Rome.

THE GREEK EMPIRE IN ASIA devolved wholly to Seleucus, after the victory at Corupedion, mentioned in the *Notice of Thrace*. In the reign of his son, Antiochus I. this extensive empire was curtailed—by invasions from Egypt; by the creation into independent kingdoms, of Pergamus, Pontus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia; and by the settlement of an invading horde of Gauls in a central district of Asia Minor, called from them Galatia. In the reign of Antiochus II. it was further diminished by the separation of the Greek kingdom of Bactriana, under Theodo- *Olymp. cxxxi. 3.* tus. [See *Translation of Curtius*, vol. ii. *B. C. 254.* p. 204, note *ult.*] The third, or Great Antiochus, in the early part of his reign, sustained the empire, repelled the Egyptian invasion, suppressed powerful refractory satraps, and carried his arms into India: but the entry of the Romans into Asia Minor, and the decisive battle of Magnesia, forced him to cede that region to the Rhodians and the new-created native kings. Through successive provincial defections, and hostile encroachments, the territory of the last of the Seleucidæ consisted *Olymp. clxxiv. 1.* only of Syria, when it was appropriated by *B. C. 84.* Tigranes, king of Armenia. Twenty years afterwards, Pompey reduced Syria into a Roman province.

EGYPT. Ptolemy I. or Soter, in his eightieth year, associated to the government Ptolemy Philadelphus, his son by his second wife Berenicé; rejecting from the succession Ptolemy Keraunus, his son by his first wife Euridice, daughter of Antipater. The disinherited son, by his subsequent crimes, vindicated the discernment of his father. From Alexandria, he withdrew in disgust to the court of Lysimachus, whose son Agathocles had married the fugitive prince's sister; on the catastrophe of Agathocles, mentioned in the *Notice of Thirace*, he embraced the hospitable protection of Seleucus; Keraunus, or the Thunderer, was the surname which he impiously assumed; his lingering destruction has been mentioned in the *Notice of Macedon*. Ptolemy Philadelphus, having, in a conjoint reign of two years, dispensed benefits to the people, succeeded his father. After Philadelphus, Evergetes supported the greatness of Egypt, in power, arts, and literature. But, under the other Ptolemies, a voluptuous, oppressive, and sanguinary race, it was arrested and destroyed. The unpatriotic hatred of the Tenth of the dynasty, who took refuge in Tyre when expelled by his subjects, and the pusillanimity of the Eleventh, bequeathed Egypt to the protection of the Romans: then a kingdom of nominal independence, it subsisted eight and twenty years, till the sea-fight of Actium gave to Augustus the empire of the world.

Olymp. clxxxvii. 2.

B. C. 31.

INDEX.

The first volume is implied where the page alone is inserted; the numeral "ii." marks the second volume.

A.

ABDALOMINUS—Created king of Sidon, 347.

Abii—Their embassy to Alexander, ii. 178.

Abisares—Surrenders, ii. 285. Refuses to attend, ii. 303. His death, ii. 377.

Acesines—*Eastern* (Brahmapootra), ii. 261. *Western* (Chenab), ii. 321, ii. 324, ii. 326.

Ada—Queen of Caria, 232. Restored by Alexander, 234.

Agis—See *Sparta*.

Agrians—Faithful allies of Alexander, 134.

Alexander (of Epirus)—Marries Cleopatra, daughter of Philip, 108.

• His apophthegm against Alexander, 131.

Alexander (of Lyncestia; sometimes called son of Æropus)—Of the conspirators against Philip, alone pardoned by Alexander, 119. Detached as a partizan to Phrygia, 249. Apprehended for a plot against Alexander, 256. Put to death, ii. 139.

Alexander (of the royal band)—Falls heroically at Aornos, ii. 280.

Alexander the Great—His history had not been treated by Roman authors, 8. The previous reign subservient to his eminent fortune, 9. His pretended descent from Jupiter discussed, 10; his own allusions to it not uniform, ii. 116, ii. 257, ii. 275. Notice of alleged prodigies attending his birth, 12. Date of it, 14, and ii. 407, note. His death, ii. 407. [See the subdivisions of this title.]

APOPHTHEGMS—When a boy, on his father's victories, 20. Being advised, while a youth, to run at the Olympic games, *ibid.* On the

Alexander the Great.

casket in which he kept Homer's works, 36. To Philip on his lameness, 44. On Antipater's deportment, ii. 397.

CHARACTER, as a governor—An encourager of science, 25, and useful arts, 35; a liberal dispenser of redress, 149. Generally an enemy of oppression, ii. 232, ii. 351. The justice of some of his condemnations problematical, ii. 152, ii. 259, ii. 380. — And see *Alexander*—GOVERNMENT AND POLICY.

CHARACTER, as a leader—[And see *Alexander*—TACTICS; *Battles; Sieges*.] Liberal and humane to the soldiers, 201, ii. 235. Stimulates emulation, ii. 13. His anxious vigilance, ii. 191. His celerity, 121, 160, ii. 30, ii. 61. His boldest attempts countenanced by the event, 409. Measures of doubtful propriety fortunate, ii. 153. Able dispositions, 203, 320, 436, ii. 294. Well-timed commencement of pursuit, 324; prudent termination, 456. Sacrifices spoil to restore discipline, ii. 98. His conduct under physical distresses, ii. 58, ii. 168, ii. 170, ii. 234, ii. 361, ii. 368; in battle under difficulties, 245, 445, 446, 448.

CHARACTER, as a man, at successive stages of his life—His early excellence, 19. Naturally ambitious, 20, 29. His dignified affability, simple and correct manners, 37, 235, 301, ii. 235; self-control under the commencement of eminent felicity, 332. Ambitious to monopolize knowledge as well as power, 27. Constitutionally brave, ii. 199, *et passim*. Too proud to be uniformly magnanimous, 220. His filial duties performed rather from feeling than principle, 43, 100, 101, 119, 205, ii. 343. Liberal in sacrifices and dedications to the gods, 21, 206, 209. Not always superior to superstition, 387, ii. 23, ii. 403, 4. On two occasions derided soothsaying, ii. 330, ii. 403. His inhuman triumph over Betis, 390. His generosity to Porus, ii. 360. Less magnanimous toward his successful officers, than toward vanquished enemies, *ibid.* ii. 74, ii. 70. Rewards fidelity, ii. 77, ii. 90, ii. 210; and perfidy, 210, ii. 176. His humane rage against assassins, ii. 83, ii. 232; compromised by policy, ii. 86; enforced by policy, ii. 203. He becomes, by fits, intemperate and voluptuous, ii. 40, 75; sinking into Barbarian manners and vices, ii. 96. Corrupted by prosperity, ii. 380. His own apology for adopting Persian customs, ii. 257. His pride and demand of hero-worship, ii. 240. After the murder of Clitus,—penitent, ii. 221, and watchful against anger, ii. 285. Liberal to his friends, 178, ii. 40.

Alexander the Great.

His select friendships, 296, 331, ii. 354, ii. 396. Extravagant in his grief for Hephæstion, ii. 400. Uniformly courteous to the captive family of Darius, 414, ii. 16, ii. 21. Esteemed Phocion, 210. His reverence for the memory of the great and good, 147, ii. 154. Instances of his expressing it by eccentric acts, 185, 253. [And see *Alexander*—OPINIONS.] Summary of his character, ii. 412.

CITIES *demolished* by Alexander—Thebes, 152; Halicarnassus, 249; Termessus, 265. Branchidæ, ii. 174; two cities in Sogdiana, ii. 180, 182; an Indian city, ii. 271. *Dispossessed and repeopled*—Alexandrinopolis, 41. *Founded*—Alexandria, in Egypt, 400; at the base of the Indian Caucasus, ii. 159; on the Jaxartes, ii. 182.* Six cities near Marginia, ii. 204. Nicæa, and Bucephalia, ii. 302, ii. 322, note. A city on the Acesines, ii. 322, note. Alexandria on the Indus, ii. 351. Several cities in its Delta, ii. 363. One in Gedrosia, ii. 366. One on the borders of Arabia, ii. 404. *Rebuilt*—Smyrna, 219.

EDUCATION of Alexander, 15, 19, 23.. 25, 29.

GOVERNMENT AND POLICY—He carries in his train the Thracian chieftains, 132. Tenders a clement alternative to the Thebans, 143. Provides against the hostility of Sparta, 159. Spares the estate of Memnon, 192. Practises on the superstition of his soldiers, 176, 195, 411. Ambiguous instances of recourse to superstition, ascribable to weakness or policy, 251, ii. 185. He stigmatizes the Lacedæmonians, and associates the other Greeks to his fame, 204. Forbears to lay new imposts on the conquered provinces, 207. Restores the privileges of Sardis, 208. Promotes Persian traitors, 210, ii. 12. Shows politic attention to Athens, 210, but detains the Athenian prisoners, 271. Releases them after the battle of Issus, 334, note. Restrains the tyranny of the Ephesian democracy, 213. Restores the republican government in the Greek colonies, 214, or such government as each community preferred, 232. Manifests consideration for the married soldiers, 249. Reinstates the queen of Caria, 234. Rewards his allies, 403. Admits Oxathres into the band of Friends, ii. 77. Liberates Oxydates, *ibid.* Pardons Nabarzanes, ii. 86. Employs Polydamas to remove Parmenio, ii. 148. Pardons thirty Sogdian nobles, ii. 202. Punishes other leaders in revolt, *ibid.* Grants an amnesty to the Bactrian exiles, ii. 224. Directs a levy of thirty thousand Barbarians, ii. 239. Enjoins the

Alexander the Great.

Grecian cities to recall their exiles, ii. 383. Pays the debts of the army, ii. 385. Dismisses the veterans, ii. 384, and provides for them in retirement, ii. 395. Detains their Asiatic wives and offspring, *ibid.* Promotes marriages with Asiatic women, ii. 392, note. Inter-mixes Persian and Macedonian soldiers, ii. 397. Punishes oppressive satraps, ii. 232, ii. 351, ii. 374. Condemns Orsines and Phradates, ii. 380. His indirect operations against the Persian fleet, 230. Commissions Nearchus to explore the Indian ocean, ii. 364, and the coast from the Indus to the Euphrates, ii. 376. His designs after the subjugation of the East, *ibid.*

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS until *Philip's death*—A child, he astonishes the Persian ambassadors by his conversation, 23. His early endowments, manners, and disposition, 17..22, 37. Description of his person, 17, 19. He tames Bucephalus, 38. Governs Macedonia in Philip's absence, 40. Reduces the revolted Medari, 41, colonizes their city; *ibid.* In a conflict with the Triballi, preserves his father, 43. Defeats the Illyrians, 53. Breaks the Theban line at Chæronea, 86. Is dissatisfied with Philip's second marriage, 99; quarrels with Philip, and retires to Illyria, 100; reconciled by Demaratus, returns to Pella, 103. Is detected in a treaty for a marriage with a Carian princess, 104.

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS from *Philip's death*, until the *Expedition against Persia*—Difficulties under which Alexander commenced his reign, 114..117. He foils his competitors and avenges Philip, 119. Represses the Thessalians, 122. His election at Thermopylæ as general of the Greeks, 122, confirmed at Corinth, 123. His interview with Diogenes, *ibid.* He forces an oracle from the Delphic priestess, 124. At home supports the majesty of his sceptre, 125. In an expedition northward, defeats the Thracians, 126, and the Triballi, except a remnant in Peuce, 128. Crosses the Ister, and routes the Getæ, 129. Receives ambassadors from the Triballi and the Celtæ, 130. Assisted by Langarus king of the Agrians, subdues the Autariatæ, Taulantii, and revolting Illyrians, 134..138. Is called by treacherous hostility, to Thebes, 142. His troops carry the city by storm, 144. He enslaves the inhabitants, 146, except a favoured few, 147; and razes the city, 152. Demands Athenian orators adverse to him, 153, but listens to a compromise, 157. Reduces Leucadia, 157. Accepts excuses from states im-

Alexander the Great.

plicated in the Theban cause, 158. Prepares for the war against Persia, 169. Conducts the forces destined for Asia to Sestos, 180..182.

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS, from his *passage into Asia*, until the *death of Darius*—He crosses the Hellespont, 183. In the Troad, visits the tumulus of Achilles, 185. Traverses part of Phrygia Minor, 187..192. Defeats the Persian army at the Granicus, 196. Returns to the Troad, 205. Receives the submission of Phrygia, Ionia, and Caria, 207. Marches to Sardis, 208. Enters Ephesus, 212. Reduces Miletus, 223. Defeats a small detachment of Persian ships, 228. Dismisses his fleet, 231. Advances into Caria, *ibid.* Reinstates Ada on the throne, 234. Halicarnassus taken, 248, advances into Lycia, 251. Is apprised of the conspiracy of Philotas, 253. Traverses a dangerous road from Phaselis to Perga, 256. Proceeds through Pamphylia, 262, and Pisidia, 264, to Phrygia, 265. Collecting his forces, prepares to meet Darius, *ibid.* Cuts the Gordian knot, 273. Having traversed Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, 275, enters the north defile of Cilicia, 291. After bathing in the Cydnus, is seized with sickness, 293. Interesting scene with his physician, 298. Parmenio occupies the *pass of the forest*. While Darius is advancing to the defile of Amanus, Alexander penetrates that of Syria, 309. Defeats Darius at Issus, 323. Visits Sisymbria, 331. Releases the Athenian prisoners, 334, note. Detaches Parmenio to Damascus, 335. Proceeds into Cœle-Syria, 342, and Phœnicia, 343. His correspondence with Darius, *ibid.* Alexander makes Abdalomus king of Sidon, 347. Directs the Macedonian fleet to attack the Persian, 352. While besieging Tyre, invades Arabia, [perhaps Petra] 361. Is joined by a fleet from Cyprus, 365. Destroys Tyre as a state, 376..378. Visits Jerusalem, 258, 381. His correspondence, on a second overture from Darius, 378. Assaulting Gaza, Alexander is twice wounded, 387..389. On its fall, takes ignoble revenge, 390. Traverses Egypt, 392. Penetrating the Libyan desert, 392, visits the oracle of Hammon, 394. Finds Alexandria, 400. Returns to Syria, 402. At the intercession of the Athenians releases the Grecian captives, 403. Crosses the Euphrates, 407, and the Tigris, 408. His sympathy on the death of Darius' wife, 414, excites from Darius a third application for peace, 418. His answer to Parmenio, and to the Persian ambassadors, 421. He

Alexander the Great.

defeats Darius in the province of Arbela, 451. Enters Babylon, ii. 6. Through Satrapene, ii. 13, proceeds to Susa, ii. 15; and thence, across the Pasitigris to the district of the Uxians, ii. 18. Reduces their principal fort, ii. 20. After an unsuccessful attempt to force the Pylæ Susidæ, ii. 21, turns them, ii. 28. Marches to Persepolis, ii. 35, and Persagada, ii. 37. Traverses Persis, *ibid.* Invades the Persic Mardians, ii. 39. Burns the palace of Persepolis, ii. 40. Enters Media, ii. 42. Having quitted the great road, moves from Tabas in pursuit of Darius, ii. 60. Reaches the place where Darius died, ii. 66.

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS, from the death of Darius to the expedition against India—His measures against Sparta, ii. 70. [From Ecbatana? ii. 75, 77.] Alexander advances into Parthia, ii. 77. From Hecatompylos, ii. 78, proceeding, ii. 84, traverses Hyrcania, ii. 85..90. Reduces the Hyrcanian Mardi, ii. 91. Is visited by the queen of the Amazons, ii. 94. Marches through Parthia, ii. 96, 98, toward Bactriana, 99. Is diverted from the pursuit of Bessus, by the revolt of the Arii, ii. 99, ii. 100. Enters Drangiana, ii. 102. Is apprised of Dymnus' conspiracy, ii. 106. After Philotas' execution, ii. 135, sends secret orders to have Parmenio killed, ii. 148. Detaches forces against the insurgent Sati-barzanes, ii. 154. Reduces Arachosia, *ibid.* Penetrates the inhospitable country of the Parapamisadæ, ii. 155. Crosses the Eastern Caucasus, or Hindoo Kos mountain, ii. 159. Finds a city at the foot, *ibid.* Traverses Bactriana, ii. 165, and the desert borders of Sogdiana, ii. 168. Crosses the Oxus, ii. 171. Exterminates the Branchidæ, ii. 173. Consigns Bessus to punishment, ii. 175. Is wounded by a Sogdian mountaineer, ii. 177. Receives ambassadors of the Abii, ii. 178. From the Jaxartes, ii. 179, returns to suppress a revolt in Sogdiana, *ibid.* Is wounded at the city of the Memaceni, ii. 182. Crosses the Jaxartes, ii. 197, and defeats the Scythians, ii. 198. Receives ambassadors from the Sacæ, ii. 200. Through Sogdiana, ii. 201, and Bactriana, ii. 203, by a circuit across the Oxus and Ochus, reaches Marginja, ii. 204. Obtains the rock of Arimazes, ii. 210. Renewed revolts in Margiana and Sogdiana suppressed, ii. 212. Alexander receives embassies from various Scythian nations, *ibid.* Marches into Bazarria, ii. 213. Hunting, spears a lion, ii. 214. At a feast kills Clitus, ii. 220. Marches to

Alexander the Great.

Xenippa, ii. 224. Obtains the rock of Naura, ii. 225. Drives the wife of Spitamenes from the camp, ii. 231. Receives the submission of the Dahæ, ii. 232. Suspending the march to Gabaza, ii. 233, 236, ravages the country of the Sacæ, ii. 236. Marries Roxana, ii. 238. Prepares an expedition against India, ii. 239. By Cleo, a corrupt orator, moves the Macedonians to vote him celestial honours, ii. 240. On the conspiracy of Hermolaus, ii. 245, devotes Callisthenes, untried, to a cruel death, ii. 259.

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS, from his *expedition against India to his departure from Pattala*—He advances toward India, ii. 260. Met by chieftains on the frontiers, ii. 270. Reduces several tribes, ii. 271. Is wounded surveying a fortress, *ibid.* Slays the inhabitants to make his name formidable, *ibid.* Celebrates the Bacchanalian mysteries on mount Meros, ii. 273. Subdues various districts preparatory to passing the Indus, *ibid.* 282. Is wounded at Mazagæ, ii. 275. Reduces the rock Aornos, ii. 281. Crosses the Indus, ii. 282. Receives the submission of Taxiles, ii. 284, and ambassadors from Abisares, ii. 285. Passes the Hydaspes, ii. 290, and defeats Porus, ii. 292. Generous to his vanquished enemy, ii. 300. Alexander prepares a navy, ii. 302. Advances to the Hydraotes, ii. 304. Subdues several districts, *ibid.* Enters the territory of Sophites, ii. 306. Having penetrated to the Hypasis, is prevented by the troops from proceeding further eastward, ii. 320. Retrograding, encamps on the bank of the Acesines, ii. 321. With a fleet, descends the Hydaspes, ii. 323, 324. Debarks, and reduces several tribes, ii. 324. His vessel is stranded at the confluence of the Acesines and Indus, ii. 326. Alexander marches against the Oxydracæ and Malli, ii. 327. Appeases a mutiny, ii. 328. Storming the city of the Oxydracæ, rashly exposes himself, ii. 330, and is wounded, ii. 332. Proceeding down the Indus, ii. 337, receives ambassadors from the Oxydracæ and the Malli, ii. 345, and from the Sambracæ, ii. 351. Reduces several tribes on the Indus, ii. 352, 355. Arrives at Pattala, ii. 355. His fleet is stranded by the BORE, ii. 359. Alexander passes out of the Indus' mouth, ii. 362. Returns, and having prepared to march to Gedrosia, ii. 363, commissions Nearchus to explore the Indian ocean, ii. 364.

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS, from his *passage through Gedrosia to his death at Babylon*—Alexander traverses the seats of the Arabitæ,

Alexander the Great.

and the Horitæ, ii. 365. Is distressed in the deserts of Gedrosia, ii. 366. Leads a convivial procession through Carmania, ii. 369. Prepares a fleet to subdue the coasts of Arabia, ii. 377. His ulterior designs, ii. 376. He represses a mutiny on the dismissal of the veterans, ii. 389. Traverses Mesopotamia, ii. 398. Adiabene, *ibid.*, and Media, ii. 399. His grief on the death of Hephæstion, ii. 400; diverted by an expedition against the Cossæans, ii. 401. In contempt of a prediction of the Chaldæans, Alexander enters Babylon, ii. 403. Navigates the Pallacopas, ii. 404. Returns to Babylon, ii. 405, is seized with his last sickness, ii. 405. His last words, ii. 407.

MANNERS.—See *Alexander*—**HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS**, until Philip's death, and **CHARACTER** as a man.

OPINIONS AND TASTE—His deference at mature age for Aristotle, 31, ultimately succeeded by aversion, 32. Turn in his taste for music, 33. His early antipathy to comedians is succeeded by a decided disposition to patronize them, 34. His dislike of Athletæ, 34, 224; appears also to have subsided, ii. 347. His admiration of Homer, 35. His patronage of Lysippus, Pyrgoteles, and Apelles, 18. His visit to the study of Apelles, 214.

SPEECHES—On his accession, to his council, 117, and to the people, respecting the suppression of revolters, 118. To his council, regarding the Persian expedition, 170; on hazarding a general naval engagement, 229. To the troops before the battle of Issus, 318. In reply to ambassadors from Darius, 421. To his army before the battle of Arbela, 438. At Hecatompnylos, urging the troops to proceed, ii. 30. To the tribunal of Macedonians, against Philotas, ii. 113; against Amyntas and Simmias, ii. 139. To his council, on invading Scythia, ii. 185. In reply to the Scythian embassy, ii. 197. Before the tribunal of Macedonians, in reply to Hermolaus, ii. 254. To the army refusing to proceed eastward from the Hypasis, ii. 311. To the army mutinying on the bank of the Indus, ii. 328. In answer to Craterus dissuading him not to expose himself to common dangers, ii. 340. To the army mutinying on the dismissal of the veterans, ii. 386. To the Asiatic troops giving them equal privileges with the Macedonians, ii. 391.

TACTICS [And see above.]—Passage of the Ister, 129, Eordæicus, 137, Granicus, 196, Tigris, 408, Arosis, ii. 30, Oxus, ii. 170, Jax-

Alexander the Great.

artes, ii. 197. Indus, ii. 282, Hydaspes, ii. 290. Provisions against being surrounded, 434. Stratagems, 136, 157, 192, 386, ii. 26, ii. 209, ii. 289, ii. 353.

UNSUCCESSFUL UNDERTAKINGS—He raises the siege of Peucé, 128; of Pellion, 135. Fails to unite the gulfs of Smyrna and Ephesus, 220. Frustrated in an attack on Mindus, 236. Obligated to retreat out of the Pylæ Susidæ, ii. 22.

Alexandria—See *Alexander*—CITIES.

Altars of Alexander, ii. 320.

Amazons—Dress and customs of, ii. 94. Remnant of, ii. 399.

Amphictyonic Council—Philip admitted a member of, 47.

Amyntas (son of Perdiccas III.)—Aspires to the succession, 115. Foiled 119.

Amyntas (son of Arrabæus)—A renegade, 325. Deserts the Persians, and invades Egypt, 349. Falls, 351.

Amyntas (son of Andromenes)—Arraigned as an accomplice of Philotas, ii. 139. His defence, ii. 141. Acquittal, ii. 147.

Anaximenes—Instructed Alexander in eloquence, 34. His happy request, *ibid.*

Andromachus—Burnt by the Samaritans, 402.

Antigenes—A lieutenant-general in the battle against Porus, ii. 294.

Antigonus—Lieutenant over Lydia and Phrygia, 219. Defeats the Persians, 352. Reduces Lycaonia, 381.

Antipater—Viceroy of Macedon, 177. Defeats Agis, ii. 70. His dissensions with Olympias, ii. 396. Recalled, ii. 395.

Apelles—Exclusively permitted to depict Alexander, 18. The statement of Pliny, that he used but four colours, appears to be a mistake, 218, note. Price of his Alexander and Venus, 214. Receives Campaspe in marriage, 215. Doubtful anecdotes respecting, 215, 216.

Apophthegms of anonymous persons—A musician, 33; a Persian ambassador, 23.

Arabia, some emporium of, conquered by Alexander, 21. Its north-western frontier scoured in a flying expedition, 361. Its south-eastern touched, when the king explored the termination of the Chaldæan canal and lakes, ii. 404. City founded on the borders of, *ibid.* Alexander had ordered a fleet to be built for exploring all the coasts of Arabia, ii. 377.

Arabitæ—ii. 365.

- Arachosia*—ii. 154, ñ. 346, ii. 369.
- Arbela*—406, 407, ii. 3—Battle of, 444.
- Aria*—ii. 98, ii. 100. [And see *Satibarzanes*.]
- Ariaspes*—ii. 153.
- Aridæus*—See *Philip Aridæus*.
- Ariobarzanes*—Repels Alexander from the Susidian pass, ii. 21. His position turned, ii. 28. He falls in battle, ii. 29.
- Aristander*, first soothsayer—Offends Alexander, ii. 187. [And see *Superstition*.]
- Aristobulus*—One of the primary historians of Alexander, 2. Reproved by his royal master for falsifying the details of the battle with Porus, *ibid*.
- Aristonous*—Slays a Persian general in combat, 410. Wounded, rescuing Alexander, ii. 334. Proposes to vote the supremacy to Perdikkās, ii. 417. One of the council which apportioned the empire, ii. 432.
- Aristotle*—Finishes the education of Alexander, 24. His reward, 29. His work on natural history, 25. Moral effects of his lessons on Alexander, 28, 29. His influence over Alexander ultimately declined, 31.
- Armenia*—425, 426—ii. 4, ii. 12.
- Armour of Alexander*, 186.
- Arosis*—ii. 24, ii. 30, ii. 42.
- Artabazus*—A fugitive at Pella, recalled, 22. Mediates between Darius and Bessus, ii. 49..52. His last interview with Darius, ii. 57. Interview with Alexander, ii. 90.
- Artacrana*—ii. 100, ii. 101.
- Ascanius*—Salt Lake in Phrygia, 265.
- Atharias*—Rallies the junior troops, 246. Honorary reward, ii. 14.
- Athenodorus*—Revolting, and assuming royalty, is killed, ii. 344.
- Athens*—Venality of individual citizens, 52. Embassies to Philip and Thebes, 55. Armaments decreed against Philip, 57. Enlightened policy, 81. Measures from the battle of Chæronea, 83, until peace, 93. [And see *Demosthenes*, 141; and *Phocion*.] The Athenians expel Harpalus, ii. 383. Resist Alexander's edict concerning exiles, ii. 384.
- Attalus* (father-in-law of Philip)—Insults Alexander, 99. Infernal retaliation on Pausanias, 105. A dangerous enemy to Alexander, 115. Put to death, 119.

B.

Babylon—Surrender of, ii. 6. Description of, ii. 8. Corrupt manners of the citizens, ii. 11. Satrapy, ii. 12, ii. 232.

Bactriana—A region, taken largely, evidently comprehending Hyrcania: it probably influenced the Indian dependencies; Ariana, except Media and Persis; and the bordering Scythians, except the Sacæ, ii. 51, ii. 98, ii. 100, ii. 102. Bactriana Proper, ii. 165, ii. 168. Revolt of, ii. 179. Bactrian exiles cut off Attinas, ii. 212; attack Amyntas, ii. 224; obtain an amnesty, *ibid.*

Bagistames—ii. 398.

Bardyllis, king of Illyria, defeated, 132, 133.

Barzine—Probably the widow of Memnon, ii. 416, note.

Battles—Of Arbela, 144. Chæroneæ, 83. With the Getæ, 42. Of the Granicus, 196. With an Indian tribe, ii. 304. Of Issus, 320. Megalopolis, ii. 71. With Porus, ii. 291. The Thracians, 125. The Triballi, 43. The Tyrian fleet, 372.

Bazaria—ii. 213.

Belon—His invective against Philotas, ii. 127.

Bessus—His rank and ambition, 384, ii. 44. In the battle of Arbela, 424, 445. His conspiracy—See *Nabarzanes*. He flies to Bactra, ii. 63. Assembling the Scythians, assumes royalty, ii. 98. Takes refuge in Sogdiana, ii. 163. Circumvented by Spitamenes, ii. 171, is delivered to Alexander, ii. 174. His punishment, ii. 203.

Betis, the Persian governor of Gaza, 385; his brave defence when besieged, 385..389; on its surrender, dragged alive round the city, 390.

Bicon—With other revolting Greeks, returns home, ii. 345.

Brahmins—Obscure account of their tenets, ii. 268. City of, ii. 325. Calanus, a brâhmin, burns himself, ii. 404.

Branchidæ—ii. 173.

Bucephalus—Tamed, 38. Portrait of, by Apelles, 215. Bucephalus taken, and restored, by the Mardi, ii. 93. Wounded, ii. 297. Particular account of his death, from Chares, *ibid.*, note.

C.

Callisthenes—One of the primary historians of Alexander, 5. Answers Cleo, ii. 242. Impeached, ii. 250. Executed, ii. 259.

Cappadocia—275, 288, 352.

Caria—232, 234.

Carmania—ii. 369.

Carthage—356, 368. Alexander's designs against, 376, ii. 376.

Cassander—176. Anecdote respecting, 32. Rebuilt Thebes, 152, 3.

Caspian—ii. 88.

Catenes—[And see *Spitamenes*.] A memorable archer, ii. 176. Slain, revolting, ii. 239.

Caucasus (Eastern), or Hindoo Kos, mountain, ii. 158, ii. 159.

Cebalinus—Reports to Philotas Dymnus' conspiracy, ii. 105.

Celtæ—Interview of their ambassadors with Alexander, 130.

Chaldeans, 258, ADD. NOTE (H.) ii. 207, ii. 403.

Charidemus—Counsels Darius, 278. His precipitate execution, 280.

Chariots armed with sithes, 405. Indian chariots, ii. 291, ii. 304.

Cilicia—Passes of, 289, 301, 302, note.

Cinædopolis—An infamous town, 250.

Clea—Moves celestial honours to Alexander, ii. 241.

Cleopatra—Married to Philip, 99. Her melancholy death, 113.

Cleophes—Queen of the Assacani, submits to Alexander, ii. 276.

Clitarchus—One of the primary historians of Alexander, 7. Stricture of Curtius on, ii. 335.

Clitus (the Illyrian)—Revolt of, 133.

Clitus (the Macedonian)—Saves Alexander, 199. At a feast affronts him, ii. 218. Is slain by him, ii. 221.

Cobares—His speech to Bessus, ii. 161.

Cænos—Inveighs against Philotas, ii. 119. His speech on behalf of the troops, ii. 317. His death, ii. 321.

Craterus—His rank and principal services, 315, 361, 365, 436, ii. 28, ii. 37, ii. 200, ii. 212, ii. 239, ii. 368, note, ii. 369. Speech against Philotas, ii. 109. A zealous inquisitor, ii. 129. His address to Alexander, ii. 338. Sent to supersede Antipater, ii. 395.

Crenidæ—The seat of gold mines, taken by Philip, and called Philippi, 45.

Curtius—A fatalist, ii. 55, ii. 379. [See *Superstition*.] He rejected a prevalent anecdote, ii. 214. Discriminating adoption of historic materials, ii. 335; attempered distrust, ii. 307. His allusion to the reigning emperor, ii. 429. His notices of the Parthian dynasty having the ascendancy in Persia, and of Tyre being under the protection of Rome.—See PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION, pp. 19, 20.

Cyrenians—393.

D.

Dædalus—ii. 273.

Damascus—Surrender of, 336.

Darius Codomannus. CHARACTER—Personally brave, 162. Arrogant in prosperity, 191. Unable to endure honest counsel, 179. Instigated to, ferocious acts, 307, 309. Wanted firmness as a leader, 323, 450. Had probably acted with energy under distress, had his followers been faithful, ii. 46.

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS. Elevated to the Persian throne by Bagoas, 162. Obliges the perfidious Bagoas to drink poison, 164. Prepares for war, 165. His arrogant orders respecting Alexander, 191. His overture to Alexander the Lyncestian, 253. In person taking the field, he assembles a new army, 276. Immolates Charidemus, 280. Crossing the Euphrates, advances towards Cilicia, 301. Rejects the advice of the Greek mercenaries, 306. His preliminary dispositions, 312, and order of battle at Issus, 314. He is defeated, 320..324. His queen and family made prisoners, 326. He hastens across the Euphrates, 342. His first letter to Alexander, 343. His second, 378. He assembles another army, 404. Moves from Babylon to the province of Arbela, 405. His intercepted attempt on Alexander's Greeks, 413. His emotions on learning the death of his queen in captivity, 416. His third application for peace, 418. His dispositions preceding the battle of Arbela, 424..426, 431, 440. He is defeated, 444..451. Enters Media, ii. 3. Despairing to elude by flight, prepares to combat Alexander, ii. 43. Apprised by Patron of the conspiracy of Bessus, ii. 54, refuses the protection of the Greeks, ii. 55. Is seized and bound, ii. 59, wounded, and deserted, by Bessus and Nabarzanes, ii. 63. Supported by a Macedonian soldier, dies, ii. 66. [See vol. II. ADD. NOTE (H.) for the *Persian* account of his death.

SPEECHES—To his nobles who had proposed the massacre of the Greeks, 307. To his army, at Arbela, 440. To his council after his last defeat, ii. 44.

Demades—The captive orator reprimands Philip, 88. Released, influences the Athenians to accept peace, 93.

Demaratus—Reconciles Philip and Alexander, 102.

Demosthenes—Influences the Athenians to oppose Philip, 52. His motion decreed, 56. Ambassador to Thebes, 57. His reply to Python, 66. Its effects, 79. He again addresses the Thebans, 80.

Directs politic condescensions, 81. The allies defeated, 86. Demosthenes, for his expenditure on the fortifications, is voted a crown, 91. Moves succours to Thebes, 141. Assists Thebes by individual acts, 142. Applied contemptuous expressions to Alexander, and stimulated the hostility of Attalus, 155. He corresponded with the Persians, 210.

Descriptive Scenery—Rock Aornos, ii. 278. Rock of Arimazes, ii. 205, ii. 208. Bactriana, ii. 165. Parks in Bazarja, ii. 213. Bore in the Indus, ii. 358. River Cydnus, 290. Oasis of Hammon, 394. Woody tract near the Hydaspes, ii. 303. Vale of Hyrcania, ii. 84. Mount Ida, (Phrygian), 166. Libyan desert, 393. Woody frontier of the Mardi, ii. 92. River Marsyas, 272. Mount Meros, ii. 270. Country of the Parapamisadæ, ii. 155. Level parts of Persis, ii. 24. Desert border of Sogdiana, ii. 169. Sea-storm, 366. Thunder-storm on a march, ii. 233. Vale of Tempé, 121.

Diogenes—His reply to Alexander, 123.

Dioxippus—Fights a duel with Corrhagus, ii. 348. His suicide, ii. 349.

Dishanded force—See it counterstated under *Reinforcements*.

Drangiana—ii. 102, ii. 234.

Dymnus—History of his conspiracy, ii. 102.

E.

Ecbatana—ii. 43, ii. 60, ii. 399.

Eclipse, of the moon, 410.

Egypt—350, 392, 401.

Eneti, 275.

Ephesus—The democracy established and restrained, 213. The Ephesians refuse to inscribe Alexander's name on the temple, 217.

Ephialtes—Leads a desperate sally from Halicarnassus, 243.

Epimenes—Betrays the conspiracy of Hermolaus, ii. 249.

Erigyius—In single combat, kills Satibarzanes, ii. 167. His death, ii. 228.

Evergetæ—ii. 154.

Eumenes—ii. 305. His quarrel with Hephæstion, ii. 399. Funeral dedication, ii. 401.

Euphrates—406, 407, ii. 4.

Euthymon—One of the mutilated Greeks confined at Persepolis, ii. 30. His speech, ii. 31.

F.

Fountain of the sun, 396

G.

Gabaza—ii. 233, 236.

Gangaridæ—ii. 309.

Ganges—ii. 261, ii. 309.

Gedrosia—ii. 365, ii. 368.

Gela—Defeated by Philip, 42. Defeated by Alexander, 129.

Gordian knot—Cut by Alexander, 274.

Grecian Islands—Alternate ascendancy of the belligerents over—92, 267, 274, 352, 353, 380, 381..383, 402, 403, ii. 68.

Greece—Estimated force of the confederacy against Persia, exclusive of the Macedonians, 96. Force absolutely contributed, 177.

Philip had enslaved or subdued Achaia, Ætolia, 47; Argos, *ibid.*; Bæotia, distinguished from Thebes, 49; Corinth, 48; Locris, 49, 54; Megara, Messenia, 47; Phocis, 49; Sicyonia, 47; Thessaly, 45; Thebes and Athens, 90: and, though unable to gain over Arcadia, 96, had detached it from Sparta, 47. And had caused Macedon to be adopted as a Grecian state, 47, 50. Elected leader, 96.

Alexander voted captain-general, 122. Revolt of Thebes—See *Thebes*. Hostile will of other states, 156, 158. Adulation and temporizing spirit, 331.

War commenced by Sparta—See *Sparta*.

Edict for recalling the exiles resisted by Athens only, ii. 384.

Greek Colonies—In Asia Minor, generally impatient of servitude to the Persians, 95, 214. Districts of Æolis, Ionia, Doris, 182. Cities of Clazomenæ, Erythræ, 219, Teos, 220, Smyrna, 218. Ephesus, 173, Miletus, 221, Myndus, 236, Halicarnassus, 231. Detached cities which resisted Alexander—Lampsacus, 34, 188; Zeliti, 207; Soli, 302. Semibarbarous colony; Sidetæ, 261.

In Assyria and Ariana—Gortuans, 425; Celonæ, ii. 398; Hecatompylos, ii. 78; Branchidæ, ii. 173.

In India—Nysa, ii. 272; Sobii, ii. 324.

Planted by Alexander—[And see *Alexander*—CITIES] Captive Greeks, in Persis, ii. 34. New colonies near Bactra revolt; ii. 343.

- Greek Mercenaries* (under Darius)—166, 241, 278, 281, 283, 306.
 Divisions perfidious, 251, 349. Generally faithful and brave, 200, 223, 321, note, 342, ii. 53, ii. 59. [See also *Memnon* and *Ephialtes*.]
 Their counsel rejected, 307.
Greeks mutilated (Possibly mercenaries whom Ochus had mutilated for acting in Memnon's revolt.)—ii. 30.

H.

- Hammon*—Grove of, 394; citadel, 395; fountain, 396; oracle, 397.
Harpatus—Absconds with treasures, ii. 382. His enterprise and fall, ii. 383.
Hector, a son of Parmenio—His accidental death, 402.
Hellanicæ—Foster-mother of Alexander, 17, 222, ii. 215, ii. 223.
Hephestion—456, ii. 224, ii. 270, ii. 282, ii. 308, ii. 365. Confidant and Mentor of Alexander, 331, ii. 396. His disposal of the crown of Sidon, 346. With Craterus and Cænos, counsels the torture of Philotas, ii. 129. Marries one of Darius' daughters, ii. 392, note. His quarrel with Eumenes, ii. 398. Death, ii. 400.
Hermolaus—His conspiracy, ii. 246. Invective, ii. 251. Execution, ii. 259.
Historians (primary) of Alexander—Aristobulus reproved by the king for falsifying a narrative of the battle with Porus, 2; not transformed into an author of veracity by surviving Alexander, 3. Ptolemy entitled to chief credit, 2. Curtius hints apparently that Ptolemy was an egotist, ii. 335. Callisthenes wrote several historical works before his fragment on the history of Alexander, 5. Clitarchus variously estimated by the critics of antiquity, 7; cited, without being followed, by Curtius, ii. 335; cited again for a statement resting on his authority, 353.
 ——— (*secondary*) Timagenes esteemed a faithful compiler, 7; slightly censured by Curtius, ii. 335. And see vol. i. ADD. NOTE (C).
Homer—Venerated by Alexander, 35.
Horitæ, ii. 365, ii. 369.
Hydaspes—ii. 286, ii. 287, ii. 289, ii. 324, ii. 326. Skirmish in, ii. 288.
Hypasis—ii. 308, *ibid.*
Hyperides—His motion decreed by the Athenians, 90.
Hyrcania—ii. 84, *ibid.*, ii. 87, ii. 88. Satrap of, nominated, ii. 89.
Hystaspes—Wife of, Alexander's generosity to, ii. 76.

I. & J.

Jassus, a native of—Carried by a tame dolphin, 225.

Jaxartes—ii. 174, ii. 179, ii. 182.

Jerusalem—Visited by Alexander, 258.

Illyria—Retrospect of its history during Philip's reign, 132.

India—Little known to the ancients, ii. 260, note. Extended by Curtius westward, as far perhaps as Alexandria in Arachosia, ii. 206, ii. 270. Imperfect account of, ii. 260..270. Productions, ii. 263. Elephants, *ibid.* Dogs, ii. 307. Manners and dress of the inhabitants, ii. 264...269, ii. 306.

Indus, ii. 260, ii. 282, ii. 326. Violence of the bore, ii. 358.

L.

Lacedemonians—See *Sparta*.

Leonidas—A Tutor of Alexander, 16, 19. His reproof of Alexander, 21.

Leonnatus—ii. 294, ii. 363, ii. 366, ii. 368. Sent to console the captive queens, 329. Wounded protecting Alexander, ii. 334. Conjointly with Perdikkas, guardian for Roxana's unborn son, ii. 421. Withdraws, with the horse, from Philip Aridæus, ii. 423. One of the Nine who apportioned the empire, ii. 432.

Lycurgus—Arraigns Lysicles, commander at Chæronea, 91.

Lydia, 212, 219, 249.

Lysicles—His military error, 85. His punishment, 92.

Lysimachus (Tutor to Alexander)—16. Calls his pupil Achilles, 24.

Lysimachus (of Pella)—ii. 214. One of the nine who apportioned the empire, ii. 432.

Lysippus—Statuary of Alexander in bronze, 18. His twenty-five companions, 202.

M.

Macedonia—Penury of, at Philip's accession, 44. Its limits under Philip, 45.

Macedonian army—Its materials and character, 176, 177, 278. Phalanx, *ibid.*, 193. Sarissophori, 447. Argyraspides, 435; a corps of light

infantry armed with silver shields, *ibid.* note. Targeteers, a class of the *middle-armed*, ii. 197. Subsequently Alexander plated the heavy targets and cuirasses, ii. 240. Light-infantry, 194. Archers, 197. Slingers, 315. Friends or companions; 202. Cataphracts, 196. Agemata, 434. Dimachæ or dragoons, 196, ii. 61. Horsemen armed with pikes, 193. Mounted archers, ii. 296. Missile-engines, 138; rams, 374; and moveable turrets, 386. Miners, *ibid.* Guards of the Presence, or captains of the body-guard, ii. 140. Friends, used for captains of the Friends, ii. 111. Lancebearers, ii. 111, ii. 112, ii. 140, note. Royal band, ii. 245. Body-guards, ii. 203, ii. 389, ii. 397. Chiliarchæ, ii. 13. — And see *Reinforcements*.

Macedonian Customs—Nuptial ceremony, ii. 238. Tracing a city's foundations, 401. Lustration of the army, ii. 430. Punishment of traitors, ii. 129, ii. 135. Tribunal for capital offences, ii. 112. Controul over the king's recreations, ii. 215.

Macedonian Empire—Division of, ii. 432.

Macedonian Navy—Under Philip, 51. Under Alexander—See *Navy*.

Malli—ii. 327, ii. 350, ii. 377.—And see *Oxydracæ*.

Maracanda—ii. 178, ii. 182, ii. 200, ii. 224.

Mardi—Persic, ii. 39. Hyrcanian, ii. 91; defeated, ii. 92. Take Bucephalus: restore him, ii. 93. Surrender, *ibid.*—New satrap, ii. 232.

Marginia (capital of Margiana?)—ii. 204. Attinas governor? ii. 212.

Mazæus—407, 409, 424, 427, 451. Surrenders Babylon, ii. 6. Appointed Satrap of Babylonia, ii. 12. Notice of his death, ii. 232.

Media, ii. 66, Suppl., ii. 77, ii. 117, ii. 146, ii. 232, ii. 399.

Megareans—Vote the freedom of the city to Alexander, 158.

Meleager—315, 434, ii. 181. Sneers at Alexander's liberality to Taxiles, ii. 285. His invective against Perdiccas, ii. 418. In opposition; makes Aridæus king, ii. 421. Orders the arrest of Perdiccas, ii. 424. Circumvented, ii. 430; is slain, 432.

Memnon (of Rhodes)—At Pella, 22. Pardoned by Ochus, and recalled, *ibid.* Commander of Greeks hired by Darius, 166. His talents, 193, enlarged commission, 231, character, *ibid.*, 241. His advice had been rejected, 188. Defence at Halicarnassus, 237.. 247. Operations in the Ægean, 266. Death, 267. His widow and son made captive, 339.

Meros (mount)—Bacchanalian revel on, ii. 273.

Mesopotamia, ii. 3, ii. 6, ii. 434.

Musicani—A people on the banks of the Indus, ii. 351. They revolt after Alexander had quitted their territory; reduced by Pithon, ii. 353.

N.

Nabarzanes—His audacious proposal to Darius, ii. 48. In concert with Bessus,—he carries off his troops, ii. 49; counterfeits penitence and submission, ii. 52; seizes Darius, ii. 59; wounds and abandons him, ii. 63. Flies to Hyrcania, *ibid.* Negotiates with Alexander, ii. 85. Surrendering, is pardoned, ii. 94.

Navy of Alexander—Macedonian fleet, 181, 222, 227, 231, 352. Confederate fleet from Cyprus, &c. 365, ii. 70. Fleet built and collected in India, ii. 302, ii. 321.—And see *Nearchus*. Projected fleet for coasting Arabia, ii. 377.

Nearchus—Detached to explore the Indian sea, ii. 364. Lands in Carmania, ii. 375. Sent back to conduct the fleet, ii. 376. Warns Alexander not to enter Babylon, ii. 403. His speech for giving the crown to Hercules, Alexander's son by Barsiné, ii. 416. One of the Nine who apportioned the empire, ii. 433.

Nicanor, a son of Parmenio—Dies suddenly, ii. 99.

Nicomachus—Employs his brother to divulge the plot of Dymnus, ii. 105.

Nisæi—Horses bred on the Nisæan plains, ii. 399.

Nysa, a city at the foot of mount Meros, founded, according to the tradition of the inhabitants, by Bacchus, ii. 272.

O.

Ochus (river)—ii. 204.

Olympias—Repudiated, 98. Retires to Illyria, 100. Returns to Pella, 103. Her malice, *ibid.* displayed on Philip's fall, 112. Her revenge on Cleopatra, 113. Murder of Cleopatra's infant child and relatives, *ibid.* Dissensions with Antipater, ii. 396. Raillery of Alexander's vanity, 12.

Olynthus—Restoration of, to reward Aristotle, 30.

Oritæ.—See *Horitæ*.

Orsines, 424, ii. 377. His liberality, *ibid.* His catastrophe, ii. 380.

Oxartes—Influences the surrender of Sysimithres, ii. 226. Entertains Alexander, who marries his daughter, ii. 237. Impeached, is acquitted, ii. 352.

- Oxathres*—Brother of Darius, 322. In the band of Friends, ii. 77.
Oxus—ii. 170. ii. 204.
Oxydrace—Allied with the Malli, ii. 327. Their army dispersed, ii. 329. City stormed, ii. 330. Embassy from, ii. 345.

P.

- Paphlagonia*, 275, 352.
Parætacene—ii. 60, ii. 239.
Parapamisus (mount) ii. 166.
Parapamisadæ, ii. 133, ii. 351.
Parmenio—Notices of his services in the field, 9, 13, 107, 176, 196, 315, 324, 335, 437, 445, 451, 452, ii. 37. An instrument against Attalus, 119. His secret information, 253, 298. His counsel disapproved by Alexander, 169, 195, 229, 420, 430; followed, 304, 414. Commander in Media, ii. 117. [None of the historians state when he was left in this government, See *Add. Sup.* p, 66.] Impeached, ii. 133. Officially assassinated, ii. 150. His character, ii. 151.
Parthia, ii. 77, ii. 84, ii. 96, ii. 368.
Pasitigris ii. 18.
Pass—Of Cilicia, Northern, or *by Taurus*, 291. Interior gate of Cilicia, or *pass of the forest*, 302, 304. Eastern pass from Cilicia to Commagena, or *pass of Amanus*, 309. Southern pass from Cilicia to Syria (*modern pass of Bylan*), *ibid.* Of Embolima, ii. 282. Artificial at Naura, ii. 225. Susidian, ii. 21. Of Termessus, 263. Tempe, 121. Thermo, 50.
Pasargada.—See *Persagada*.
Patron—His offer of protection to Darius, ii. 54, declined, ii. 55.
Pattala, ii. 355.
Pausanias (assassin of Philip)—Brutally insulted by Attalus, 105. Obtains no redress from Philip, 106. Murders Philip, 111. Is slain by Perdicas, 111.
Pausanias (favourite of Philip)—Devotes himself in battle, 101.
Perdicas—Pursues and arrests Pausanias, the assassin of Philip, 111. Storms the Theban entrenchment without orders, 144. Declines a grant of land, asking Alexander: What he would have left for himself? 178. His incidental services in the field, 361, ii. 181, ii. 270, ii. 305. Receives the dying king's signet, ii. 406. His speech respecting a successor, ii. 415. He loses the sovereignty, ii. 418. Conjointly with Leonnatus, guardian for Roxana's unborn

sou, ii. 421. Surrenders to Meleager's party, ii. 423. Rebukes guards sent to arrest him; joins the cavalry, ii. 425. Circumvents Meleager, ii. 428. One of the Nine who apportioned the empire, ii. 432. Commander of the royal army, ii. 438.

Persagada, ii. 37, ii. 377.

Persepolis, ii. 29. Plundered, ii. 36. Palace of, burnt, ii. 40.

Persian army—Its materials and character, 276, 278, 283. Great part imperfectly armed, 277, 404. The horses carried defensive armour, 324, 404.

Persian customs—Sacred fire, 283. Costume of the king, 285. The Queen accompanies the army, 309. The loyal maxim which teaches fidelity in keeping the king's counsel undivulged, tenaciously observed by the Persians, 385. Wool held in abhorrence, ii. 17. Interludes, ii. 76. Council at banquets, ii. 160. Mourning, ii. 410.

Persian empire—Its duration, 164, 442. Revenue, 180.

Persis, ii. 24, ii. 37. [Cœle-Persis comprising] *Persagada*, ii. 37, ii. 377.

Peucestas—First to succour Alexander, ii. 383. Wounded, ii. 334. [Persis] his province, ii. 398.

Philip (the Acarnanian)—Physician to Alexander, 16. Secretly impeached, 297. Interesting scene, 298.

Philip Aridaeus—His understanding impaired by poison, 104. Deemed unworthy of the succession, 170. Saluted king in opposition to the nobles, ii. 421. Forlorn court of, ii. 426. He displays a ray of greatness, ii. 427. Directed by Perdikkas, denounces his own adherents, ii. 431. Invested with nominal supremacy, ii. 433.

Philip (brother of Lysimachus)—Dies from fatigue, ii. 228.

Philip, father of Alexander, 9, *et passim*.—See titles following:

APOPHTHEGMS—His object in educating his son, 23. On Alexander's musical proficiency, 33. On his taming Bucephalus, 40. On the precipitate pursuit of the Athenians, 85. On the half-brothers of Alexander, 99.

CHARACTER, as a politician, 45, 51, 71. Summary of his character, 112.

HISTORY MISCELLANEOUS—He had made Macedon powerful and great, 9; and had made preparations for invading Persia, *ibid.* His felicities at the birth of Alexander, 13, 14. Letter to Aristotle, 16; remuneration of the philosopher, 30; injunction to Alexander, 31. Confidence in the early abilities of his son, 40, and distrust of his

impetuosity, 41, 83. He raises the siege of Byzantium, 42. Defeats the army of the Getæ, *ibid.* Is wounded conflicting with the Triballi and Greeks, 43. Retrospect of his actions from the beginning of his reign, 44. 51, 132. He develops his designs against Athens, 52; surprises Elatea, 56; sends ambassadors to Thebes, 57; gains the battle of Charonea, 83. His extravagant behaviour on viewing the field of battle, 88. His generosity to the Athenian prisoners, 89; and severity to the Theban, 90. He takes Samos, 92. Proposes terms to Athens, *ibid.* Is elected general of the Greek confederacy against Persia, 96. Repudiating Olympias, marries Cleopatra, 99. Sides with Attalus against Alexander, 100. Defeats the Illyrians, 101. Is reconciled to Alexander, 103. Detects a treaty for marrying Alexander with a Carian princess, 104. Unhappy circumstances preceding his death, 105. 107. He commences war against Persia, 107. Consults the Delphic oracle, 108. Orders festivities, 109. Is assassinated by Pausanias, 111.

SPEECH to the Grecian deputies, 93.

Philip (satrap over the Malli and Oxydracæ)—Slain, ii. 377.

Philippi—Previously called *Crenidæ*, 45. The site of productive gold mines, *ibid.*

Philotas—Information of a conspiracy deposited with, ii. 105. Neglects to communicate it, *ibid.* His apology to Alexander, ii. 107. He is arrested, ii. 112. His defence, ii. 120. His confession on the rack, ii. 131. His further confession, ii. 133, and implications, ii. 134. Feelings of the army on his death, ii. 137.

Phocians—Their fate under the Amphictyonic decree, 49.

Phocion—Obliges Philip to raise the siege of Byzantium, 41. Expels the Macedonians from Eubœa, 51. After the defeat at Charonea, appointed commander, 91. His advice respecting Philip's overtures, 93. Exhorts the orators proscribed by Alexander to sacrifice themselves, 154. His disinterested use of Alexander's friendship, 211.

Phrygia—Submits to Alexander, who appoints Calas governor of it, 207. Antigonus constituted governor, 219.

Pithon—Suppresses the revolt of the Musicani, ii. 353. Attached to the party of Perdicas, ii. 421. One of the Nine who voted the division of the empire, ii. 433.

Polydamas—Sent to effect the assassination of Parmenio, ii. 148.

Polyperchon—His counsel rejected, 430. His miscellaneous services in the field, ii. 28, ii. 239, ii. 277. His offensive jest, ii. 244. Nominated provisionally to succeed Craterus, ii. 395.

- Polystратus*—Finds Darius dying, ii. 64.
Polytimetus.—ii. 201.
Porus—Opposes the passage of Alexander, ii. 286. Is defeated, ii. 291.
 Receives back his kingdom enlarged, ii. 300. Confirms Phegelas' report, ii. 310.
Prasii—ii. 309. The Greeks derived this national appellation from the Sanscrit *Prachi*, 309, note. ♡
Præti—ii. 352.
Protesilaus—Tomb of, 183.
Ptolemy—His incidental services in the field, 196, ii. 289, ii. 366, ii. 402. Wounded, ii. 354. Proposes a military oligarchy, ii. 417. Joins Perdikkas, ii. 423. One of the Nine who apportioned the empire, ii. 432. His character, as one of the primary historians of Alexander, 3.
Pylæ—Literally "Gates." See *Pass*.
Pyrgoteles—Exclusively engraved Alexander on gems, 18.
Python—(of Byzantium)—Philip's ambassador to Thebes, 57. His speech, 58.

R.

- Red Sea*—Portions of the ocean so called by the ancients, ii. 6, note.
 Extent to which Curtius carried the Erythrean, ii. 262. Traditional etymology, ii. 263, ii. 375.

Reinforcements and Attenuations to Alexander's Asiatic Army—

Reinforcements calculated up to the Indian expedition.

Infantry.	Cavalry.	
300.....	Greek prisoners enlisted,	223.
1000.....	300 Macedonians.....	} 250, 271, 275; the numbers from Arrian, b. i. 30.
.....	200 Thessalians	
.....	150 Eleans	
4000.....	Pelopp. Mercenaries	} 271, 365; the numbers from Arrian, b. ii. 20,

5300

650

Carried forward.

Reinforcements and Attenuations continued.

Reinforcements calculated up to the Indian expedition.

Infantry.	Cavalry.	
5300	650	Brought forward.
3000.....		Greek prisoners enlisted, 382.
6000.....	550	Macedonians.....
3500.....	600	Thracians.....
4000.....	380	Pelopp. Mercenaries....
5000.....	1000	Cilicians.....
1500.....		Greek prisoners enlisted, ii. 91.
.....	500	Greek allies.....
3000.....		Illyrians.....
2600.....	300	Lydiaus.....
3000.....	1000	"Greek" Mercenaries....
3000.....	500	Lycians.....
3000.....	500	Syrians.....
7500.....	500	Greek allies.....
30,000.....		Imperial Persians.....

391, ii. 11, 12, ii. 145.

ii. 43.

ii. 102.

ii. 203. The word quoted is supplied from Arrian, b. iv. 7. who omits the numbers.

ii. 239.

This sum includes cavalry which could not be separated.

80,400	6480	Total, 86,880.
--------	------	----------------

Add reinforcements enumerated from *retrospective notices*, or inserted on *indefinite grounds*, and therefore at a low estimate :

1,000.....	Agrians.....	315.
.....5000	Babylonians under Mazæus, 406, 452, ii. 7.	
4,000.....	Persians under Artabazus, ii. 59, ii. 90.	
8,000.....	1,000 { Hyrcanians and Parthians under Phraterphernes. }	ii. 89.
.....7,000	Bactrians.....	ii. 314, <i>et passim</i> .
8,000.....	Sogdians, including Naurii,	ii. 227, 314.
6,000.....	6,000 Dahæ.....	ii. 189, 232, 292, 314.
.....5,000	Scythæ (mounted archers),	ii. 292, 314.

104,400	30,480	Carried forward.
---------	--------	------------------

Reinforcements and Attenuations continued.

Reinforcements calculated up to the Indian expedition.

Infantry.	Cavalry.	
104,400	30,480	Brought forward.
	104,400	In the last article of the ENUMERATED REIN- FORCEMENTS, are included—11,000 Imperial Persians, formed, after long services, into household troops; and others, not enumerated, who were intermixed with the Macedonians, ii. 391, 397.
Total....	134,880	
Army carried to Asia.....	41,100	— to India.....120,000
Reinforcements	134,880	— Attenuations, 55,980
	175,980	175,980

The *Attenuations* arose from Detachments, including Disbandings; Losses in battle; and Mortality.

DETACHMENTS left in the conquered provinces.

Alexander secured a continuous line from the Hellespont, and supported some collateral points, by the permanent presence of armaments and garrisons, 209, 234, 274, 352, and references below. He endeavoured, however, to bind several districts, by exacting little more than hostages, 275, ii. 21; because, to maintain the field, he was obliged to diminish, by resumptions, to the marching army, the force which had awed the submitting, 271, 352.

Horse and Foot left in—

Asia Minor.....	8,000 estimated	References above.
Syria	1,500	380, 402.
Egypt	4,000 enumerated	401.
Mesopotamia and Adiabene.....	} 2,000 estimated	ii. 3.
Babylonia		
Susa.....	3,000 enumerated	ii. 12.
Persis	3,000	ii. 16.
	3,000	ii. 37.

24,500 Carried forward.

Reinforcements and Attenuations continued

Attenuations calculated up to the Indian expedition.

Brought forward.	24,500	
Hyrkania and five other provinces	5,000 estimated	} ii. 159, ii. 204, <i>et pas- sim</i> : including inva- lids settled in the new cities.
Arachosia	4,600 enumerated	
Sogdiana	3,000	ii. 203.
	<hr/> 37,100 <hr/>	

Media The army of 11,400 was resumed, ii. 154

DISBANDED for Europe.

Greek Troopers ..	500 estimated	177, ii. 78.
Thessalian horse chiefly	900 enumerated	} ii. 173. These are as- sumed to comprise the Thessalians, (accord- ing to Arrian, b. iii. 19, discharged in Media, when Alexander had a presssing occasion for cavalry to pursue Da- rius;) according to Arrian, b. v. 27, dis- charged in Bactriana. This identifies it with the dismissal in Cur- tius, ii. 173.

38,500

17,480, the difference between 38,500 and the total attenu-
ation, is sufficient to meet LOSSES IN BATTLE, and common and
extraordinary LOSSES FROM MORTALITY. The enumerations of
slain transmitted, are too palpably curtailed, [see *Battles*,

Reinforcements and Attenuations continued.

Sieges, Skirmishes,], to attract us to collect the total: the source of mistatement appears in ii. 190, an instance in which the true number may have transpired. Nor can the aggregate slain be calculated by subtracting the extraordinary losses through mortality, ii. 157, ii. 171, ii. 235, because the last only is enumerated.

Reinforcements after the advance into India.

Infantry.	Cavalry.	
.....	6,000 Thracians	} ii. 321, ii. 12, ii. 382.
7,000	Probably Babylonians..	
.....	2,500 Oxydracæ and Malli....	ii. 346.
20,000	Persians (from Persis)...	ii. 398.
<hr/>		
27,000	8,500 Total,	35,500.

Attenuations.

DETACHMENTS left in India, Gedrosia, Carmania; not enumerated, so the amount cannot be represented.

DISBANDED—Ten thousand Macedonians, ii. 395. Remnant of [18,800] Mercenaries, ii. 382.

DESERTED—Six thousand Mercenaries, ii. 382. The Greek colonists, who went home, ii. 343, 5, were before subtracted from the marching army under DETACHMENTS.

SLAIN—See *Battles, Sieges, Skirmishes*.

LOSS FROM MORTALITY—In Gedrosia; not enumerated by Curtius or Arrian; deplorably extensive, ii. 368, note.

RECAPITULATION.

<i>Reinforcements.</i>		<i>Attenuations.</i>
EUROPEANS.	ASIATICS.	EUROPEANS CHIEFLY.
40,980 — enumerated	— 45,900	Detached and disbanded, 38,500
1,000 — estimated	— 47,000	Slain and dead otherwise, 17,480
<hr/>		
41,980 Carried forward.	92,900.....	55,980

Reinforcements—and—Attenuations recap.

EUROPEANS.	ASIATICS.	EUROPEANS CHIEFLY.
41,980	Brought forward, 92,900.....	55,980

Subsequent to the Indian expedition.

6,000 — enumerated —	29,500	Disbanded	10,000
—	—	Deserted.....	6,000
47,980	122,400		
Total, 170,380 reinforcements.			71,980
According to Callisthenes, cited by Polybius, XII. x., 5000 foot, and 800 horse from Macedon, arrived, as Alexander was entering Cilicia; which would augment the total to 176,180.		Detached, slain, and dead otherwise not enumerated; probably.....	40,000
		Total attenuations	111,980

At Alexander's death, the army might be about 100,000.

Roxana—Espoused by Alexander, ii. 237.

S.

Sabus—Rajah, his dominions (part of the modern province of Sind) ii. 352, ii. 353.

Sambracæ—ii. 350. Surrender of, ii. 351.

Sardis—209. Information from archives of, 210.

Sarmatia, ii. 184.

Satibarzanes—Reinstated Governor of Aria, ii. 98. Revolts, ii. 99.

Escapes to Bactra, *ibid.* Reënters Aria, ii. 154. Vanquished and slain by Erigiyus, ii. 166.

Scythians—In Europe, 41, ii. 179, ii. 183. Their embassy, ii. 212, Scythians in Asia—Abii, ii. 178; Chorasmii, ii. 213; Dahæ, ii. 212, ii. 213, ii. 232; Massagetæ, ii. 212; Sacæ, ii. 200, ii. 236; Scythæ, ii. 198. Massagetæ North of the Jaxartes, or Scythæ, alarmed by Alexander's new fort, ii. 183. Embassy from twenty Scythian tribes, ii. 192. Scythæ defeated, ii. 198.

Sieges—Of Thebes, 143; Leucadia, 157; Miletus, 221; Halicarnassus, 235; Aspendus, 262; Tyre, 355; Chios, 382; Gaza, 385; hill-fort

- in Uxia, ii. 18 ; woody fastness of Hyrcanian Mardi, ii. 92 ; rock in Aria, ii. 100 ; Memacenæ, ii. 181 ; rock of Arimazes, ii. 205 ; rock in Naura, ii. 225 ; Mazagæ, ii. 274 ; rock Aornos, ii. 277 ; Oxadracæan city, ii. 330 ; city of Sabus, ii. 352. Sieges raised—Byzantium, 42 ; Pellion, 135 : Megalopolis, ii. 71.
- Simnias*—Arraigned, ii. 139. Acquitted, ii. 147.
- Sisines*—Slain in Alexander's camp, 305.
- Sisugambis*—Mother of Darius, 286. Taken prisoner, with the Persian queen, 326. Believes Darius to be killed, 329. First interview with Alexander, 331. 333. Distraction on the death of the queen, 414. Reserve before liberated fellow-captives, 446. Offended by a present, ii. 16. Intercedes for the Uxians, ii. 20. Dies from grief, ii. 411.
- Skirmishes*—ii. 176, ii. 189, ii. 212, ii. 222.
- Sogdiana*—ii. 203, ii. 218, ii. 224. Desert bordering on, ii. 168. Description of Sogdiana, ii. 201. Revolt, ii. 179. Second revolt, ii. 212.
- Sophites*—His surrender, ii. 307.
- Sparta*—Weakened by Philip, 47. Uncorrupt, *ibid.* Divided from the confederated Greeks, 96. Letter to Philip, 97. Sparta suspected by Alexander, 159 ; stigmatized, 204. Agis opposes the Macedonians in Crete, 353, ii. 68 ; and in the Peloponnesus, ii. 69 ; falls, defeated by Antipater, ii. 71. Spartan ambassadors confined, ii. 91.
- Speeches of Anonymous Persons*—A Sidonian, 347. - A Scythian ambassador, ii. 192.
- Spitamenes*—Plotting with Catenes, arrests Bessus, ii. 172 ; and delivers him to Alexander, ii. 175. Fomenta a revolt, ii. 180. Expels the Macedonians from Maracanda, ii. 182. Cuts off a detachment, ii. 189. Is murdered by his wife, ii. 229, who is banished from the Macedonian camp, ii. 232.
- Statira*—Espoused by Alexander, ii. 392.
- Stratagems*—of Alexander—See *Alexander*, *TACTICS*. Of Darius, 437. Of Philip, 54. Of Spitamenes, ii. 189. Of a Macedonian officer, 383. Of anonymous Barbarian commanders, 125, 362, 364, 370, ii. 212.
- Superstition of the Ancients*—Philosophical reflection of Curtius on the response of Hammon, 398 ; censure and raillery of soothsaying, ii. 23, ii. 161, ii. 185.
- Dreams, 12, 219, 257, 282, 368, ii. 355. Oracles, 108, 225, 273, 397, ii. 25. Credible incidents construed into omens, 14, 110,

124, 127, 151, 206, 209, 229, 282, 371, 386, 401, 410, ii. 404. Auguries from incidents less probable, 255, 394, 450. Omens raised on incredible phenomena, 127, 149, 150, 252, 357. Alleged predictions—By Chaldæan Magi, 13, ii. 403; a Brabmin, ii. 404. Belief in Manes, 153, 185, ii. 401. Worship of local genii, 130, 184, 311, ii. 327. Apprehended judgment on sacrilege, 152. Horrible sacrifices, 135, 369.

Susa—Its surrender to Alexander, ii. 15. Ludicrous occurrence at, *ibid.* Satrapy, ii. 16.

Syria—342, 380, 402.

Syrmus—Baffles Alexander at Peucé, 128. Solicits peace, 131.

Sysimithres—Surrender of, ii. 227. He relieves Alexander's army. ii. 236.

T.

Tupuri—ii. 89, ii. 232, ii. 380.

Taxiles Omphis—Surrender of, ii. 283. His kingdom restored, ii. 284.

Telmessus, a seaport town in Lycia, famous for augury, 251, and *ibid* note.

Termessus, an inland town of Pisidia, which resisted Alexander, 263.. 265.—Captured and demolished, 265.

Thalestris, queen of the Amazons—Visits Alexander, ii. 94.

Theatetes—One of the mutilated Greeks who met Alexander at Persepolis; his speech, ii. 33.

Thebes—Awed by Philip's hold on Thermopylæ, 50. Invited to alliance by Athens and Philip, 57. Its decree against Philip, 79. Hesitates, 80. Decides on hostility, 81. Defeat at Chæronea, 83. War with Alexander, 140. Blockaded, the city rejects terms, 144. Stormed and depopulated, 146. Alexander regrets his severity, 152. Commiserates the Thebans, 204, 334, note. Cassander rebuilt Thebes, 152, 153.

Thessaly—Famous for its horses, 38. Enslaved by Philip, 45. Anticipated in hostility, submits to Alexander, 122.

Thrace—Districts of, seized and influenced by Philip, 46. Thracians defeated by Alexander, 125. Odryssia revolts, ii. 381.

Tigris—406, 408, ii. 4.

Timagenes, one of the secondary historians of Alexander, 7. Slightly censured by Curtius, ii. 335.

Timoclea—Heroism of, 148.

Timotheus—Effects of his music on Alexander, 33.

Tin of Britain—In India, ii. 350, note.

Triballi—Repelled in a treacherous attack on Philip, 43. Defeated in the field by Alexander, 128.

Triremes and other gallies—Various conjectural plans of, 365, ADD. NOTE (K).

Troglodytes—395.—And see *Mardi*.

Tyre—Sends an embassy, intended to divert Alexander from entering the city, 353. Encouraged to prefer the alternative of war by the Carthaginians, 356. Siege of, 355. Sacred prophecy respecting the destruction of continental Tyre, 359, note; prophecies respecting insular Tyre, 260, note. Taken, 375. And destroyed by Alexander as an independent state, 377. After its revival, under the protection of Rome, 378.

Tyrtotes—Reports to Darius his queen's death, 415.

V.

Venetians—Supposed to be descended from the Eneti, 275.

Uxians—Their resistance, ii. 18. Alexander's moderation, ii. 20.

W.

Watches—Divisions of the night, 311, note.

X.

Xenippa, a fertile district bordering on Scythia, ii. 224. The inhabitants expel the Bactrian revoltors who had taken refuge there, *ibid*

Z.

Zibetes—River, part of its course subterranean, ii. 85.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

[A]. *On the Direction in which Darius retreated after the battle of Arbela.*

PAGE 3.—“ He entered the borders of Media.”]—Thus briefly does Curtius indicate the direction in which Darius fled after the battle: but—when the position of Arbela is surveyed on a correct map—the brevity of the notice by its analogy with the shortness and rapidity of the transit, is seen to be in itself descriptive. Dr. Gillies, the learned and elegant compiler of a summary *History of Greece*, institutes a comparison between the line of retreat which Arrian assigns to the Persian monarch after this defeat, and the different representation of the same incident preserved by Curtius; closing a special encomium on the one, with an indefinite censure of the other:—“ Arrian observes that Darius “ showed great judgment in his flight,—having left the “ populous and well-frequented roads leading to Susa and “ Babylon, towards which he justly suspected that Alexander “ would march his army,—and directing his course over the “ ARMENIAN mountains into Media. Diodorus, lib. XVII. “ p. 538, agrees with Arrian. The errors of Curtius, lib. V. “ c. 1, are too absurd to merit refutation.”—*Hist. of Ancient Greece*, by JOHN GILLIES, LL.D. 8vo. London, sixth edit. 1820, vol. iv. p. 319, n. (51).

The Translator deems it important to meet this attack, lest it should conduce to propagate the uncritical prejudice, that the impeached line of narrative is unworthy of comparison.

The accounts of the two historians cannot indeed be reconciled; but if both are examined by the relative situations of the field of battle, of the two armies, and of the towns and provinces named, the Translator will venture to claim a triumph for Curtius. The divergency is simply in the INTERMEDIATE line of retreat. The words of Arrian are: "Darius immediately after this battle, fled *through the mountainous tract of ARMENIA* into Media."—lib. III. cap. 16. Though this may be perfectly in accordance with the map prefixed to Rooke's Arrian,—yet it is quite wonderful that Dr. Gillies should compliment the inventor of such a route. The LATIN historian represents Darius as deliberately relinquishing Babylon and Susa, in order to detain the conqueror, by the spoil of these cities; *Translation*, book V. chap. i.; so far agreeing with Arrian in the motive assigned for flying in another direction. Curtius, too, conducts Darius into Media: but how? BY THE ROAD TO ARBELA; to which station Darius was nearer than his pursuers, and whence there was a short road into Media by a pass through the Gordæan mountains, as Curtius calls a branch of Zagros.—Book IV. chap. xv. § 61;—book V. chap. i. § 1; chap. viii. § 24. Of this mountain-gate the modern name is the Lazian Pass; and the bearing of the road only varies between east-south-east, and east-by-south; so that in retreating along it no time would be lost by any needless deflection. On the other hand, the victorious army stood interposed between Darius and ARMENIA, if that had been the way to Media, a circuit altogether preposterous, unless he had been compelled, by position, to take it; and so far from this, both historians give him credit for electing to abandon the southern provinces with their rich capitals. Having gained Arbela by the bridge of the Lycus, the imperial fugitive seems to have stopped there but for necessary repose; and, continuing his hasty retreat, he at once entered the borders of Media.—CURTIUS, *ut supra*.

To make the consistency of the narrative the more evident, the Translator proceeds to sketch a small part of the sequent

history by anticipation. Now, having left his pursuers on the other side of the Zagros Gordæan, the occupation of the pass by a slight rearguard, would make his movements for some time secure. We next find Darius at Ecbatana, the intervening narrative being confined to the movements of Alexander.—Book V. chap. viii. § 24. At Ecbatana, Darius made such efforts to recruit his army as his diminished resources would permit; passing about the same period there—which Alexander employed in receiving the submission of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, and in exploring the cold and periodically deserted table-lands to the north-west. When at length the Persian monarch marched from Ecbatana, it was in a direction toward Bactriana; but he lost some time when on his way to Parthia, by relinquishing his first design to retreat expeditiously for the sudden resolution of halting somewhere on the south-western side of the Caspian streit, to fight a battle; for this object, he diverged a little from the high road to occupy a chosen position. The defection, insolent opposition, and simulated return to fealty of Nabarzanes and Bessus—obliged him to continue his flight. From Ecbatana to the place where the Persian emperor was seized by Bessus and assassinated, the direction of his march had been nearly due east; this is collected by comparing his movements with those of Alexander.—*Ibid*; and chap ix. . . xiii. *passim*. Having followed the line of retreat to its close, and contrasted the difficulty and absurdity of going northward to Armenia with the facility and safety of passing at once into Media by the south-east,—it is not too much to claim for Curtius the merit of handing down, on this point, the most probable account.

The Translator further begs permission here to discuss two collateral points; thinking that—to fortify the ground won after repelling a main attack, may release him from the necessity of attending to every random-shaft from the idle bow of occasional criticism.

1. The first subject for minor remark is, that Curtius—in

the passage which has been examined—differs from Diodorus as well as from Arrian. This specimen might therefore alone be sufficient to dispel another inveterate prejudice of his habitual depreciators, namely, that Curtius has copied after Diodorus without discrimination, adopting all his errors. The notes to the translation, however, specify several other judicious deviations from Diodorus.

2. The second particular which may be examined in connection with the movements of both sovereigns at this stage of the history, is: At what time is it most probable that Alexander first visited Ecbatana, the fourth of the imperial cities, and which, when Persia enjoyed peace, was the seat of the court in summer? Arrian makes him proceed thither, when he broke up his camp at Persepolis, to resume the pursuit of Darius.—lib. III. cap. xix. The narrative of Curtius implies, indeed, that Alexander had originally shaped his march in the direction of Ecbatana; while it plainly asserts, that on information that Darius had departed thence, he quitted the road leading through Media, and travelled vigorously to overtake the fugitive.—*Translation*, vol. ii. p. 60.—Owing to the places in which chasms in the extant MSS. happen to fall, the *time* when the Roman historian would have conducted Alexander in person to Ecbatana, can only be inferred. The brief *Supplement to Translation*, vol. ii. p. 66, SUPPOSES him to go to Ecbatana immediately after the death of Darius. It is at least certain, that he went to this city twice, at very distant periods. Another *Supplement*, which fills a chasm in the tenth book, chap. iv. 11, records, on the clear testimony of several ancient writers, his triumphant visit to Ecbatana, when he had returned from the expedition to India.

To return to Alexander's pursuit of Darius: Arrian leads

* Mentioned as a city of Media in the Book of Tobit, the ruins of which are near the site of the present Teheran.

Alexander consistently enough through Rages*, which lay in the road from Ecbatana to the Caspian streit. Curtius as consistently marches Alexander to TABAS, by

a route south-west of Rages about 75 miles; and a line drawn through this town forward to the CASPIAN STREIT, indicates the new direction which Alexander took, in order to intercept the fugitive; going off at a right angle from the road to Ecbatana, on which he had hitherto been moving. The variance between the two authors here is very striking. Arrian makes Alexander traverse two sides of a triangle, while Darius is passing one, and that the shortest. Curtius represents Alexander to deflect his march at a point which forms with Ecbatana and the Caspian streit a smaller triangle, of which Darius had to traverse the longest limn, and Alexander the shortest. Which version of the march is most probable? and which accords best with Alexander's practice of sacrificing to expedition every thing out of the line of principal operations?

Satisfied with a simple vindication of those passages in Curtius against which the rush of his common-place impugnors has been most confident and furious*, the Translator will not dwell on the INVIDIOUS alternative; nor imitate the language of those who would make the ridicule of a partial error the test of truth for an entire history. Let us candidly suppose, that the original documents from which Curtius and Arrian compiled, sometimes widely differed, whether left by Greek writers, or collected from Persian memorials. Eye-witnesses can see but a small part of an extended scene of operation; the reports of prisoners sometimes originate in ignorance, and sometimes in a design to mislead; and the native newswriters might frequently commit to writing incorrect intelligence, while the remaining provinces of a distracted empire had only a precarious communication with the fugitive court. The bases of geography were besides so imperfect, that every thing on a great scale was out of drawing. In the maps of the Hipparchi and the Ptolemies, all the distant points were falsely distributed: hence the narratives of marches, in

* This alludes not merely to the points embraced by the present note; but to the numerous objects of unjust censure vindicated in the *Preface* and *Notes* generally.

themselves accurate,—became in appearance obscure and perplexed—when examined by intended illustrations, inadequate to the service for which they had been constructed; and hence, in the case of contradictory accounts of the same expedition, that which we can now discover to be erroneous, might best agree with the map of the day. In the spirit of returning generous allowance for mutual aid, the notes to the Translation exhibit occasional derivations from Arrian, which may serve to supply omissions in Curtius, or clear up obscurities, or correct apparent errors; the latter are neither numerous nor important. The reputation of Curtius has risen as the map of Asia has improved; and if the same cause has not produced the same effect in respect to Arrian, it is because his authority had been a long while unduly exalted on almost exclusive pretensions.

[B]. *On the bearing of Arabia from Gaugamela, in going back to Mosul.*

P. 3.—“ Arabia, celebrated for its *aromatic productions*, “ he kept bearing to the left.”]—In mentioning ARABIA in this relation, several critics have impeached Curtius of committing two great errors. The first consists in the name and descriptive addition, “ *Arabia, odorum fertilitate nobilis.*” As the error is admitted to be real, or regarded as nominal, three ways of removing the objection, or disentangling the construction, have been proposed. 1. M. Longuerue (*Voy. Michault*, Melang. hist. et philol. T. i. p. 208,) would simply substitute “ *Arabia OREORUM*,” for “ *Arabia ODORUM*,” on the authority of Pliny. (*Nat. Hist. lib. vi. c. 9.*) If this reading were received, the translation would be: “ That district of “ *Arabia*, held by the tribe *Orei*, celebrated for its fertility.” 2. This emendation is ingenious, but perhaps unnecessary; because, before the Greeks imposed the name *Mesopotamia*

on the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the lower part of it, between the river Chaboras and Babylon, was reckoned, by the natives of the East, to belong to Arabia; hence Xenophon, treating of his passage through this district, calls it Arabia; and Strabo, describing it, says it was inhabited by the Scenite Arabs. So much is noticed by M. Sainte-Croix. (*Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, pp. 811, 863.) 3. The Translator of Curtius, as a resource for vindicating the words "celebrated for its "aromatic productions," deems it not impossible that the historian might deliberately refer to the region of Arabia Felix; because a large tract *when near* perplexes by its various bearings, but *when remote* is diminished to a fixed point. Thus, in letting fall a perpendicular, the farther the points are apart from which the intersecting circles are struck, the less chance there is of error in fixing and turning the compasses.

The second mistake attributed to this passage in Curtius, respects the direction in which Alexander began to march on leaving the field of battle. M. Barbié du Bocage, author of the *Map of the Marches and Empire of Alexander*, annexed to St. Croix's work, in the place last cited, says: That learned critic has made it clearly appear, that Curtius has unluckily put "the *left*," instead of the *right*. But this charge is advanced inadvertently; or, at least, depends on making Alexander go in person to Arbela, and thence directly to Babylon, as Arrian relates that he did. But Curtius and Arrian have, in respect to most of the incidents immediately following the battle, chosen to rely on different authorities, and, in this part, their narratives cannot be reconciled. Curtius conducts Alexander, first to Memmium, evidently through Mesopotamia; and the statement that *at the beginning of his march*, he kept Arabia bearing to the *left*, shews that he went back to find a ford. Curtius had before, *Translation*, vol. i. p. 452, carried back Mazæus to Babylon the same way; by which he avoided many hills and rivers.

[C]. *On the Construction of Per medium, compared with the proposed reading Per Mediam.*

P. 23.—“These were pointing out a ROAD THROUGH “THE LEVEL COUNTRY, which was safe and open.”]—*Per medium iter ostendebant tutum apertumque.*—CURTIUS. The commentator Bongarsius objects to the common reading *per medium iter*—though found in the editions, and manuscripts—and to the interpretation of it by a *high (or general) road through the plains*; alleging that if such a road existed, Alexander was endeavouring to force a difficult and obstructed pass without necessity. He therefore proposes, as a conjectural emendation, to read *Per Mediam iter*: This reading is adopted in the editions of Freinshemius, Le Tellier, Cellarius, and Snakenburg. The translation of the passage, thus altered, would be: “These disclosed to him a way “THROUGH MEDIA, which was safe and unconfined.” But if we consult the geography of the country, now better understood than when those classical linguists framed their commentaries, it is evidently absurd to propose conducting Alexander through Media to Persepolis, when he was already at the Uxian pass. The Translator has therefore recurred to the original reading, *per medium iter*:—construed by Raderus as a Græcism, this corresponds either with the English term HIGH ROAD, or with the phrase OPEN COUNTRY, as *medium* is either joined with *iter* in the construction, or with a substantive understood equivalent to territory. Were even MSS. found to authorize the reading, *per Mediam*, the Translator would render it, THROUGH THE LEVEL (OR OPEN) COUNTRY; because in *Kinneir’s Map to his Travels in Asia Minor*, &c. the high, or general, road from Susa to Persepolis runs on the south side, and not on the north side, of the Uxian ridge, and thus the easy alternative open to the mere traveller is the farther removed, and quite

excluded from Media; and because Curtius, translating from Greek materials, has in several parts of his work retained the word *media*, where the sense would be entangled, and the geography inexplicable, by constructing it as the name of the capital province, or ancient kingdom *Media*: whereas if this recurring subject for unsatisfactory comments be understood simply as the *open country*, the narrative will be clear, and the local relations exact. Here, the highway through the open country is properly contrasted with the pass belonging only to the Uxians and Susians. Why did not Alexander take the unobstructed road? Because he did not travel as the driver of a caravan: his object was to explore and subdue; nor would he, in prosecuting his expedition, leave behind him defiles and fastnesses occupied by a hostile force. Having made the attempt on the pass, he had an additional incentive to persevere, which was imperative on the mind of a Greek: he would not leave his slain unburied.

[D]. *On the Mountains forming the north-western Frontier of PERSIS.*

P. 24.—“This chain, derived from Caucasus.”]—The mountains of Persia are by some authors said to proceed from Mount *Caucasus*, and by others from Mount *Taurus*.—KINNEIR'S *Geographical Mem. of the Persian Empire*, p. 3.—The Caucasus is connected with Taurus.—*Idem*, p. 4.—With regard to the section of the chain described by Curtius; first, by position, “Persis is shut in on one side; and then, by “its measured length, sixteen hundred stadia.” it is difficult to supply the ancient local name. The boundary intended is a continuation of Mount Zagros; the primitive chain from which it springs is to be sought on the southern frontier of Media, to the S. E. of Taurus Niphates, and to the S. W. of Parchoatras: to mark it locally, this branch may be called *Persisic Zagros*. In the line of this ridge the site of Shuster is

found. The commentators on the classic historians, who wrote before D'Anville had introduced the method of illustrating ancient geography by correct outlines from modern travels, frequently darken what is obscure, or superadd positive error to defective description. Thus, Raderus, intending to conduct us along the boundary of mountain defined in the text, rambles to the Paropamisus. He says: "We have to journey from west to east" [he should have said, to the south-east]; "go up to Susa;" [we are already, at starting, about thirty miles above and beyond Susa;] "traverse Persis" [*one side* of Persis]; "pass over Carmania and Drangiana, and at length ascend the lofty and cheerless Paropamisus." All this is superfluous wandering, thousands of stadia beyond the limits specified by Curtius. The fundamental error of Raderus, from which so many incidental mistakes spring, lies in expanding the *Persis* of the original into PERSIA as an empire, instead of confining it to PERSIS as a province. The 1600 stadia of Curtius agree pretty nearly with the length assigned in *Kinneir's Map* to the north-western side of the modern FARs. The words of the Memoir correspond still more closely with the text of our historian, by marking the place at which a spur, not delineated in the map, shoots off to the coast. "The great range of mountains seen from the coast is a mere elongation of the chain of Mount Zagros; not a separate range, but connected with that mountainous tract, which extends, in a continued succession of ridges, from the borders of the Persian Gulf to the Caspian Sea and Mount Caucasus." —KINNEIR'S *Geogr. Memoir of the Persian Empire*, p. 56.

The meeting between the mountains and the Gulf spoken of by Curtius—"where the mountains terminate, the sea presents a breastwork"—is made out as follows: "A few miles to the west of the village of Gunava, a low ridge suddenly projects out to the south, and, touching the sea, separates the district of Leerawee" [in ancient Susiana] "from that of Hiadouat," [in ancient Persis].—*Ibid.*

[E]. *On the Season indicated by SUB IPSUM VERGILIARUM SIDUS.*

P. 37.—“He set out under the constellation Pleiades.”]—The words of the original are: *interiorem Persidis regionem, SUB IPSUM VERGILIARUM SIDUS, petiit.* The learned commentator, Raderus, had said: “Curtius here must be understood to be speaking of the *setting* of the Pleiades, “which is the beginning of winter.” And he cites Pliny, lib. ii. 47, to the effect, that the *SETTING of the Pleiades commences with WINTER; which season usually falls upon the third of the Ides of November.* Freinshemius, adopting this annotation, refers to two passages in Livy, xxi. 35, as confirming it: *nivis etiam casus, OCCIDENTE JAM SIDERE VERGILIARUM, ingentem terrorem adjecit.*

M. de Sainte-Croix, commenting upon this identical phrase in Curtius—*under the constellation of the Pleiades*—says: “Nothing can be more vague than these expressions, as I “have already observed; because they might apply either to “the rising or the setting of the Pleiades. But supposing “that this author intends to speak of the *SETTING* of this “constellation, which is the more probable, let us endeavour “to draw whatever light we can from his account. Calippus, “a celebrated astronomer of Alexander’s age, and whose “tabular period commences with this very year, has marked “the setting of the Pleiades at the sixteenth degree from “Sagittarius, that is to say, on the forty-seventh day after the “autumnal equinox. Now, the second equinox falls in this “year, according to the tables of La Hire, on the 27th September of the Julian Calendar; adopting the calculation for “the meridian of Ispahan, which is the same as that of “Persepolis” [not by a degree]; “and reckoning the commencement of the day according to the custom of the “Greeks. The result gives for the *SETTING* the *eleventh* or

"*twelfth of November*. Thus, the expedition through Persis, "and Alexander's departure from Persepolis, must be fixed "to the middle of November."—*Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*. 2d edit. p. 620. text and notes.

With great diffidence the Translator of Curtius has now to express his own opinion as to the season intended by SUB IPSUM VERGILIARUM SIDUS. The above learned citations from Pliny, from Livy, from Calippus, and from La Hire, do no more than prove, that the *setting of the Pleiades coincided with the beginning of winter*. But the question, whether Curtius meant to indicate the season of their Setting, or that of their Rising, is not at all decided by this evidence. And the Translator of Curtius ventures to think, in opposition to all these concurrent Annotators, that his author points, and demonstrably points, to the season commencing when this constellation rose heliacally.

1. It seems more analogous to philosophical truth, as well as to the appearance of things, to say that a traveller *sets out under a constellation*, when it is rising with the sun, than when it is setting. Besides, the very term *sidus vergiliarum* connects it with spring; and when the Setting is not mentioned, the Rising is to be presumed, which the Ancients reckoned the commencement of that season.

2. the course of events—connecting with this expedition the prior and the subsequent transactions as indicated in Curtius and the other historians of Alexander—will not seem to possess any intelligible order or coherence, if this expedition is to be dated in the middle of November: whereas, if referred to spring, it will fall into a consistent place in the procession of occurrences.

The battle of Arbela was fought on the 2d of October, anno 331, before the Christian era. Now, as forty-one days is too short a time, so a year and forty-one days is too long, to have intervened before this expedition. Curtius specifies many portions of the time elapsed since, while much of it is evidently unaccounted for. To recapitulate them as

they occur: Encampment to refresh after the battle, a short interval + 4 days to Memmium + 34 days at Babylon + a prolonged stay at Satrapene + the march and visit to Susa + 5 days to the *Pylæ Susidæ* + *unspecified time* for the detour to turn the pass + *ditto* for the slow and circumspect march to Persepolis + time spent in various acts of government there. Though we cannot cast these items into a definite total, enough results from specific statement and necessary inference, to carry us beyond the middle of November immediately following the battle of Arbela. Taking, therefore, some of the useful *data*, deducible from the authentic materials presented to us by the erudite critics already cited, we deduce the RISING OF THE PLEIADES, calculated for the meridian of Persepolis, in the year of the expedition in question, to fall about the 4th of May. Let us, as a position, flowing from both branches of the premises, apply the last date as the commencement of the expedition. The entire journey lasted thirty days; which brings us to the 3d of June: After Alexander's return to Persepolis, he spent an interval there, and thence marched into Media to await reinforcements, before he resumed the pursuit of Darius. The time consumed in intermediate operations before Alexander overtook the fugitive king, just when he had been assassinated by Bessus, is not mentioned; but a few days will cover it. Arrian dates the death of Darius in the course of the month Hecatombæon; which commenced in the year 330 A. C. on the first of July. Every thing in the course of events on this hypothesis will tally.

3. The commentators seem to have been led into the error of interpreting the *sub ipsum Vergiliarum sidus* of Curtius, to mean the "Setting of the Pleiades," instead of the Rising of that constellation — by the mention in the narrative of "perpetual snow and ice:" but this, with the dreary scenery, is to be ascribed to the elevation of the almost inaccessible country explored, and not to the season. Indeed, "perpetual snow" is a characteristic belonging only to the loftiest

ridges, nor will at all apply to or correspond with the transient inclemency of winter.

The desolate appearance of the territory which Alexander visited—deducing the time to be MAY, as above—will coincide completely with the information from Kinneir already given, in the note (†) p. 38, that those table-lands are enlivened by the camps and flocks of pastoral tribes—only in the months of JUNE, JULY, and AUGUST.

Alexander would have commenced his return to Persepolis in the last ten or twelve days of May: whether this prevented him from seeing any of the periodical occupants of the country, or whether on his return he met some of the migratory population coming to their transient seats, the first view of the desert landscape is correctly sketched by the historian.

[F]. *Course of the Light Expedition through PERSIS AND ITS DEPENDENCIES. A tribe of Mardi met with at the end of this journey were TROGLODYTÆ: what was their position?*

P. 39.—“ Alexander having ravaged the country of Persis, and reduced very many towns, at length entered the district “ of the Mardi.”]—This Prince appears to have at first traversed some of the valleys in which the rivers of Persis, coming from the N.W. have their beds; and here he might have met with the heavy rains spoken of by Curtius, [*Translation, vol. ii. p. 37*]; although in Persia it seldom rains. The transition from rainy weather to frost and snow, is to be accounted for by Alexander having to ascend the terrace of hills in which those rivers spring, and then to cross the mountains which divide Persis Proper from a dependent district to the north-west, of which the modern name is LOURISTAN. Kinneir observes: “ In a kingdom of so vast an extent as

“ that of PERSIA, we must naturally be prepared to expect
 “ a great variety of climate. I have, however, generally
 “ found, that this variation is not regulated by the difference
 “ of latitude, but by the nature and elevation of the country ;
 “ which sometimes enables you to pass in the course of a few
 “ hours, from the air of Montpelier to that of Siberia.”—
Geogr. Mem. p. 21.

Passing through Louristan, which extends from the north-west of Persis, along the north frontier of Susiana, Alexander seems to have reached a maze of hills and valleys in the modern province of ARDELAN, where the temporary pastures of the Illiats run intermixed with, and overlook the permanent home-fields of the most eastern Kurds ; answering to the more hospitable country, which Curtius says “ showed some “ signs of cultivation.” Supposing this to have been the limits of his expedition westward ; not far hence, in a direction north inclining east, his journey outward from Persepolis probably terminated. He would now enter some of the nominal dependencies of the modern IRAK, coinciding, in great part, with the ancient Media ; but the wilder and half-independent tracts between Irak and Fars, might be alternately attributed to both, as the one or the other became the ascendant and the favoured province. The boundaries of kingdoms and provinces vary with the distance to which the military governor can make his dominion to be felt.

These MARDI were *Troglodytæ*. Vossius judiciously infers, that the Mardi described by Curtius here, and the Mardi which he informs us, *lib.* VI. cap. v *, Alexander afterwards subdued, are neither the
 * *Transl. vol. ii. p. 91.*

same people, nor intended to be represented as such ; but are two distinct tribes of the same nation.

The excavations which the *Troglodytæ* of different countries have left as specimens of subterranean architecture, possess as much variety as the houses and temples of the world above ground : nor are they altogether destitute of convenience ; they protect the Laplander from cold, and the Abyssinian

from heat. They exhibit every variety of style from the first effort of rude necessity, to the ultimate achievement of opulence, conspiring with genius to complete a magnificent design. The hut, the granary, the fortress, the prison, the asylum, the palace, the temple and the mausoleum, are to be found in the versatile shapes of which excavated rocks are susceptible. The cathedral of Rome is not a more surprising work than the temple of Elephanta.

Some persons have an opinion that the Troglodytæ must have been very uncomfortably lodged, with as little of elegant accompaniment as a rabbit in a warren. They will be undeceived by the following sketch of a residence belonging to one of the middle class of these happy infernals.

"1772, Sept. 8th. — Seeing a village with many low houses, or rather huts, we struck out of our path, and arrived there about noon; when, instead of houses, we found them to be caverns dug in the earth, and vaulted, with only the upper part appearing above ground. The people received us kindly: both men and horses descended into one of the largest of them, and immediately felt such a comfortable coolness as was extremely delightful. The cavern which we were now in was more than one hundred feet in length, and near forty wide, entirely vaulted the whole way, and very lofty; it was divided into apartments on each side; in some of which was grain, and in others flour, in others oil, all in very large jars, buried half-way in the earth: in other divisions were roosts for poultry; in others cows were kept, in some goats and sheep: and some served as places to sleep in. The middle part was kept clear, as a passage." — *Travels, by Abraham Parsons, Consul at Scanderoon. JOURNEY FROM BYLAN TO KEPSE, &c. p. 38.*

The Mardi of the district to which Alexander has proceeded would appear, however, to have used their rocky caverns rather for occasional places of refuge, or as winter retreats, than as ordinary habitations. The words of Curtius

are: *Specus in montibus fodiunt, in quos seque ac conjuges et liberos CONDUNT.*—lib. V. c. vi. Although this might imply that they *dwelt* in the caves, for if they lived under ground they would be *hid*; yet in the construction of CONDUNT, the Translator has preferred representing it by a word equally ambiguous—they “shelter”—which may mean either, they “lodge”—“deposit”—or “conceal.” In the latter sense, the object of having caves difficult of access, like those in the following description of Kinneir, will be more readily explained; for unless such lofty recesses were used as hiding-places, it is difficult to imagine for what purpose they could be intended.

“The modern village of Sahanah, [36 miles from Kermanshah,] lies at the foot of a lofty range of mountains. Close to this village, and on the face of the mountain, are two excavations, or chambers, somewhat resembling those of *Nukshi Rustam*. THESE EXCAVATIONS, FROM THEIR HEIGHT, AND THE SMOOTHNESS OF THE ROCK, CAN ONLY BE EXAMINED WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF ROPES. They contain no inscriptions or sculptures of any kind, and are ascribed, by the country people, to the labours of *Ferhaud*.”—*Geogr. Mem.* p. 130.

These excavations, inaccessible without ropes or ladders, illustrate the CAVERNS IN WHICH THE MARDI CONCEALED THEMSELVES, THEIR WIVES AND CHILDREN. The Translator is therefore induced to place the Mardi described in the current chapter, within the district which comprehends the modern village of Sahanah; and the point at which Alexander's expedition *through* and *beyond* Persis terminated, in the same district, or its vicinity.

“Between five and six miles from the city of Kermanshah, and in the northern range of mountains, are the excavations and sculptures of TAKI BOSTAN, mentioned by Otter and other travellers.”—KINNEIR'S *Memoir*, p. 132.—These are, by some antiquaries, attributed to Semiramis, by others to the Greek successors of Alexander, and by M. Silvestre de

Sacy to the Sassanides; These highly-finished sculptures could only be executed under the patronage of a powerful sovereign, leading the taste of a polished court; yet the *idea* of making excavations on this large scale might be derived from rude chambers hollowed in the rocks by tribes of *Troglodytæ*. Inasmuch as the extant histories of Alexander make no mention of the ornamental works at Taki Bostan, where the quarry's stupendous chamber has been shaped by the architect, and embellished by the limner, their silence is presumptive evidence, that the sculptured groups in the caves, proportioned by elegant design, are the works of a posterior age.

[G]. *On the question, HOW MUCH OF PERSEPOLIS WAS BURNED?*

P. 41.—“The king led the destroyers and fired the palace. “.... This was the end of the Court of all the East.”]—In regard to the extent to which the city of Persepolis was destroyed when the imperial palace was thus devoted to conflagration: it has pleased all the commentators to put a too enlarged, and hence a very erroneous construction upon the words of Curtius. Now, let us examine what the collected expressions of our historian literally assert, or reasonably imply. First, the palace is consumed, nothing more. On which Curtius says: “This was the end of the Court of all the East;” meaning that the *preëminence of Persepolis as an imperial metropolis was terminated*, its lofty rank had perished. Though besides the palace nothing more was consumed than what the conflagration might accidentally touch,—the throne of Cyrus fell into planned ruin; the royal presence, which had made it the capital of the empire, was perpetually withdrawn,—and though the TOWN remained, the CITY was destroyed. Oriental palaces, however, usually

occupy vast sites, and with the protecting fort, and subsidiary buildings, sometimes cover several miles of ground. It would appear from Curtius, that the remaining town—with as many of the native inhabitants as the reduced state of the place might not compel immediately to emigrate—still continued even under Alexander to be a PROVINCIAL capital, since he had—*Translation*, vol. ii. p. 37,—nominated a governor of the citadel with three thousand troops. It is true that Curtius speaks of Persepolis as being, IN HIS OWN TIME, so nearly extinct, that the identity of it could hardly be ascertained; but then he attributes this obliteration to the ultimate effects of its having been deserted for so many ages—by the Seleucides or successors of Alexander, and by the Arsacides, or first Parthian dynasty—as a seat of the imperial court. While some vaunting Shiraz in the vicinity was rising to supersede it as the provincial capital, the decaying town—in the course of, say 375 years—had quietly disappeared like Nineveh. At length, in the year 226 of the Christian era—about 180 years after the *deduced period* at which Curtius wrote—the Sassanides, or line of Sassan, alleged to be descended from the ancient PERSIAN kings, began to recover for PERSIS the paramount dominion over the confederate provinces.—*Shiraz Namah*, cited by Sir WM. OUSELEY, *Travels*, vol. ii. pp. 33 . . . 36.

Ardisheer, the founder of this dynasty, revived the fire-worship of Zoroaster; and his son, Shahpoor, to whose hands the father, in A. D. 240, resigned his sceptre, rebuilt PERSEPOLIS, and made it his residence; and the throne of Cyrus became again the capital of the restored Persian empire.—MALCOLM'S *History of Persia*, vol. i. pp. 93, 95, 199, 244 n. †.—Sir WM. OUSELEY'S *Travels in the East*, vol. ii. pp. 345, 346; 355, 356; 364; 371; 375; 384; 394; 342.

Persepolis, in its most flourishing state, was, in some respects, unlike the Assyrian cities of Nineveh and Babylon, which had a regular form determined by artificial walls. On the contrary, the natural walls of Persepolis appear to have

been the contiguous circle of mountains: and where the openings between these formed natural gates, the approaches were defended by three castles. Thus, while the city spread itself indefinitely over the plain, like a growing camp, it maintained a correspondence with its military origin. Polybius says, that Susa had no walls, being fortified like a camp; and Strabo cites Polycletus as saying the same thing of Ecbatana.

"*Istakhr*," says the Persian geographer, "is of the third climate; situate in long. from the Fortunate Islands, 88°. [71°]. 30', and lat. from the Equinoctial line, 30°. According to one tradition, CAIUMERS founded it; or, according to another, his son, whose name was ISTAKHR. Some buildings were also erected there by HUSHANG; and JEMSHID completed the work, so that in length it extended from the borders of *Khafreg* to the extremity of *Ramگرد*, fourteen farsangs" (= 49 miles) "and it was ten farsangs" (= 35 miles) "broad; and in this space were comprehended buildings, and cultivated fields and villages; also, three very strong castles on the summits of three mountains: one the castle of *Istakhr*; the second *Shekesteh*; the third *Sangwân*: and these were called *Sh Gumbedân*, or the 'Three Domes.'"—HAMDALLAH'S *Nuzhat al Culûb*, or, "Heart's Delight," cited in Sir WM. OUSELEY'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 379.

M. de Sainte-Croix adduces many instances to prove, that Persepolis existed as a place of some importance for many ages after the death of Alexander. Diodorus, lib. xix. § 22, tells us, that Peucestas, viceroy of Persis, offered a sacrifice to the manes of Philip and Alexander, in the city of Persepolis, sometime after Alexander's death. According to the Maccabees, book II. chap. ix. ver. 2, Antiochus Epiphanes, having gone to Persepolis to pillage some temple there, was repulsed by the armed inhabitants, and put to flight. This happened about the year 164 before the Christian era. Ptolemy, the astronomer, who lived under the Roman em-

peror Marcus Aurelius, numbers Persepolis among the chief cities of Persia.—*Geogr. lib.* VI. c. 4. Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of this city as still existing in splendour under the reign of Julian.—*lib.* XXIII. cap. iv. From all which it is to be inferred, that its total destruction is only to be assigned to the first ages of Mahometanism.—*Examen Critique*, pp. 313, 314.

The latter conclusion is countenanced by what is extant on the subject in Persian writers; but the native authorities describe the range of structures, which formed the palace destroyed by Alexander, as having occupied a very extensive field. Indeed it is quite plain, from the MS. histories cited by Sir William Ouseley, that under even the ARSACIDÆ—or Parthian dynasty governing the confederacy of states which was called the PARTHIAN empire—PERSIS was treated but as a subordinate province, and the fire-temples at Istakhr rather discountenanced than encouraged.

The following notice is abridged from Malcolm's *History of Persia*, vol. i. pp. 251 . . . 253; text and notes.

"The ruins of the palace of Persepolis are by far the grandest that yet remain: and from what is left of this magnificent edifice, we may pronounce that it rivalled the proudest fabrics of Greece or Rome. Persian authors ascribe this palace to Jemsheed; and they name it his *Tukht*, or throne. They add, that Homai, the daughter of Ardisheer, improved this royal mansion, which she made her constant residence; and that it was destroyed by Alexander."

The author of the *Zeenut-ul-Mujalis* gives the following short account of Persepolis; which shows what Persians believe regarding these famous ruins.

"Jemsheed built a fortified palace at the foot of a hill, which bounds the fine plain of Murdasht to the north-west. The platform on which it was built has three faces to the plain, and one to the mountain. It is formed of a hard black granite.—[It is a hard lime-stone.] The elevation

“ from the plain is ninety feet: and every stone used in this building, is from nine to twelve feet long, and broad in proportion. There are two great flights of stairs to this palace, so easy of ascent, that a man can ride up on horse-back; and on the platform a palace has been erected, part of which still remains in its original state, and part in ruins. The palace of Jemsheed is that now called the Chehel-Setoon, or forty pillars. Each pillar is sixty feet high, and is ornamented in a manner so delicate, that it would seem difficult to rival this sculpture in a carving upon the softest wood.” [These pillars are evidently cut out of the rock at the foot of which the palace stands; as more pillars, half-finished, lying on the mountain, attest.] “ There are several figures of Jemsheed in the sculpture: in one, he has an urn in his hand, in which he burns Benjamin, while he stands adoring the sun. In another, he is represented as seizing the mane of a lion with one hand, while he stabs him with the other.”

The *Mujmel al Tuârikh*, or “ Abstract of Chronicles,” a Persian Manuscript cited by Sir William Ouseley, states—that Queen HUMAI “ sent her troops into the kingdom of Room [the Grecian colonies in Asia Minor] whence, having been victorious, they brought a multitude of captives; these HUMAI employed on works of architecture, and she erected in Pârs three edifices; one by the side (or in the vicinity) of *Hezârân Sutun*, or, ‘ The Thousand Columns,’ which is (at) *Istakhr*. A second named *Jahenbeen*, on the road to *Dârâbgerd*; and a third on the road leading to *Khurasân*: this was at the village of *Kaimûh*, where she formed a town or city, which, according to tradition, is that now called *Medinah Chah*; one of the places ruined in former ages by AFRASIAB; but all these works of Queen HUMAI, Alexander destroyed.”—*Travels in Persia*, by Sir WM. OUSELEY, *Knt.* London, 4to. 1821, vol. ii. p. 360.

The town of *Istakhr*, near which it stood, long survived the destruction of the throne of Jemsheed; or rather when the

Sassanides rebuilt the palace, and re-peopled a cluster of fifty villages, the city was resuscitated.—Its inhabitants were distinguished by their inveterate hatred of the subsequent invaders who made the second recorded conquest of their country; the caliphs, who planted the standard of Mohammed upon the ruins of the temples of the fire-worshippers; and their spirit of resistance was not entirely subdued till several centuries after the Arabians first overran Persia. The final ruin of Persepolis is attributed to Sumeanah-u-Dowlah, some time subsequent to the year 372 of the Hejira; A. D. 982.

It remains only to add a word or two respecting the site of PERSAGADA. Sir William Ouseley, after fully surveying the modern FASA or PASA, a place about 95 miles E. by S. of Persepolis, appears to have ascertained that this decayed town has no claim to identity with Persagada. The Translator cannot think, on the other hand, that when the same learned and eminent traveller, vol. ii. p. 323, expresses an opinion that Persepolis and Pasargadæ were the same place, that his reasons are so forcible as to command assent, or win the qualified prize of well-supported probability. They are chiefly founded on a passage in Arrian, which is admitted to have a chasm, which prevents any certain evidence from being extracted from it.

Were they even one, as London and Westminster are one, it would not be a correct way of speaking, to denominate them the same city. But though they might ultimately join, the passage cited above from the Persian geographer, (p. 530,) will allow room for their having been originally farther apart than London and Windsor. The citadel of Persepolis at one extremity, and that of Persagada at the other, appear to have stood 49 English miles apart.

The following concluding remarks are substantially derived from Sir Robert Ker Porter.

Until the satisfactory results of Mr. Morier's learned researches, and persevering investigations in the country, the documents from history usually brought forward to ascertain

the exact situation of Pasargadæ, produced the most varying conclusions. The notices on the subject to be gleaned from ancient authorities, slight as they are, when carried in the memory of a man of quick apprehension and clear judgment, and applied with the advantages which Mr. Morier possessed for exploring minutely all the various sites attributed to the city of Cyrus—like scattered rays of light converged to one focus—are found to amount to a positive degree of information.

We learn from some of them, that “after Alexander had taken possession of the Persian capital, (Persepolis) the city of Cyrus also, with its treasures, fell into his hands. Having previously remained the winter on the plain of Merdasht to repose his troops, in the spring he followed the fugitive Darius, who had thrown himself into Ecbatana; taking the road through Pasargadæ.” If I remember

* The Translator cannot find it in Strabo; this quotation is too loose to have any weight singly, though the subsequent grounds taken are exact and firm.

rightly, this account is given by Strabo*; and it testifies, according to the conqueror's line of march, that the city of Cyrus lay to the north of Persepolis; and hence, could not possibly have been either Shiraz or Fasa, two places lying in a so directly contrary point. Pliny places Pasargadæ to the east of Persepolis; (*Nat. Hist.* VI.); and the vale of Mourg-aub, certainly, is much to the north-east of that capital. But Strabo, (lib. XV.*) affords us a still better clue, by telling us, that “the river Kur, or Cyrus, is in the vicinity of Pasargadæ, flowing through hollow Persia” (*Cælo Persis.*) The last term can only mean the deep vales of Sewan and Hajeeabad, which open into that of Merdasht; and the vale of Sewan is only separated from the plain of Mourg-aub by the range of hills which bounds the latter to the southward. Through the plain of Mourg-aub, and amongst these hills, winds the Kur-aub towards the valleys of Sewan and Hajeeabad; traversing the whole of that hollow country, till it falls into the Araxes

* Oxford edit. p. 1034.

or Bundemir, something west of Persepolis. Mourg-aub is distant from Persepolis forty-nine measured English miles. It lies north-eastward of that capital, and the Kur flows at no great distance from the ruins described. All these features agree with the picture of Pasargadæ drawn by Strabo. The late able discourses written on the subject, since the investigation of Mourg-aub by Mr. Morier, and the translation of its inscriptions by Professor Grotefend, seem to have set the question at rest; so that henceforth the traveller who visits the ruins on this plain, may assuredly say to himself, "On that throne sat Cyrus, Lord, King, and Ruler of the World! In that small house of stone lies Cyrus, King of Kings! Covet not the little earth that covers his body!"—*Travels in Persia, &c.* by Sir ROBERT KER PORTER, London, 4to. 1821, vol. i. pp. 507, 508.

[H]. PERSIAN Account of the DEATH OF DARIUS.

P. 66.—"Whether Alexander reached the place while Darius yet breathed, is uncertain."]—The following account of this tragical incident is derived by Sir John Malcolm from the native historians of Persia. But the manner in which the era of the battle—so long previous—is confounded with the day on which the unfortunate monarch was assassinated, renders the original MS. very doubtful evidence, that Alexander saw Darius while he was yet living. "During the heat of the battle, two of the soldiers of Darab *, taking advantage of his being unguarded, slew him, and fled to Alexander, from whom they expected a great reward. That monarch, the moment he learnt what had happened, hastened to the spot where the Persian king had fallen. He found him in the pangs of death, stretched upon the ground, and

* The author of the Zecnut-ul-Tuarih says, they were natives of Hamadan. Ferdosi calls them "two viziers; their names were Mahesiar and Jamislar. We can trace in these names no similarity to that of Bessus."

“ covered with dust and blood. Alexander alighted from his
 “ horse, and raised the head of his enemy upon his knees.
 “ The soul of the conqueror was melted at the sight: he shed
 “ tears, and kissed the cheek of the expiring Darab; who,
 “ opening his eyes, exclaimed:—‘ The world has a thousand
 “ doors, through which its tenants continually enter and pass
 “ away!’—‘ I swear to you,’ said Alexander, ‘ I never
 “ wished a day like this! I desired not to see your royal

“ head in the dust, nor that blood should
 “ stain these cheeks*!’ When Darab
 “ heard his conqueror mourning over him,
 “ he sighed deeply, and said, he trusted
 “ his base murderers would not escape:
 “ that Alexander would not place a stranger

“ on the throne of Persia: and that he would not injure the
 “ honour of his family; but marry his daughter, Roushunuk.
 “ The moment after he had expressed these wishes, he
 “ expired: his body was instantly embalmed with musk and
 “ amber, wrapped in a cloth of gold, and placed in a rich
 “ coffin, adorned with jewels. It was, in that state, carried
 “ to the sepulchral vault, with the most extraordinary honours.
 “ Ten thousand men with drawn swords preceded it: ten
 “ thousand more followed, and an equal number marched on
 “ each flank. Alexander himself, with the nobles of Persia,
 “ and the great officers of his army, attended the obsequies
 “ as mourners. The moment the funeral was over, the two
 “ murderers of Darab were hanged. Some time afterwards,
 “ Alexander married Roushunuk, and nominated the brother
 “ of the late king to the sovereignty of Persia; but his
 “ power does not appear to have been established, as the
 “ policy of Alexander led him to divide that empire into
 “ ninety different principalities.” —MALCOLM’S *History of*
Persia, vol. i. pp. 72, 73.

* “ The account
 “ which Persian writ-
 “ ers give of the death
 “ of Darius, though em-
 “ bellished, is not sub-
 “ stantially different
 “ from that of Plutarch,
 “ Diodorus Siculus, or
 “ Quintus Curtius.”

[I]. *On the Plants which produce GUZ or MANNA.*

P. 89.—“Common here is a tree resembling the oak, “whose leaves, during the night, are thickly suffused with “honey.”]—The substance produced in this singular way was probably MANNA, which in Persia is used in making sweetmeats. At the present day, manna is exported in considerable quantities from Moosh in Armenia; it is also found plentifully in Looristan, and in the district of Khonsar in Irak. *Guz* is the Persian name for it. It is taken from a small shrub, in appearance not unlike a funnel, about four feet in height, and three in diameter at the top. The season for collecting the *guz* is August and September. A vessel of an oval form being placed every third day under the bush, the leaves are beat with a crooked stick, covered with leather. The manna, when first gathered, has the tenacity of gum; but if exposed to the heat of 90°. Fahrenheit, it dissolves into a liquid resembling honey.—KINNEIR'S *Geography of Persia*, 329, 330, *text and note.* As in Italy, manna is collected from the Ash, and several other trees of a large size, we may suppose that the bushes described by Kinneir are trained to a particular height and shape by planters who have arrived at a superior method from long experience.

There are some variations in the best authenticated accounts of the natural history of manna—arising either from different species of it having a different origin, or from close and even philosophical observers not agreeing in the interpretation of equivocal appearances. The following extracts are therefore subjoined for comparison. The chief point in dispute is: whether the insects produce the *guz*, or are merely attracted by it to the tree?—TRANSLATOR.

“This substance, to which various origins have been assigned, is found chiefly in Persia and Arabia. Captain “E. Frederick, of the Bombay establishment, states, that the

“ *gez*, of which he supposes the *gezangabeen* (manna of commerce) is formed, is found on a shrub resembling the broom, called the *gavan*, which he describes as growing from a small root to the height of about two feet and a half, and spreading into a circular form at the top, from three to four feet and a half in circumference. The leaves were small and narrow; and underneath the *gez* was observed, a film spread all over the tender branches like white uneven threads, with innumerable little insects creeping slowly about.

“ These insects were either of three species, or the same in three different stages of existence. The one was perfectly red, and so small as to be scarcely perceptible; the second dark, and very like a common louse, though not so large; and the third a very small fly. They were all extremely dull and sluggish, and fond of lying or creeping about between the bark of the *gavan* and the *gez*. This substance is stated to be collected every third day for 28 days about the month of September.

“ Capt. F. made the above observations near the town of Khonsar, where, and in Looristan, this substance is chiefly found. He states that the *gez* is obtained by beating the bushes with a stick. When first separated, it is a white sticky substance, not unlike hoar frost, of a very rich sweet taste. It is purified by boiling, and then mixed up with rose-water, flour, and pistachio nuts, into cakes, and in this form constitutes the sweetmeat called in Persia *gezangabeen*, and which, by the Persians, is highly valued. Though the *gez*, when first collected, admits of being sifted, still, in its original state, it is brittle and adhesive at the same time: qualities for which it is remarkable after its preparation as a sweetmeat. If pressed, it sticks to the fingers; but on being smartly struck, separates easily into small grains, like sugar. It is in this state in cool weather; but above the temperature of 68°. it liquifies, and resembles white honey both in colour and taste.

“ Besides the above species of manna, other products of a similar nature are stated by the author of the present paper, as well as others, to be found in Persia and the neighbouring countries.—*Transactions of the LITERARY SOCIETY OF BOMBAY*, vol. i.”

“ Meerza Jíáfer Tabee, a Persian physician, now in London, gives a different account of this substance. *Gez*, according to him, is the name of a tree called in Arabic *turfá*, and which is supposed to belong to the Tamarisk genus. Of this tree there are two species; one a shrub, which yields the substance in question, called *gezangabecn* (a term meaning literally *juice of the (tree) gez*), used only as a sweetmeat; the other, a tree yielding a somewhat similar substance, called in Arabic *athel*, and which is employed in medicine as an astringent. Besides these two species of manna, he states they have a third, called in Arabic *terenjubin*, which is used as a laxative. This gentleman also states, that it is the universal opinion in Persia, that all these varieties are exudations from the trees on which they are found, and not the work of insects.”—*Asiatic Journal* for MARCH, 1819, p. 268.

[K]. *Existing Traces of the second tribe of MARDI.*

P. 91.—“ The Mardi are a tribe on the borders of Hyrcania, of rugged habits, and accustomed to pillage.”]—It has been mentioned in ADDITIONAL NOTE [F], that the Mardi of that passage are a distinct tribe from the Mardi of this. The following curious piece of information, derived from a traveller of eminent name—at the time he made the observation, filling the office of ambassador from the court of Britain to that of Persia—discovers to us vestiges, existing even in the present day, of a race of *Troglodytæ* who dwell in the province anciently called ATROPATENA; into which very

neighbourhood Alexander has marched. It is therefore no violent assumption to place the second tribe of Mardi mentioned by Curtius, in a district which will comprehend the position of the Troglodyte hamlet about to be described.

“ Tuesday, May 17, 1814.—Before we reached the mountain of Shibili, [in the route from Oujân towards Tabriz,] I visited the curious village of Mânab on our left, which, after the lapse of a century, has lately been re-inhabited, and given to my present Mehmandâr, YUSEF KHAN, in fief, by His Royal Highness, ABBAS MIRZA. It seems to have been a Troglodyte hamlet: and the new tenants had only to transport their small stock of furniture, to be completely settled in their habitations, without any repairs. In all, there are about one hundred houses, or rather excavations, in the side of the mountain; one façade sufficing for the entrance to four or five different tenements, which branch off from it. A chimney in each room serves a triple purpose—according to the season—of emitting smoke, and of admitting air and day-light; but of the latter, the tenants of these subterraneous abodes, enjoy but a small share. In other respects, the dwellings are comfortable enough, being more cool in summer, and warmer in winter than the ordinary houses of Persia. I could not discover any inscription whatever, to lead even to conjecture upon the age, or the construction of this extraordinary village. Tradition is also silent on the subject; but the very absence of all information, with respect to its origin, in my opinion, removes all doubt of its great antiquity.”—*Extract from Sir GORE OUSELEY'S MS. Journal, cited in Travels to the East, by Sir WILLIAM OUSELEY, Knt.—London, 4to. 1821, vol. II. pp. 461, 462.*

There are also in Armenia remains of the same class of excavations: these confirm the notices in some of the ancient geographers which carry the haunts of the Mardi in a prolonged chain to that province. Another traveller, after describing some curious specimens, adds:

"We find many similar works in Georgia, which are now become nearly inaccessible. Not far from Dusched, in the domain of Podorna, is a high, broad mass of rock, where the stairs, even from one story to the other, have been hewn out. And the area is so large, that, in war-time, old men, women, and children, flee thither for refuge."—WILKINSON'S *Reinegg's Caucasus*, vol. ii. p. 52.

Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 125, gives to the Mardi a Persian descent: they would appear, from his representation, to have been outlaws, with a warlike spirit, a propensity to pillage, and a facile habit, when driven to extremity, of shifting their residence and country. M. Anquetil du Perron, in three *Memoirs upon the Mardi*, read before the Academy of Belles Lettres, has traced six emigrations of this remarkable people. Strabo, lib. XI. p. 350, in a catalogue of the inhabitants of Armenia and Northern Media, includes the *Amardi*. The mountains Zagros and Niphates also afforded recesses to some of their scattered clans. M. Barbié du Bocage, *Examen Critique*, p. 818, tells us, after Stephanus, that *Amardi* signified the "Greater Mardi."

Curtius does not indeed describe his second tribe of Mardi as living in caves: perhaps this habit was not common to all the nation, or they might change these retreats for tents, according to the place and season. However, their OCCUPYING EMINENCES, from which he had to dislodge them, *Translation*, vol. ii. p. 92, is consistent with their possibly having sculptured mansions in the least accessible rocks.

[L]. *On the connection between the EASTERN and the WESTERN CAUCASUS.*

P. 158.—"Hence, Alexander moved toward mount 'Caucasus.'"—As we become better instructed in the geography of Persia and India, by the lights which emanate

from the English school of Oriental Literature,—the necessity of any apology for the introduction of the Caucasus into this part of Alexander's history is diminished; nay, it becomes doubtful, whether Arrian and Strabo have assigned the true cause, why the first Macedonian accounts associated the Caucasus with Alexander's progress. Arrian observes; citing Eratosthenes as having advanced this opinion: "The Macedonians who fought under Alexander, conspired to call the Paropamisus the Caucasus, for no other reason than a desire to magnify the exploits of their leader, and to have it believed, that in his successive victories he had passed the true Caucasus."—lib. V. cap. iii. Now, this in part is wrong: it was the Hindoo Kos, which they called the Caucasus; and the neighbouring range which they designated as the Paropamisus, is much broader, being a country of mountains, but of inferior height. Strabo admits, that it was in reality more glorious for Alexander to subdue Asia as far as the Indian mountains; and yet suggests, that the ancient renown of the Caucasus (alluding to the popular belief, that Jason, with his Argonauts, had penetrated to the countries at its foot); and the tradition, that Prometheus was chained to that mountain, at the extreme bounds of the earth,—induced the flatterers of Alexander to remove the Caucasus into India.—lib. XV. p. 688. The extracts which we shall have occasion to adduce—in this note—from two living travellers and geographers, the best informed as to the origin, course, and terminal proximity of the two capital ranges of primary mountains, confounded by the ancients under the name of Caucasus: and—in the following note—from ancient Hindoo books preserving the tradition of Prometheus: will show, that Arrian and Strabo overlooked what was likely to be the true cause why the Macedonians associated Alexander and the Caucasus; namely, the existence of a loftier mountain than Jason's Caucasus, on the northern confines of Persia and India, which bore the name of Hindoo Kos, or one corresponding with it in the local dialects,—and which, with the

native poets, had been immemorially venerated as the mythological seat of the *Eagle's Cave*.

Our first quotation carries Jason's Caucasus, at one extremity, very near India.

"The WESTERN CAUCASUS—as the lofty chain between the Euxine and the Caspian may be called, to distinguish it from the Hindoo Kos—sends out three principal branches, the most northern of which, on reaching the river Cyrus, runs parallel with its banks in a south-east line; thence it proceeds eastward, leaving a narrow slip of low territory [partly comprised in the ancient Hyrcania] along the southern coast of the Caspian sea. In the vicinity of Kasween, it takes the name of KHOI CAUCASAN, and curving to the north of Meshed, is ultimately lost in the forests of Khorassan."—KINNEIR'S *Geograph. Mem. of the Persian Empire*, p. 4.

Beginning, in an opposite direction, to trace the mighty range which comprises Alexander's, i. e. the EASTERN CAUCASUS,—another modern authority conducts us to the vicinity where the former terminates, so as almost to make the two meet.

"If we traverse the Kingdoms of Hindostan and Caubul, from the east of Bengal to Heraut, we shall find them everywhere bounded on the north by a chain of mountains which is covered with perpetual snow, for almost the whole of that extent; and from which all the great rivers of both countries appear to issue. This chain commences near the Burrampooter, and runs nearly north-west, as far as Cashmeer: during this part of its course, it is called HEMALLEH by the natives of the neighbouring countries. From Cashmeer its general direction is a little to the south-west, as far as the high snowy peak of Hindoo Coosh, nearly north of Caubul. From this peak its height diminishes; it no longer bears perpetual snow, and is soon after lost in a group of mountains, which stretch in length from Caubul almost to Heraut, and occupy more than two

“degrees of latitude in their breadth. Some ranges issue
 “from this mass on the west, and extend so far into Persia,
 “as to justify, if not completely to establish, the opinion of
 “the Ancients, *which connected the RANGE I HAVE BEEN*
 “*DESCRIBING, with MOUNT CAUCASUS on the west of the*
 “*Caspian sea.*”—ELPHINSTONE'S *Mission to Caubul*, p. 85.

The same eminent traveller in a note adds :

“The following passage in Arrian (book iii. chap. 28,) will
 “shew the extent attributed by the Greeks to this mountain.
 “It is introduced when Alexander arrives at the foot of
 “mount Caucasus, at a point which all geographers have

“placed in the neighbourhood of Canda-
 “har *.” “The mountain of Caucasus is
 “said by Aristobulus to be as high as any

* The Translator dis-
 sents from this opinion.
 See ADD. NOTE [M].

“in Asia; but it is bare in most parts, and particularly in
 “this place. It stretches for a great extent; so that mount
 “Taurus, which divides Pamphylia from Cilicia, is said
 “to be a part of it, as well as other high mountains, dis-
 “tinguished from Caucasus by various names, arising from
 “the different nations to whose country they extend.”

Resuming the text, the diligent improver of the local
 geography proceeds :

“From Cashmeer to HINDOO COOSH, the whole range is
 “known by the name of that peak. From thence to the
 “meridian of Heraut, the mountains have no general name
 “among the natives, and I shall call them by that of
 “PAROPAMISUS, which is already applied to them by
 “European Geographers.”—ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, p. 85.

In another place he thus describes the intricate and repul-
 sive country which this tenfold belt incloses :

“The Paropamisan chain extends 350 miles from east to
 “west, and 200 from north to south. The whole is such a
 “maze of mountains, as the most intimate knowledge would
 “scarcely enable us to trace; and though it affords a habita-
 “tion to the Eimauchs and Hazaurehs, it is so difficult of
 “access, and so little frequented, that no precise accounts of

“ its geography are to be obtained. It is certain, however, that no continued line of perpetual snow can any longer be traced as in the range of Hindoo Coosh. The eastern half of this elevated region is inhabited by the Hazarehs, and is cold, rugged, and barren : the level spots are little cultivated, and the hills are naked and abrupt. The western part, which belongs to the Eimauks, though it has wider valleys, and is better cultivated, is still a wild and poor country. The northern face of those mountains has a sudden descent into the province of Bulkh [Bactria] : their acclivity is less on their other extremities, except, perhaps, on the west, or south-west. On the north-west they seem to sink gradually into the plain which borders on the desert. The slope of the whole tract is towards the west.”—pp. 99, 100.

This may be usefully compared with our historian's description of the *Paropamisadæ*, lib. VII. cap. iii. *Translation*, vol. ii. p. 155.

[M]. *On the Site of ALEXANDRIA AD CALCEM CAUCASI INDICI.*

P. 159.—“ Caucasus. Among its eminences is a rock ten stadia in circumference, and four in height; to which, according to an ancient tradition, Prometheus was chained. At the base of the ridge, Alexander selected a site for founding a city.”—This city is usually called *Alexandria Paropamisus* by the commentators, as if the historians of Alexander had uniformly substituted the *Caucasus* for the *Paropamisus*. But we have seen—in the last note—that the *Paropamisus* is a country of mountains, and to be distinguished from the Hindoo Kos, which is a loftier, but a narrower range. The Translator will therefore adhere to the letter of the primary accounts; and, to assist in illustrating them, adduce the available information which Major Wilford has elicited from Sanscrit writings.

In the first place, this learned Orientalist shows, that it was agreeable to a native tradition to fix Prometheus to the Indian Caucasus.

“ The cave of Prometheus is called in the Puranas “ *Garuda-sthan*, i. e. the ‘ Place of the Eagle,’ and is situated “ near the place called Shibr in Major Rennell’s Map of the “ *Western Parts of India*; indeed *Pramathas* is better “ known in India by the appellation of Shebar. *Bamian* “ (in Sanscrit *Vimiyān*) and Shibr lay to the N.W. of “ *Cabul*.”—*ASIATIC RESEARCHES*, vol. V. art. xviii. Paper *On the Chronology of the Hindus*, by Captain FRANCIS WILFORD, p. 289.

In another work the same writer observes: “ Strabo and “ Arrian were certainly mistaken, when they supposed, that “ the followers of Alexander, in order to flatter his vanity, “ had given out that the mountains to the north and north- “ west of Cabul, were the real CAUCASUS. The information “ the Greeks received about it was true and accurate; they “ were undoubtedly careless in their inquiries: but I can “ aver, that all the names of places in Alexander’s march “ from *Bahlac* (Bactra) to *Multan* (the city of the Malli), “ are pure Sanscrit.”—*On Mount Caucasus*. By Captain WILFORD. *Asiat. Res.* vol. VI. p. 460. Calcutta edit.

Alexandria ad Paropamisum was near the Cave of Prometheus, which is to be seen to this day near the pass of SHEIBAR, between Ghorbund and Bamiyan.—*IDEM*, p. 495. —*See also* p. 502.

With regard to the site of the city, the Translator considers, that the words of Curtius, a few lines of the *Itinerary* of Diognetes and Bæton preserved in Pliny, and some extracts from the native histories and traditions collected by Major Wilford and the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, may be combined with advantage.

Pliny thus introduces the *Itinerary*: “ That our description “ of the earth may be understood, let us attend the footsteps “ of Alexander the Great. Diognetes and Bæton, THE

"SURVEYORS OF HIS EXPEDITIONS, have written,—that
 "from the Caspian Gates to Hecatompylos in Parthia, it is
 "as many miles as we have stated; [said above to be 133]
 "thence to Alexandria in Aria, which city this king founded,
 "566 mill. Thence to Prophthasia in Drangiana, 199 mill.
 "Thence to the capital of Arachosia, 515 mill. Thence to
 "Ortospanum, 250 mill. Thence to Alexandria, 50 mill.
 "(in some copies different numbers are found); this city
 "stands at the foot of CAUCASUS. From that to the river
 "Cophetes, and the Indian city Peucolaotis, 227 mill.
 "Thence to the river Indus and the city of Taxila, 60 mill.

The Translator now begs leave to repeat some remarks
 applying to the subject, which he made in an *Essay on the
 Site of Palibothra*, inserted in the ASIATIC JOURNAL for
 Jan. 1818, pp. 19, 20.

The distances will tally sufficiently, if we place the capital
 of Arachosia near Candahar. Moving thence to Pliny's
 Ornospanum, 250 Roman miles in a north-east direction,
 will carry us to Ghizni. 50 mill. to Alexandria under Cau-
 casus—in some copies the numbers are different, say 100—
 brings us to the vicinity of Caubul.

I am not ignorant that *Alexandria Paropamisus* "is a
 "point which all geographers have placed in the neighbour-
 "hood of Candahar*:" but this cannot be the Alexandria of Pliny, distant only
 227 + 60 Roman miles from the Indus.

• Major Wilford
 must be excepted.—
 See above, p. 546.

Candahar may nevertheless have been one of the six cities
 built by Alexander at another period.

"The ancient city is sometimes said to have been founded
 "by Lohrasp, a Persian king, who flourished in times of very
 "remote antiquity, and to whom also the founding of Heraut
 "is attributed. It is asserted by others, *with far greater*
 "*probability*, to have been built by Sekunder Zoolkurnyne,
 "that is, by Alexander the Great." —ELPHINSTONE'S
Caubul, p. 423. These two traditions are at variance; and
 as the illustrious Envoy delivers but an incidental opinion

respecting their comparative probability, I trust I may adduce the two following passages from himself, for comparison with the accounts, in classic historians, of the localities of the Alexandria in question: "The country round Candahar "is level."—p. 394. "The district of Cohdaumun," [immediately dependent on the city of Caubul, and edging from it north,] "lies, as its name implies, on the skirts of the "mountains."—*Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, and its dependencies, by the Hon. MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE, Resident at Poona.* 4to. London, 1815, p. 435.

In fine, the place of Caubul in Elphinstone's *Map*—as well as his description of the country—will agree with Curtius' and Pliny's accounts of the site of Alexandria under Caucasus; and with Major Wilford's allocation of the fabled Cave of Prometheus, according to Indian authorities: whereas the level country round Candahar, and other circumstances of its position, indicate the reverse of identity.

[N]. *Descriptions of the SUHRAB from various Travellers. Belzoni's Description of a DESART in general.*

P. 169.—..... "the arid plains take the appearance of a "vast and deep sea."—The French marching in Upper Egypt had their thirst stimulated by the sands assuming the appearance of water, and rolling like waves over extended lakes.—DENON.

In 1808, the caravan of a British embassy from India to Caubul, witnessed in the desert between Canound and Monjghur "a most magnificent *mirage*, which looked like "an extensive lake, or a very wide river. The water "seemed clear and beautiful, and the figures of two gentlemen, who rode along it, were reflected as distinctly as in "real water."—ELPHINSTONE'S *Caubul*, p. 17.

The French term this phenomenon *mirage*; the Persians calls it *Suhrab*, i. e. the “water of the desert.”

So from afar the faithless deserts show
Ideal lakes, to cheat the pilgrim's eyes.

Phrosyne. By H. GALLY KNIGHT, 1817.

Belzoni informs us, that, in spite of all his caution not to be deceived, he has frequently been led to conclude, that a piece of salt desert was really water, so perfect a resemblance to water did the *mirage* present. “It generally appears like a still lake, so unmoved by the wind, that every thing above is to be seen distinctly reflected by it, which is the principal cause of the deception.”—*Narrative of Researches and Operations in Egypt and Nubia.* By G. BELZONI. London, 4to. 1820, p. 196. In another place he speaks of the *mirage* looking like a rolling sea, in agreement with the quotation from Denon: this is when the wind strongly agitates the incumbent vapour.—p. 343.

With respect to the force of *haud secus quam continenti incendio cuncta torrentur*; and the propriety of translating it, “every thing is dried up as in a kiln always burning,” the following general description of a desert is presented from the same traveller.

“It is difficult to form an idea of a desert, without having been in one; it is an endless plain of sands and stones, sometimes intermixed with mountains of all sizes and heights, without roads or shelter, without any sort of produce for food. The few scattered trees and shrubs of thorns, that only appear when the rainy season leave some moisture, barely serve to feed wild animals, and a few birds. Every thing is left to nature; the wandering inhabitants do not care to cultivate even these few plants, and when there is no more of them in one place, they go to another. When the trees become old, and lose their vegetation in such climates as these, the sun which constantly beams upon them, burns and reduces them to ashes.

“ have seen many of them entirely burnt. The other smaller
 “ plants have no sooner risen out of the earth, than they
 “ are dried up, and all take the colour of straw, with the
 “ exception of the plant *harack*; this falls off before it is dry.
 “ Speaking generally of a desert, there are few springs of
 “ water, some of them at the distance of four, six, and eight
 “ days’ journey from one another, and not all of sweet water;
 “ on the contrary, it is generally salt or bitter, so that if the
 “ thirsty traveller drinks of it, it increases his thirst, and he
 “ suffers more than before. In the midst of all this misery,
 “ the deceitful *mirage* appears before the traveller at no
 “ great distance.”—pp. 341, 343.

[O]. *On the Conversion of the JAXARTES into
 the TANAIS.*

P. 179.—“ Alexander has selected on the bank of the
 “ Tanaïs [Jaxartes] an area on which he intended to found a
 “ city.”]—The conversion of the *Jaxartes* into the *Tanaïs* is an
 error in the original accounts. Strabo, lib. XI. p. 742, Oxf.
 edit. and Arrian, lib. III. cap. xxx., suppose that the Macedo-
 nians had a design in confounding the two rivers—either to
 flatter Alexander, or to gratify their own vanity as conquerors.
 But how was their renown promoted by substituting the name
 of the *Tanaïs* (the modern Don) for the *Jaxartes* (called in
 the Mungol language, “ *Iksçerte*,” i. e. the Great River)?
 It had been easier for them, had that trivial object limited
 their ambition, to have arrived at the first, than the second.
 The Tanaïs was comparatively near to Thrace: the Jaxartes
 was about 1200 miles farther to the East. Major Rennell
 has attributed the mistake to a more reasonable cause—the
 “ supposition, probably, that it was the head of the other
 “ river;” for the Macedonian-Greeks under Alexander speak
 in several places as if they were much nearer the Palus

Mæotis, than the superior accuracy of modern Geography manifests that they were.—*Geogr. of Herodotus*, p. 206.

Further, it is even possible, that the two rivers might—in Alexander's day—bear the same name; for there are many examples of the Ancients having bestowed the same appellation on different rivers, where some characteristic circumstance was common to both: now each of these rivers was a boundary to the Scythians, though in relation to different neighbours.

Under this view, we are at liberty to consider the “Tanaïs,” when occurring in the history, in connection with the Scythians of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, to mean the true TANAIS, or modern Don; and when occurring in connection with the Massagetæ, the Abii—or other tribes of Scythians between the Eastern coast of the Caspian sea, and the Pameer mountain, north of, and running perpendicular to, Paropamisus—as indicating the JAXARTES.

And when Alexander—lib. VII. cap. vii. *Transl.* vol. ii. p. 186; and lib. IX. cap. vi. p. 341—speaks of passing into EUROPE, by crossing the “Tanaïs:” we are not to infer that he thought he was in contact with the frontier territory which belongs to the modern Cossacks of the Don:—no: he spoke in conformity with a different geographical arrangement, which would assign to Europe all that region north-by-east of the Caspian, which is separated by the Altaian and other mountains from the Indo-Chinese nations. In a word: if Alexander had to determine the boundaries between Europe and Asia, where nature has not marked them by a wide and decisive interval,—he would attribute to Europe the whole of Russia and Russian Tartary, and consider Asia to terminate where the northern frontier of the Chinese empire, comprehending Chinese Tartary, at present touches the first Russian station. If this arrangement had prevailed, it might have been quite as reasonable, as consistent in its principles, and as intelligible in its outlines, as the current system of

geography which carries ASIA up to the Arctic Ocean, ten degrees, or more, north of Archangel.

[P]. *Modern Name and Description of the Country answering to the ancient PRINCIPALITY of SYSIMITHRES.*

P. 236.—“Sysimithres, having brought a multitude of “horses, two thousand camels, with divers herds and “flocks.”]—A succession of modern travellers attest both the extreme coldness of the climate in the elevated region near the sources of the Oxus, and the fertility of the midland hills and valleys. To begin with the celebrated Venetian, he says: “The mountains of Badakhshan afford pasture for an “innumerable quantity of sheep, which ramble about in flocks “of four, five, and six hundred, all wild; and though many “are taken and killed, there does not appear to be any “diminution.”—*Travels of MARCO POLO, translated from the Italian: by WILLIAM MARSDEN, F.R.S. London, 4to. 1818, p. 131.*

The present Governor of Bombay describes the same country and its boundaries, both from information collected during the mission to Caubul, and from the previous accounts of Oriental geographers and European travellers. “The “Badakhshan ridge runs from N. N. E. to S. S. W., between “the Hindoo Koosh and Pameer Ridges. From all accounts, it appears to be a considerable one, and covered “for the greater part of the year with snow.” “The whole “of the country between the Hindoo Koosh and Pameer “ridges, appears to be groups of hills. . . . The hills are well “wooded; and the low ones along their base are well “stocked with fruit trees of various kinds.”—Lt. MACARTNEY’S *Memoir*.—ELPHINSTONE’S *Caubul*, p. 639.

“The Jihon,” (or Oxus,) says Ibn Haukal, “rises within the territories of Badakhshan, and receives the waters of many other streams.”

“Badakhshaun, though an extensive country, seems to be but one great valley, running up from the province of Balkh to Beloot Taugh, between the highlands connected with the Pameer ridge, and the range of Hindoo Koosh.”—IDEM, p. 628.

“Beloot Taugh forms the boundary between Independent Tartary and Chinese Tartary. Izzul Ooolab gives a frightful picture of the cold and desolation of this *elevated tract*. This alpine region is named by Eastern geographers “*Baloor*.”—ELPHINSTONE’S *Caulul*, p. 113.

In 1603, Benedict Goez, a Portuguese Jesuit, travelled nearly the same route as Marco Polo. The following is the geographical order in which he mentions Badakhshan, in describing his own progress: “through Kabul, Talkan, and *Badakhshan*, to Kashgar and China.”

[Q]. *Existing tradition of a Race of Princes descended from Alexander.*

P. 238.—“The king of Asia and Europe married a lady introduced at an entertainment.”]—Marco Polo, speaking in the thirteenth century, says: “In the province of Badakhshan the people are Mahometans. It is an extensive kingdom, being in length full twelve days’ journey, and is governed by princes in hereditary succession, who are all descended from Alexander, by the daughter of Darius, king of the Persians. All these have borne the title of *Zulkarnen*, being equivalent to Alexander. . . . The natives asserted, that not long since there were still found in this province horses of the breed of Alexander’s celebrated charger, Bucephalus, which were all foaled with a particular

“ mark in the forehead. The whole of the breed was in the possession of one of the king’s uncles ; who, upon his refusal to yield them to his nephew, was put to death ; whereupon his widow, exasperated at the murder, caused them all to be destroyed ; and thus the race was lost to the world.”—MARSDEN’S *Marco Polo*, pp. 129, 130.

If for the “ daughter of Darius,” in this tradition, we substitute the “ daughter of Oxartes,” it will agree sufficiently, as well in other circumstances as in the striking one of locality, with the account of Curtius ; and there is a greater probability that the last-mentioned princess should have her residence here than the former.

A living English traveller notices a similar tradition : “ The king of Derwauz, near the sources of the Oxus, claims his descent from Alexander the Great, and his pretensions are admitted by all his neighbours.”—Lieut. MACARTNEY’S *Memoir*.—ELPHINSTONE’S *Candul*, p. 628.

[R]. *On the construction of RECTA REGIONE.*

P. 260.—“ Almost the whole of India slopes eastward ; a spacious territory, not so much by running into breadth, as by its perpendicular extent.”—*India tota ferme spectat Orientem ; minus in latitudinem, quam recta regione, spatiosa.*—CURT. Strabo, in his Map of the Climates of the World, includes the modern Thibet and China under the name India. On the first view of what Curtius here writes, the Translator was ready to infer, that his Author had before him a similar outline of its geography ; and he therefore, in the first edition, followed the commentators in construing “ *spectat Orientem*” as “ TRENDS eastward :” but, on reviewing the whole of the chapter, which appears to apply only to India Proper, he finds that this sentence may convey an accordant meaning. He cannot think that *minus in latitudinem quam RECTA*

regione spatiosa is adequately represented by, "it is less in breadth than in length;" because this is a mere truism, which conveys no information; and because *latitudinem* and *recta regione* are not in the same case. He would therefore understand *recta*—as answering to the idea of a RIGHT or PERPENDICULAR line falling from a horizontal one; a more literal translation, illustrated by a paraphrase, will show how far this concise representation of Curtius corresponds with the actual shape and geography of India Proper. He says it is "spacious, less by running into breadth," [thus

which it does from the foot of the Himâlāa to the mouth of the Indus on one side, and to the estuary of the Ganges on the other,] "than by its perpendicular "territory," [including its majestic cape,

What direction has the face of the territory as an inclined plane? The *spectat Orientem* of the original is rendered, "slopes toward the East." Although this meaning can be reconciled better with the actual topography of India Proper, than any other of which the words are susceptible, such general descriptions cannot be literally true in all points. The following extract will however show, that the greater part of the territory has that inclination: "Moral-Ca-Candar "is a large and noble mountain, which stretches in a continuous but irregular range, and under various names, from "the snowy mountains above Rempur and Seran, quite down "to Irki. It is an interesting range, because it divides the "waters of Upper Hindostan. All these rising from its "eastern side, flowing—through the rivers Girri, Paber,

“Touse, and Jumna—into the GANGES and the BAY OF BENGAL; while those from the western aspect run—by the Sulej and Indus—into the INDIAN OCEAN.”—ASIATIC RESEARCHES, vol. XIII. p. 171.

[S]. *The Source of the Ganges.*

P. 261.—“The Ganges, a distinguished river, at its rise flows “southward.”]—The source of the Ganges has at length been ascertained to lie in an elevated basin, formed by the five peaks of the local mountain *Roodroo*, which is also called *Panch Parbat*, one of the loftiest and grandest in the snowy range of the *Himālāa*, and which is venerated by the Hindoos as the throne of the god Mahadeo. The five peaks form a semicircular hollow of considerable extent, filled with eternal snow; from the gradual dissolution of the lower parts of which the PRINCIPAL part of the stream is generated. James Baillie Fraser, Esq. in the year 1815, penetrated to a temple called Gungotree, sacred to Mahadeo, situated in this recess. The impossibility of proceeding farther among glens and precipices covered with snow, and gullies of latent water running under a floor of ice, obliged Mr. Fraser to rest satisfied with the report of a Pundit as to the positive situation of the source of the Ganges. According to the Pundit’s information, the source is not more than five miles’ horizontal distance from the temple, and in a direction south-east. The map accompanying the Journal, assigns to the position N. lat. about $31^{\circ}. 5'$; and E. long. $78^{\circ}. 57'. 40''$.

Mr. Fraser distinctly adverts to the old popular idea, that the Ganges issues from a rock like a *cow’s mouth*; a notion which is countenanced and repeated by one of the Persian biographers of Timour, and afterwards by the Jesuit Father, Tieffenthaler: but he deliberately affirms—on the authority of the Pundit, Brahmins, Zemindars, and other people of the

place—that this fantastic *cow's mouth* has no existence.—*Journal of a Tour through part of the snowy Range of the Himāla Mountains, and to the Sources of the Rivers Jumna and Ganges.* By JAMES BAILLIE FRASER, Esq. 4to. London, 1820, pp. 470 474.

[T]. *On the ancient name of the BRAHMAPOOTRA.*

P. 261.—“ *The ACESINES* augments it just before its “discharge into the ocean.”]—The commentators have impeached this passage, and incidental critics have echoed their remarks, as though Curtius had, by introducing the ACESINES here, confounded the mighty river, now called the *Brahmapootra* with the *Acesines* of the *Punjaub*. But for assuming that there is an error here, no critic can give any sufficient reason. Is it not a thing that has occurred in all countries and ages, for different rivers to bear the same names? How many were called by the Ancients, the *Lycus*!—how many the *Araxes*! The present *Hindoos* bestow the name of the *Gunga* on many besides the *Ganges*. In England there are two streams called the *Wye*, and the name of the *Avon* is common to several. The cause of this multiplicity, is, that originally the name was an epithet founded on some characteristic circumstance: thus, rivers having the same feature, or property—the same discoverer, or improver—received the same appellative. When ancient writers describe the *Lycus* as falling into the *Tigris*, no one suspects them of confounding it with the *Lycus* of *Phrygia*; and when Curtius, after treating of the *Ganges*, adverts to the rise and course of the *Acesines*, and the ultimate junction of those two gigantic rivers,—the relation in which the second is mentioned, is a geographical mark for distinguishing it from the other *Acesines*, which falls into the *Indus*, as specified in a subsequent book.—*Transl.* pp. 321, 324. The exact source of the

Brahmapootra has never been explored by Europeans: but it is thought to be near that of the Ganges, on the opposite face of the Himálāa. In Tibet it is called the SANPOO, which is, by eminence, "the river." It is probable that its ancient name might have been *Akassanpoo*, which the Greeks converted into AKESSINES. *Akas*, in Sanscrit, has the meaning of "sky;" and the compound might denote the *heaven-descended river*, an appropriate name for a stream whose source had not been explored. It appears from Morecroft's *Journal*, that at this day, a second river, far to the west, is called the SANPOO; and what is much in point, it is one of the remote streams rising in Tartary, which falls into the Indus. The whole course of the Brahmapootra is reckoned at 1650 miles; most part of it is exterior to India Proper; at length touching Bengal, twenty miles of the line falls between that province and Assam, as a frontier river; and thence to its junction with the Ganges, it runs within the Hon. East-India Company's dominions.

[U]. *Notices of BACCHUS and HERCULES from
HINDOO Authorities.*

P. 270.—"Bacchus and Hercules they knew by Tradition."—It has been mentioned in the Additional Notes to the first volume, [C], p. 468, that it is not easy to discover what Arrian means to say respecting the monuments of an Indian Bacchus and Hercules, which he found described in the original Macedonian accounts. Strabo is explicit; adopting the opinion of Eratosthenes, he pronounces that "these are fictions invented by the flatterers of Alexander."—*lib. XV. Oxf. edit.* p. 980. In this he is doubly wrong; namely, as it respects the classical sources, both of the Grecian and Indian mythologies. The expedition of Bacchus to India is celebrated in the *Bacchanalians* of Euripides,

vv. 14 17, &c., which poet flourished a century before Alexander lived. Strabo, *ut supra*, p. 978, has inconsistently quoted these verses, as well as some from Sophocles to the same effect.

[BACCHUS speaks:]

- But now from Lydia's fields
- With gold abounding, from the Phrygian realm,—
And that of Persia scorched by torrid suns,
Passing from Bactrian towers, the frozen land
Of Media,—and through Araby the blest,—
With ASIA's wide-extended continent
Reaching to Ocean's briny verge, where Greeks
Are intermingled with Barbarian tribes
In many a fortress, and well-peopled town
Where I have led the choral dance, and 'stablish'd
My rites :—to manifest my power divine
Among mankind I come ; revisiting the first
Of the Hellenian cities.

EURIP. *Bacch.* *ut supra*.—*Wodhull's Version compared with Potter's.*

[The CHORUS sing an Ode:]

Thee, the Nyssean mountain's craggy sides,
O'er which the mantling ivy twines.

SOPHOC. *Antigone*.—POTTER'S *Version*.

Major Wilford has elicited—from the Hindoo writings—ample evidence, that the traditions and monuments of an Indian Bacchus and Hercules—which the ancient Macedonian-Greeks, who were the companions of Alexander, describe—had an Indian origin. To cite one example of each: “DEO-NAUSH (Dionysius) was at first a mere mortal: “but on Mount *Meru*, he became a *deva*, or god,—hence “called *Deva-naush*, or in the vulgar dialect *Deo-naush*. “This happened about fifteen generations before Crishna.”—*On the Chronology of the Hindus. By Capt. WILFORD. Asiat. Res.* vol. V. p. 292. *Calcutta edit.*—See also vol. VI. p. 500.

“The Indian Hercules, according to Cicero, was called “BELUS. Ho is the same with BALA, the brother of Crishna,

“ and both are conjointly worshipped at Muttra ; indeed they
 “ are considered as one *Avatara*, or incarnation of Vishnu.
 “ Bala is represented as a stout man, with a club in his hand ;
 “ he is also called Bala-Rama. As Bala sprang from
 “ Vishnu, or Heri, he is certainly *Heri-cula*, *Heri-culas*,
 “ or Hercules. There is a very ancient statue of *Bala-*
 “ *Rama*, at a place called *Baladeva*, or *Baldeo* in the
 “ vulgar dialects. It was visited some years ago by the late
 “ Lieutenant Stewart, and I shall describe it in his own
 “ words: ‘ *Bala-Rama*, or *Bala-deva*, is represented *there*
 “ with a ploughshare in his left hand, with which he hooked
 “ his enemies ; and in his right hand a thick cudgel, with
 “ which he cleft their skulls ; his shoulders are covered with
 “ the skin of a tyger. The village of Baldeo is thirteen miles
 “ E. by S. from Muttra.’ ”—*On the Chronology of the Hindus.*
By Capt. WILFORD. Asiat. Res. vol. V. p. 270.

Thus, to blend the office of a husbandman, or *subduer of the earth*, with the character of Hercules, raises the value of his labours ; by conferring on them a double utility, originating in design, which the imposed tasks of the Grecian mythology seem to want. The exploit of cleansing the Augæan stable becomes of superior value, when it provides the agriculturist with resources ; and that of fetching the Golden Apples from the Gardens of the Hesperides, takes the impress of a positive benefaction to mankind, as a leading example of the enterprising horticulture which brings home and naturalizes useful exotic plants.

[X]. *Tradition of a Tribe descended from Alexander.*

P. 277.—“ It is certain that a child which she afterwards bore, whoever was its father, was named Alexander.”—Classical travellers have identified the BEZIRA, mentioned in the history, *Transl. p. 274*, with the modern BJORÉ.

Nevertheless, there are two points of discrepancy between the history and the following tradition. 1. The child which one account had perhaps only anticipated would be a SON, is in the other represented to be a DAUGHTER. 2. The tribe, boasting of this descent, are said to have come from Caubul to Sewad and Bijore, not until the fifteenth century: but this might not be an objection, if we knew their previous migrations.

Abûlfazil, speaking of the districts of Sewad and Bijore, which he describes as consisting of hills and wilds, gives us this tradition, preserved among the inhabitants: "In the time of Mirza Ulagh Beg (1450) the tribe of Sûltan, who assert themselves to be the descendants of the DAUGHTER of Sultan Sekunder Zulkernain, came from Caubul, and possessed themselves of the country. They say that Sekunder left treasure in Caubul, under the care of some of his relations; and a branch of his descendants, who carry their genealogical table in their hands, now dwell in the mountainous parts."—*Ayin Akbari*, vol. ii. p. 195.

[Y]. *On the successive Emigrations of the CATHÆI.*

P. 306.—"Hence he advanced into the kingdom of "Sophites."—One of the classical geographers says: "Some writers place Cathea, the country of the king Sopithes, between the two rivers, Hydaspes and Acesines: others, beyond the Acesines and the Hyarotis. It is a surprising fact, that so many honours are reported to be paid, in Cathea, to beauty; even dogs and horses are valued for the quality. Onesioritus relates, that the king is selected for the charms of his person: at the expiration of two months, a new-born child is publicly declared—to possess a good figure, and to be worthy of life; or, the

“ contrary ; and he is sentenced by the magistrate, to die, or
 “ to live.”—STRABO, lib. XV. p. 699, as cited and translated
 in CLASSICAL JOURNAL for 1811, No. VI. Paper entitled
The China of the Classics. The author of this paper—in
 commenting on the history of the Cathæi, the Thinæ, the
 Sinæ, and the Seres—seems to think, that the Cathæi were
 the germ of a population from which, mixed with a Tartar or
 Scythian race, the modern Chinese have sprung ; and that—
 having emigrated originally from Chien or Maracauda, and
 the banks of the Oxus—a community from the same stock,
 had, at the era of Alexander, reached the banks of the
 Hydraotes, in their progress toward China : to which region
 the learned essayist finally conducts them. This hypothesis,
 taken too broadly, is inconsistent with the high antiquity
 which the Chinese claim for themselves as a nation : and
 which their own records, in a great degree, support—after
 dismissing from the beginning of their chronological tables
 whole series of centuries, and reducing at the end the exag-
 gerated total. But if the application of this hypothesis were
 restrained to a race inhabiting the northern provinces of
 China,—which the Asiatics still call Khatai,—many diffi-
 culties and apparent contradictions in the ancient classics, as
 to the seat of the Cathæi, might be explained by it. Circum-
 stances indicating that there have been successive emigrations
 in the same line, may be found in authorities of a middle date
 between the term of ancient literature and the present day.
 “ It happened, about this period, (A. D. 1287,) that a queen
 “ named Bolgana, the wife of Arghun, sovereign of India,
 “ died ; and, as her last request, (which she likewise left in a
 “ testamentary writing) conjured her husband, that no one
 “ might succeed to her place on his throne and in his affec-
 “ tions, who was not a descendant of her own family, now
 “ settled under the dominion of the Grand Khan, in the
 “ country of Kataia.” — MARSDEN'S *Marco Polo*, p. 27.
 There is extant, in another part of the same travels, a vestige
 of the manners described by Curtius and Strabo, as belonging

to the subjects of Sopithes. "In the province of Tangut . . . proceeding from Erginul, in a south-eastern direction, in the route to Kataia, you find a city called Singui, in a district of the same name. . . . The extent of the province is twenty-five days' journey. . . . If a young woman, although poor, be handsome, the rich are induced to take her to wife; and, in order to obtain her, make valuable presents to her parents and relations; beauty alone being the quality held in estimation."—pp. 224, 225.

[Z]. *Notices of the PRASII, by the Historians of Alexander, illustrated from Native Authorities.*

P. 310.—"The individual on the throne, in no respect noble, was of the lowest extraction."—Capt. Wilford has elicited from Sanscrit books still extant—amidst much additional information respecting the Prasii in the times of Alexander and Seleucus—several notices, which are almost counterparts of what the Macedonian writers collected from their Indian contemporaries. "In the *Mudra-Racshasa* it is said, that king Nanda, after a severe fit of illness, fell into a state of imbecility, which betrayed itself in his discourse and actions; and that his wicked minister, Sacatara, ruled with despotic sway in his name." In the *Vishnu Purana*, and in the *Bhagavat Chandram*, it is declared, that "Chandram, and his father, Nanda, were of a low tribe; and that he, as well as his brothers, was called Maurya, from his mother, Mura." In the *Jutiriveca*, it is said, "the offspring of a barber, begot by stealth of a female of the Sudra tribe, is called MAURYA."

The *Mudra-Racshasa*, a dramatic piece, which is divided into two parts, like some of the historical plays of Shakspeare, relates the manner in which Sacatara, the prime-minister of Nanda, murdered his royal master.

“ As the old king was one day hunting with his minister towards the hills to the south of the town, he complained of his being thirsty; and, quitting his attendants, repaired with Sacātara to a beautiful reservoir, under a large spreading tree, near a cave in the hills, called *Patalcandra*, or, ‘ the passage leading to the infernal regions:’ there Sacātara flung the old man into the reservoir, and threw a large stone upon him. In the evening he returned to the imperial city, bringing back the king’s horse, and reporting, that his master had quitted his attendants, and rode into the forest: what was become of him he knew not, but he had found his horse grazing under a tree. Some days after, Sacātara, with Vacranara, one of the secretaries of state, placed UGRADHANWA, one of the younger sons of Nanda, on the throne.”

This UGRADHANWA is the AGGRAMMES of Curtius. The learned Orientalist, to whose profound researches we are indebted for these illustrations from Hindoo sources, appears to have glanced too hastily at some of the correspondent passages in the historians of Alexander; for he says: “ Curtius and Diodorus relate, that CHANDRAM was of a low tribe, his father being a barber:”—and again, “ Diodorus and Curtius are mistaken in saying, that CHANDRAM reigned over the Prasii at the time of Alexander’s invasion.” Now, Curtius does not say this; but that AGGRAMMES then reigned over the Gangaridæ and the Prasii. And should this note ever come under the eye of Mr. Wilford, the Translator, would, with great deference, intreat him to consider, whether the consistence and perspicuity of all the branches of the narrative, from the time of Alexander to Seleucus Nicator—when the Greek and Sanscrit memorials are deliberately compared—be not promoted by understanding AGGRAMMES to represent UGRADHANWA?

Thus Curtius will prove to be correct in his statement, while the elevation of CHANDRA-GUPTA, the half-brother

and rival of AGGRAMMES, is referred, as Capt. Wilford properly contends it ought to be, to a subsequent period.

Thus, too, we may perceive how probable is the representation of Plutarch; who, in his *Life of Alexander*, informs us, that Chandra-Gupta had been in that prince's camp; and had been heard to say afterwards, that Alexander would have found no difficulty in the conquest of Prachi, or the country of the Prasians, had he attempted it, as the king was despised, and hated too, on account of his cruelty. Looking at Chandra-Gupta as he was at this point of time, nothing is more likely, than that a fugitive, and an outcast, having pretensions to call himself the heir wrongfully disinherited, should seek to ally himself with the Macedonian invader.

As to Ugradhanwa's cruelty: the *Mudsha-Racshasa* proceeds to relate, that "the young king, dissatisfied with Sacatara's account of his father's disappearance, notwithstanding his own elevation to the throne, had the treacherous instrument of it apprehended. Sacatara confessed the murder, and was thereupon condemned to be shut up, with his family, in a narrow room, the door of which was walled up, and a small opening only left for the conveyance of their scanty allowance. They all died in a short time, except the youngest son, Vicatara, whom the young king released, and took into his service."

All this proves, however, that Ugradhanwa did not act as if he thought he was indebted for his birth to the wicked minister, whom he so severely punished; and perhaps if he was aware of the rumour which represented his mother to be an adulteress, he might intend to show the people, that he believed himself to be a legitimate son of the old king Nanda.

Indeed, the scattered notices in other Sanscrit books may assist to give a better explanation of the nature of the feud between the rival claimants, than the *Mudra-Racshasa* by itself conveys.

1. One collateral authority states, that "Nanda, seeing himself far advanced in years, directed that after his decease, his kingdom should be equally divided between the SUMALYADICAS; and that a decent allowance should be given to the MAURYAS, or children of Maura. But the Sumalyadicas being jealous of the Mauryas, put them all to death, except Chandra-Gupta; who being saved through the protection of Lunus, out of gratitude assumed the name of Chandra-Gupta, or saved by the moon."

2. In the *Vishnu Purana* we read: "Unto Nanda shall be born nine sons: Cotilya, his minister, shall destroy them, and place Chandra-Gupta on the throne."

3. In the *Bhagavat* we read: "From the womb of Sudri, Nanda shall be born. His eldest son will be called SUMALYA, and he shall have eight sons more: these a Brahmin (whom the commentary calls Cotilya, and Vatsayana; also, Chanacya: further, the lexicon *Caman-daca* identifies the Brahmin bearing all these names with Vishnu-Gupta, ultimately the minister of Chandra-Gupta) shall destroy." "After them a MAURYA shall reign. This Brahmin will place Chandra-Gupta on the throne."

In some of these notices, assuming the form of prophecy after the fact, there is a studied obscurity: but from comparing all the depositaries of the story, it would appear that the SUMALYADICAS and the MAURYAS were children of the old king Nanda, by different wives; and that the queen who bore the former was of a superior caste to Maura, and of royal descent: but that to counterbalance this, the partisans of the Mauryas circulated the calumny which degraded the Sumalyadicas, into the spurious offspring of the minister Sacatara. When, however, the old king ordered his kingdom to be equally divided between the Sumalyadicas, excluding the Mauryas; a revolution intervened, in which the nine [read "eight of the nine"] children of Nanda were put to death, and which the *Brahatcatha* says was effected in seven days. This might be owing not altogether to the partisans of the

Mauryas, but to a conspiracy in the leading men to prevent the empire from being divided. Ugradhanwa appears to have been the youngest of the *Sumalyadicas*. Vishnu-Gupta ultimately destroyed him, that is, some time after Alexander relinquished the invasion of the Prasii; as we shall see, by returning to the *Mudra-Racshasa*.

This dramatic piece next unfolds the stratagems of Vicatara, the only survivor among the family of Sacatara. Animated by a spirit of profound revenge, he brought a Brahmin of repulsive manners and hideous appearance, to officiate at a *sraddha*, which the young king was performing in honour of his ancestors. Ugradhanwa ordered the Brahmin to be turned out: the enraged priest cursed him, swearing that he would never tie up his *shica*, or lock of hair, till he had effected his ruin. The Brahmin then ran out of the palace, exclaiming: "Whoever wishes to be king, let him follow me." Chandra-Gupta immediately arose, with eight of his friends, and went after him. They crossed the Ganges with all possible speed, and visited the king of Nepaul, called *Parvateswara*, or, "the Lord of the Mountains," who received them kindly. Meanwhile Ugradhanwa ordered all the brothers of Chandra-Gupta to be put to death.

It is evident that the events of many years are crowded together into this dramatic piece. Parvateswara agrees to assist Chandra-Gupta and his adherents with an army. But not relying on the force of Nepaul as sufficient to invade so powerful an empire, he engaged his allies, the Yavans, the Sacas, the Gayni, and the Siratas, to co-operate in the war.

Capt. Wilford explains the Yavans to be the Greeks; the Sacas, the Indo-Scythians; the Gayni, the people of Cambodia; and the Siratas, the inhabitants of the mountains eastward of Nepaul.

The result was, that the confederates entered the territory of the Prasii with a formidable army. When they had come in sight of the capital, the king met them at the head of his forces. A battle followed; in which, after a dreadful

carnage, Ugradhanwa was defeated, and lost his life. Chandra-Gupta, his successful competitor, in consequence acquired the throne of Prachi, on which he firmly established himself.

This Chandra-Gupta is the same individual whom the Greeks variously call Andracottos, Sandracottos, and Sandracaptus. Capt. Wilford notices, that Sir William Jones was the first to discover, in two Sanscrit poems, satisfactory grounds for this appropriation.—*On the Chronology of the Hindus*.—ASIATIC RESEARCHES, vol. IV. pp. 6, 11; vol. V. pp. 262, *et seq.*

Capt. Wilford adds: "He was also called Chandra simply; and accordingly Diodorus Siculus calls him "Xandrames." With great deference, the Translator considers, that the Xandrames of Diodorus is not to be identified with the Chandra-Gupta of the Hindoos, or the Sandracottos of the Greeks; because this is to make him commit the anachronism, for which Capt. Wilford, in a passage already cited, blames him. The Greek historian, speaking of the reigning sovereign at the era of Alexander's expedition, says: "The nations of the Prasii and Gandaridæ inhabit the farther banks: the king ruling these is Xandrames; his military force consists of twenty thousand horsemen, and two hundred thousand foot soldiers, more than two thousand war-chariots, and four thousand elephants, caparisoned and trained for battle."—DIOD. SIC. lib. XVII. § 93.

Now, if the learned Orientalist had been satisfied to derive Xandrames, in its Greek disguise, from the Chandra of Sanscrit writers, that appropriation might have commanded unqualified assent as obviously right: but for converting Xandrames into Chandra-Gupta, there is no pretext without anticipating a reign. Giving Diodorus credit for correctness in following his primary authorities,—it is to be inferred, that his XANDRAMES or CHANDRA was the reigning title which several kings of the same dynasty assumed in succession; and that the AGGRAMMES or UGRADHANWA of Curtius, was the individual name which the king, reigning at the time

of Alexander's inquiry, had borne before his elevation, and which the partisans of his competitor, questioning his legitimacy, continued to use in speaking of him.

[AA]. *Whether Alexander explored the EASTERN branch of the Indus?*

P. 364, n. †—"Neither Diodorus nor Curtius notice the "voyage down the LEFT branch of the Indus, which Arrian "represents Alexander to have performed during this inter-"val."—There is no proof that the extreme EASTERN branch of the Indus was navigable through its entire course; nor, that it was more than a divergent channel, for the escape of superfluous water, deep in the rains, at other times requiring dams to preserve a level for irrigation, and never competing with the western branch in magnitude. On this account, Major Rennell felt embarrassed by the account in Arrian, lib. VII. cap. x.; and—from the comparative geography of the country—deduces, in opposition to it, that Alexander must have sailed out of the WESTERN branch of the Indus. "I cannot omit to observe," he says, "how exactly the "position and description of the haven, named by Nearchus, "the *Port of Alexander*—and which had an island on it "named *Crocala*—agrees with that of *Crotchey*, and proves "incontestably—by the circumstance of the proximity of the "mountains to the sea-coast, when the fleet had advanced "only 150 stadia from the mouth of the Indus—that "Nearchus sailed out of the western branch of that river. "However, one might conclude, from Arrian's account of "Alexander's voyage down the two branches below Pattala, "that he fixed on the easternmost branch for Nearchus' fleet "to proceed through to the ocean; as Arrian calls it the "LEFT branch; but the circumstance of Alexander's landing

“ with a *party of horse*, and proceeding three days along the coast, in the direction that his fleet was to sail, overthrows such a supposition entirely ; for no one will suppose that he chose to march a party of horse three days along the coast of the Delta, where he must have been continually interrupted by deep rivers and creeks.” — RENNELL'S *Memoir of a Map of Hindoostan*, p. 294.

Dr. Vincent, not satisfied with this rejection of the hypothesis of navigating the EASTERN branch, yet finds difficulties in it which he is unable to surmount. He says: “ I have never yet met with a traveller or voyager who passed up the Eastern branch, except Alexander himself.” — *Nearchus*, p. 164. Nevertheless, chusing at last to adhere to the letter of Arrian's account, this master in Grecian literature represents Alexander to navigate TWO GRAND BRANCHES of the Indus ; he even makes him travel along the coast eastward from the main stream, and sink there some wells for his fleet, which would not have to pass in that direction.—pp. 166, 172, 175, 177.

“ I know indeed” — observes M. Barbié du Bocage — “ that Arrian proceeds to tell us, treating of Alexander's voyage, that he sailed to the ocean by the two mouths of the Indus ; and he apparently intends those two mouths the farthest from each other, since he says, in another place — lib. VI. cap. xx. — that there was 1800 stadia distance between them. But this was only the OPINION of Arrian ; and the details of Alexander's navigation prove, that he took another course. From Pattala he sailed down the RIGHT branch of the Indus, and always keeping the main channel, reached the sea (Arrian, VI. xviii. xix.) ; into which he advanced for the space of 400 stadia. (Curt. IX. ix.) On his return to Pattala he visited another mouth, which appeared more commodious for his vessels to navigate ; and which was apparently formed by a canal issuing from the stream which he first explored. Communicating with this canal, he met with a lake : on which he

"constructed some docks and arsenals; and here, doubtless, " he founded the town which Pliny calls *Xylenopolis*, " or, the 'City of the Wood.' "—*Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, pp. 834, 835.

Thus far the Translator of Curtius can accompany the Author of the *Map to Examen Critique*, in reducing Arrian's LEFT BRANCH to a canal. This artificial branch might be easier for vessels to ascend, while the main stream presented advantages in navigating down; here, too, vessels might lie sheltered from the *bore*. The "lake" of Arrian, accessible by this canal, may be identified with the "salt lake" of Curtius, *Transl.* p. 363. The narrative of Curtius implies, that part of the passage up the river was through a *nullah*, or connecting cut; for otherwise the salt lake could not have preserved its separate character. But when M. Barbié du Bocage—after all his objections to Dr. Vincent's paraphrase—enlarges this canal into a branch, the mouth of which is distant three days' journey from the great estuary, and makes Alexander march with some cavalry along the intervening coast, all the difficulties which previous commentators have felt return; difficulties which induced Major Rennell to transfer this preparatory march, and sinking of the wells entirely to the WEST bank of the principal and most western channel.

The following sketch, describes the topography of the country contiguous to the EAST bank of the same channel—as it exists at the present day.

Seventeen miles to the south of Bhukor (lat. 27°. 19'), the Indus sends off a branch to the westward; which performs a circuit, and rejoins the main body at the town of Sehwan, fifty miles below the point of separation.

Lower down, the Fulalee branch of the Indus, which flows east, is of very considerable size, and encircles the island on which Hyderabad stands. It winds so much, that although the direct distance by land is not more than fourteen miles, the route by water is twenty-four. At its most eastern

winding, it detaches the Goonee branch, which at one time joined the ocean, about a degree eastward from the grand trunk of the Indus; but in 1799, Futteh Ali, a late Ameer, for the purposes of irrigation, threw an embankment across it at Alibunder; and now fresh water presses the dam on the upper side, while the tide flows up to the lower. The river below the dam is called *Lonee*, or "salt." After the Fulalee rejoins the Indus, the course is for some miles south, deviating at last to the south-west, in which direction it may be said to enter the ocean in one vast volume. As it approaches the estuary, several minor streams branch off from the main trunk; but they never reach the sea, being absorbed by the sands of the desert, lost in an enormous salt morass, or abstracted by the natives for agricultural uses. Descending from Hyderabad, great part of the way to the sea, the Indus is in general about a mile in breadth, varying in depth from two to five fathoms; at Lahore Bunder it is four miles broad; still further down, at Dharajay Bunder, nine miles; and at the extreme of the land, twelve miles from shore to shore. Like the Nile and Ganges, the Indus is always described as having a Delta; but at present, except perhaps during the height of the rains, the expression does not apply, and the river cannot, with propriety, be said to have more than one mouth. Neither does the space of land miscalled the Delta, possess the rich soil and luxuriant vegetation seen near the debouchure of the more sacred stream: on the contrary, as the sea is approached, the territory between that and the river eastward exhibits short scrubby brushwood, arid sand, saline swamps, and shallow lakes.—*Description of Hindoostan*, by WALTER HAMILTON, Esq. 4to. London, 1820.

[BB]. *Traces in GRECIAN History, that Macedon had paid Tribute to Illyria and to Persia; compared with an allegation in PERSIAN History, that Philip agreed to pay a tribute in gold.*

P. 387.—“The tributaries within memory to Illyria and to Persia.”]—With regard to Macedon having been tributary to the king of ILLYRIA, there is abundant evidence in the Greek historians, that this was the case, particularly in the reigns of ARGÆUS, and ALEXANDER II. The claim was resisted by PERDICCAS III., whose defeat and death seemed but to confirm the dependence and subjection of his country: at which crisis his infant son, Amyntas, was set aside in favour of Philip, the brother of Perdiccas. Bardyllis, the Illyrian king, renewed the demand against Philip, and coming with an army to enforce it, was completely defeated; this decisive battle reversed the relations between the two states.—LELAND'S *Life of Philip*, vol. i. pp. 18, 29, 43.—*Translation of CURTIUS*, vol. i. Supplement, p. 132.

Of the other circumstance glanced at in the text, namely, that not long prior to Alexander's reign, Macedon had paid tribute to PERSIA, there are also corroborating traces to be found in the elder Greek authorities. Herodotus, *lib. V. cap. 17*, relates that AMYNTAS I. paid to Darius Hystaspes the tribute of *earth and water*, or symbol of homage. ALEXANDER I. was in close alliance with Xerxes at the time he invaded Greece; and Macedon appears to have risen to importance under the tutelage of Persia. Although it received Persian residents as ambassadors, on the footing of a friendly and allied state, it was not until Philip's reign, perhaps not till late in his reign, when he was ready to invade Persia, that the forms of an easy vassalage were entirely shaken off.—See LELAND'S *Philip*, *passim*.

Some of the native Persian histories indeed assert, that Philip entered into a compact to pay the Great King an annual tribute of gold. But in their accounts of the earlier periods corresponding to ancient Grecian history, particularly in the fourth century before the Christian era, there is a palpable mixture of a large portion of fable, which cannot be detached from what may belong to true history, on any certain principle of selection. As in the series of native sovereigns there are evident omissions of individual reigns, causing chasms which can only be filled up, and a confusion of dates which can only be rectified, by supplemental information, derived from the Jewish and Grecian historians; so, when the Persian histories come to speak of the court and politics of Macedon, it is apparent, that the same defects and inaccuracies prevail in a superior degree. The want of precision, order, and coherence in the extant materials for a native history of ancient Persia,—is so different from the official regularity; and impartial truth, in registering transactions, of which the Book of *Esther* affords a specimen; that it is reasonable to believe, that in some convulsion of the state,—happening between the reigns of Ardishir Dirodaste, (Artaxerxes Longimanus,) and Ardishir Babigan, (the first Sassanian Artaxerxes) the venerable archives of the empire, embracing its CONTINUOUS HISTORY previous to the Macedonian conquest, had been destroyed. From the defective nature of the Persian histories of this period, which are extant, it is to be inferred, that—after the public documents had perished—what materials for future compilers casually remained in private depositories, were nothing but the magnified portraits of flattering biography employed on favourite single reigns; or the too-inventive and unfaithful narratives of heroic poetry. It may have been, that when the palace at Persepolis was burnt, the public records of the empire perished.

This mode of accounting for the irreparable deficiencies of the earlier native literature, is far from being entirely hypothesis.

The *Zein al Akhbar*, or, "Ornament of Chronicles"—cited in Sir WILLIAM OUSELEY'S *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 410—informs us, that after Sekander (Alexander) had arrived at Istakhr (Persepolis) the DERNEVISHT (Library) there was examined. It contained "many books treating of Zerdusht's (Zoroaster's) Religion, and of Philosophy, and Medicine, Arithmetic, and Geometry, and every other science. Of all these, Sekander commanded that translations should be made, and sent into Greece, and they were deposited in Macedonia, and the DERNEVISHT was burnt. Thus, of all the books which had been preserved, there, and among the Persians generally, none remained—except a few in the hands of some obscure individuals, who kept them amidst the secret recesses of the country."

The curious may like to see an extract from such Persian accounts as remain, on the subject of MACEDON PAYING TRIBUTE TO PERSIA.

"The reign of Darab the First* was distinguished by several wars; particularly one against Philip of Macedon, whom Persian authors denominate Phillippoos of Room. Though this war was at first unsuccessful, the historians of Persia state, that its termination was glorious: but this is evidently the foundation of a fable, which their national vanity has led them to form, respecting the birth of Alexander. They affirm that Philip was ultimately reduced to such distress, that he was

glad to extricate himself, by agreeing to give his daughter† to Darab, and to pay to that prince an annual tribute of one thousand eggs of pure gold. Darab the First reigned only twelve years. He built Darabjird, a town about one hundred and fifty miles to the east of Shiraz; which, though fallen from its former grandeur, still boasts a number of inhabitants.

*The Darius-Nothus of Greek writers."

† This daughter, the same authors assert, was sent back to her father when pregnant with Alexander. Various reasons are assigned for her return. The author of the *Zeenut-ul-Mujalis*, who pretends to more particular information than others, declares it was on account of her bad breath."

“ Darab the Second (the celebrated Darius Codomanus of the Greeks) was, according to the report of Persian authors, the opposite of his father. He was deformed in body, and depraved in mind; and his bad administration, if they are to be believed, completely prepared the way for the success of Alexander. But it cannot be surprising, that a nation, distinguished for their vanity, should have given their countenance to any fable, however improbable, which palliated the disgrace of the conquest of their country. It is to this feeling that we must ascribe their tales respecting the descent of Alexander. That conqueror is described as a son of Darab the First; who, aided by the Persians themselves, easily possessed himself of a crown which was his right, and which was weakly defended by his unpopular and unworthy brother. Several, however, of the most respectable Persian and others. historians* reject this fable, and admit that Alexander was the son of Philip. The quarrel between the two states, we are told, originated in Alexander refusing to pay the tribute of golden eggs, to which his father had agreed. ‘The bird that laid the eggs has flown to the other world!’ is reported to have been the laconic answer of the Macedonian Prince, to the Persian Envoy who demanded the tribute.”—MALCOLM’S *History of Persia*, 4to. 1815. vol. i. pp. 69, 70.

The Translator has two comments to offer on this piece of Persian history.

1. The pretended marriage of Philip’s daughter to Darius-Nothus, is one of those jumbles of different times and persons which have arisen from the native historians having been compelled, in default of better resources, to derive a large part of their materials from poetical romances without dates. Thus, the only thing that can be traced in Macedonian history at all resembling this alleged sacrifice to peace on the altar of matrimony, is the following fact. The Persian nobleman, Bubaris, sent to Macedon by Darius Hystaspes, as a commis-

sioner of enquiry into the circumstances under which a previous ambassador from Persia had been assassinated at a court festival at Pella, and to demand satisfaction,—was conciliated by the daughter of Amyntas I. being given to him in marriage. Here the degree of humiliation on the part of Macedon was indeed greater, as the princess was wedded to a subject of the Great King.—LELAND'S *Life of Philip*, book I. § i.

2. The bare fact—itsself— of Philip's having agreed to pay tribute to Persia, in the early part of his reign—is not incredible: when we consider the exposed situation of Crenidæ, afterwards called Philippi, the site of many productive gold mines; and that Macedonia, in respect to the course of an invading army from Persia, lay like an outwork to Greece; and therefore if not strong enough to act boldly on the offensive, could only secure itself by a friendly compact, stipulating, at the best, for neutrality, and often performing deeds of indirect subservience.

Besides, when we find even the Grecian states, Argos and Sparta, Athens and Thebes, acting as vassal powers to Persia,—by sending out troops and ships to fight in her service,—see LELAND'S *Philip*, vol. i. p. 185, text and n. [B],—that fact removes all objection to our receiving the Persian account, that Philip had, at some distressing crisis, agreed to pay a tribute, on the ground of its being improbable.

[CC]. *On the Difficulties in reducing the MACEDONIAN dates in Alexander's History.*

P. 407, text and note.—“Alexander died on 28. Dæsius.”]—The Translator would willingly have spared himself the responsibility, and the Reader the trouble, of discussing the difficulties which attend the double conversion of the Mace-

donian months into the corresponding months, or fractions of months, according to the Athenian and Julian Calendars. But the most able chronologists, after exhausting calculation on the materials, bring out different results; so as to make it unsatisfactory to refer to the tables of any one modern author for all the reduced dates. This is owing to the elementary works—which would have explained the exact relations between the Macedonian and Athenian Kalendars—having perished; and the information which has come down to us, defective as it is, happens to preserve many more details of the latter than the former.

The Translator will endeavour to distinguish between what is established, and what remains doubtful.

THE ATTIC KALENDAR.

It is known, that the Athenian was a lunar year, approximating in its commencement and duration to a solar period. Previous to the LXXXVIIth Olympiad, the civil year of the Athenians had commenced with the month GAMELION; but at that epoch, they adopted the cycle of Menon; and thence until the time of Alexander, and for some centuries beyond, the Olympiad commenced with the first new-moon which followed the summer solstice, and the first month of the first year, in each *alternate* Olympiad was HECATOMBÆON. The chronologists take it for granted, that every Athenian year in this cycle began with Hecatombæon: but this is not proved; on the contrary, some *Marbles* claiming a share of authority, exhibit the year distinctly commencing with one of the two next months:—and the Translator proceeds to offer an hypothesis for reconciling them; for some points of which, he is not aware that he can cite any great name as a shield from the responsibility of first drawing such inferences.

Dr. Vincent—*Voyage of Nearchus*, 2d edit. p. 531—says:

“It has lately been proved, by the dissertation of Barthelemy on the Choiseuil Marble, that after all the learned labours of Petavius and Corsini, the arrangement of the Attic

“months by Scaliger is finally confirmed.” But how is it confirmed? By allowing no weight to the *Marbles* which do not agree with it. Regarding it, however, as that which generally prevailed, the Translator adopts Scaliger’s arrangement for the basis of his hypothesis; taking the other series to be recurring exceptions, the cause of which may be explained, by calculating what portion of a lunar month the commencement of any year—not being the first of an OCTAETERIDE, a period embracing TWO OLYMPIADS—was postponed beyond the solstice.

Order of Months, according to SCALIGER & BARTHELEMY.

Hecatombæon
 Metageitnion
 Boedromion
 Pyanepsion
 Mæmakterion
 Posideon
 Gamelion
 Anthesterion
 Elaphebolion
 Munychion
 Thargelion
 Scirophorion.

The month of Hecatombæon, as the *primary order*, begins the first year of each Octaëteride; but the Translator thinks, that—notwithstanding the obscurity in which the want of any continuous series of monuments has left the subject—he can adduce probable evidence, that the second and third months of the primary series succeeded to the first position in the intermediate years as the new-moons happened to cast them, in the course of 99 months, until the revolution of a complete Octaëteride restored HECATOMBÆON to the first place in the civil year; and that to fill up the chasm caused by the precession of a lunar year of twelve months before the solar year, the resource was—not an embolism of ONE month in each *third* year; but an embolism of ONE

month in the *fourth* or *fifth* year, and of TWO in the *eighth* year, as the new-moon which determined the commencement of the following Octaëride should require.

Meanwhile it will be necessary to devote a few words to the vulgar length and scientific equation of the lunar months themselves. All the months consisted nominally of 30 days: but as the time of each lunation extended only to 29 days and $\frac{191}{300}$ parts of a day; every alternate month was denominated *hollow* or *deficient*, and reduced to 29 days, by deducting one *exarismal* day: further as this was in excess by rejecting the fraction, once in three years one of the *hollow* months was absolutely accounted 30 days, and once in ~~thirty~~ years 31 days. But this embolism was purely lunar, and quite distinct from the more considerable embolism of an entire month at once; which last expedient was resorted to for approximating the lunar *Octaëteride*, or, *Series of Eight Years* to a solar period.

According to the system of Dodwell—de *Cyclis Græc.* Diss. IV. § 4—the embolismic months were introduced every *third*, every *fifth*, and every *eighth* year; and almost every chronologist who has touched the subject proposes to intercalate a month once in *three* years, though the authors of different systems do not agree on what stage in the series it were proper to commence. The fact is, that one thing, which made itself practically obvious to the Ancients who used the Attic Kalendar, has escaped the attention of modern theorists; namely, that the lunar year of the Athenians was not reduced by the Cycle of Menon, nor reducible, to an exact coincidence with the solar year, but only brought to approximate to the solstice within a fluctuating interval less than a lunar month—sometimes only by a fraction. Thus let us suppose any given Olympiad to begin twenty-eight days after the solstice: it is plain, that at the end of the third year, the precession of the lunations would have barely compensated for the excess with which the first began; and to make an embolism of a month at this stage, would reproduce the aberration which the ordinary

succession of the new-moons had rectified. The embolism of a month would therefore be better made in the *fifth* or *sixth* year, (unless Boedromion should sooner begin the year.) On the average, the first day of each Olympiad would be fourteen or fifteen days in excess compared with the solar year; and by letting **HECATOMBÆON** gradually fall back, though it might occasionally become the last month in the year, or even the penultimate—as some of the *Marbles* represent—it would, as it were, revolve round the summer solstice; nor, when preceding it, rarely deviate so far from the point to be approximated, as an embolism interposed without regarding the constant tendency to excess beyond the solstice might cause it to do.

There are many extant proofs that **HECATOMBÆON** was thus suffered to fall back.

Order in Two Marbles, placing METAGEITNIŌN first.

1. Metageitnion.—2. Boedromion.—3. Pyanepsion.—4. Mæmacterion.—5. Posideon.—6. Gamelion.—7. Anthes-
terion.—8. Elaphebolion.—9. Munychion.—*CHANDLER'S Marmora Oxon. XXI.*

1. Metageitnion.—2. Boedromion.—3. Puanepsion.—4. Maimacterion.—5. Poseideon.—6. Gamelion.—7. Elaphe-
bolion.—8. Munychion.—*Marmora Oxoniensia, Oct. 1791; 53. xx.*

Order in Two other Marbles, placing BOEDROMION first.

1. Boedromion.—2. Pyanepsion.—3. Mæmacterion.—4. Posideon I.—5. Posideon II.—6. Gamelion.—7. Anthes-
terion.—8. Elaphebolion.—9. Munychion.—10. Thargelion.—11. Scirophorion.—12. Hecatombæon.—13. Metageitnion.—*CHANDLER'S Marmora Oxon. LIX. 1. p. 97.*

Petavius writes thirteen months in the same order.—*Marmor. lib. xlv. 1.*

This evidence, that the arrangement of the months in the first table, adopted from Scaliger and Barthelémy, did not

extend to every year of every Olympiad, is direct and invincible. Viewing these specimens of a revolving order as parts of a consecutive series of 99 months, the Translator now offers a scheme of successive *Octaëterides* from the birth to the death of Alexander.

TABLE, tracing, on the Translator's Hypothesis, a REVOLVING SERIES of Attic Months, consisting of NINETY-NINE Lunations each. Calculated for FOUR OCTAETERIDES, corresponding with Thirty-two Solar Years and Eight Days.

Note. The LUNAR embolisms are allowed for at the rate of one day in 36 lunar months, with a special intercalation of one additional day after 30 common embolisms. The years in which they fall are marked "*l. e. +*" with the name of the month augmented. The INITIAL months only are marked in the *first, second, third* and other years of each Octaëteride where no embolism is assumed: but in such years as are augmented by extra months, the series is filled up, to show the place and quantity of the SOLAR-APPROXIMATING embolism, as it may require *one or two* supplementary months. The solar Bissexile years are marked "*S. E.*"

Year of the	
Olymp. CVI.	1. Hecatombæon (begins) July 16. A. C. 356.
	2. Hec..... July 5.
	3. Metageitnion (<i>l. e. Sciroph. +</i>) July 24.
	4. Met. July 14. (S. E.
	.. reckoned in the next year.)

Note. When Hecatombæon begins—and Scirophorion ends—the year, the series of months, it is generally agreed, succeed in the order of the first specimen, (p. 579, above,) which is taken from, and adapted to, ordinary years. When Hecatombæon begins and ends a year of thirteen lunations, nature makes the embolism. When Metageitnion begins the year, the order of the succeeding months is the same until the twelfth arrives, into which position Hecatombæon now

devolves. As long as Metageitnion begins the year, the summer solstice falls within Hecatombæon, and thus there is a close approximation to the solar standard, by suffering the common months to fall back. When Boedromion begins the year, the necessity for the embolism of an extraordinary month first occurs.—See *Specimens* in p. 581, above.

This Olympiad comprises 49 months, and is calculated to end with the month Hecatombæon; the series being carried on to the next Olympiad, to complete the Octaëteride.

- Olymp. CVII.* 1. Metageitnion July 2. A.C. 352.
2. Boedromion (*l. e. Sciro.* +) July 20.

SIXTH YEAR.

Month of the Octaëteride	63.	Boedromion.....	July 20.
	64.	<i>Mæmacterion</i>	Aug. 19.
	65.	<i>Pyanepsion</i>	Sept. 17.
	66.	Posideon I.	Oct. 17.
	67.	POSIDEON II.....	Nov. 15.
	68.	Gamelion	Dec. 15.
	69.	Anthesterion	Jan. 13.
	70.	Elaphebolion	Feb. 12.
	71.	Munychion	Mar. 12.
	72.	Thargelion	April 11.
	73.	Scirophorion (+)	May 10.
	74.	Hecatombæon	June 10.

Note. The two months *Pyanepsion* and *Mæmacterion*—if we give equal credit to discordant Marbles—at times change places with each other. Plutarch says, that *Pyanepsion* was connected with, or just preceded, the Setting of the Pleiades, which then occurred about the 11th of October. From this, and from the order of both months being found frequently reversed, and *Pyanepsion* first, when *Hecatombæon* begins the year, the Translator infers, that the civil authority determined—for the current year—the position of one or two interchangeable and supplementary months, in order to approximate a spring and autumn month to the two cardinal points of a sidereal year. POSIDEON II. is the ordinary embolismic month, when but one is required in the year.

3. Metageitnion July 10.
4. Met. June 29. (S. E.)

EIGHTH YEAR.

Month	87.	Metageitnion	.....	June	29.
	88.	Boedromion	.....	July	29.
	89.	Mæmactærian	.....	Aug.	27.
	90.	Pyænepsion	.....	Sept.	26.
	91.	Posideon I.	.....	Oct.	25.
	92.	POSIDEON II.	.....	Nov.	24.
	93.	Gamelion	.....	Dec.	23.
	94.	Anthesterion	.....	Jan.	22.
	95.	Elaphebolion	.....	Feb.	20.
	96.	ELAPHIUS	.....	Mar.	21.
	97.	Munychion	.....	April	19.
	98.	Thargelion	.....	May	19.
	99.	Scirophorion	.....	June	17.

Note. The supplementary month ELAPHIUS was introduced by the Athenians as near as might be to the Vernal Equinox, then falling, about March 26.—CORSINI, *Diss. Agonist.* I. § 6.—The elicitation of evidence, that there were at least two embolismic months bearing different names, provided to answer the deficiency of the ordinary year, when the Second Olympiad comprised Fifty Lunations,—is an additional argument for postponing the introduction of either beyond the third year; for if a month were intercalated every third year, as the various chronologists contend, POSIDEON II. would alone be equal to the office.

It would appear—from a notice recorded by the SCHOLIAST ON PINDAR, cited by CORSINI, *Fast. Attic.* vol. ii. p. 446—that under a more ancient system—which, it may be inferred, prevailed up to the era when the Cycle of Menon commences—two embolismic months were brought in together, exactly in the middle of the Octaëteride, the 50th and 51st months being called APOLLONIUS and PARTHENIUS. Hence, when the first Olympiad contained 49 months, the second began with APOLLONIUS; and when the first Olympiad extended to 50 months, the second began with PARTHENIUS. This is noticed, merely to show, that we have nothing to do with these months in Alexander's age.

SECOND OCTAETERIDE.

Olymp. CVIII. 1. Hec. (*l. e. Munych.* +) July 17. A.C. 348.

2. Hec. July 7.

3. Met. July 26.

4. Met. (*l. e. Anth.* +) . . . July 15. (S.E.)

Note. This Olympiad comprises 49 months, and ends with Hecatombæon.

- Olymp. CIX.* 1. Metageitnion, July 4. A. C. 344.
2. Boedromion, July 23.

SIXTH YEAR.

Note. Order of months as in the second year of *Olymp. CVII.*, with the embolismic month *POSIDEON II.* The Translator infers, that Philip's *Letter to the Athenians*, stating that the Macedonian month *LOUS* corresponded with *BOEDROMION*, was written in *Olymp. CIX. 2.*—See, below, *APPLICATION OF THE TABLE*, and *TABLE II. Tests, No. 2.*

3. Metageitnion, (*l. e. Anth. +*) July 12.
4. Met. (*l. e. SPECIAL Scir. +*) July 2. (S. E.)

EIGHTH YEAR.

Note. Order of months as in the Eighth year of *Olymp. CVII.*; with the two embolismic months *POSIDEON II.* and *ELAPHIUS*. The Octaëteride contains 99 months.

THIRD OCTAETERIDE.

- Olymp. CX.* 1. Hecatombæon, July 20. A. C. 340.
2. Hec. (*l. e. Pos. +*) . . . July 9.
3. Hec. June 29.
4. Metageitnion, July 17. (S. E.)

Note. This Olympiad contains 49 months, and ends with Hecatombæon.

- Olymp. CXI.* 1. Met. (*l. e. Pyan. +*) . . . July 5. A. C. 336.
2. Boedromion, July 25.

SIXTH YEAR.

Note. With the embolismic month *POSIDEON II.*, as in two places above.

3. Met. July 14.
4. Met. (*l. e. Mæm. +*) . . July 3. (S. E.)

EIGHTH YEAR.

Note. With the two embolismic months, *POSIDEON II.* and *ELAPHIUS*, as twice above = in all 99 months.

FOURTH OCTAETERIDE.

- Olymp. CXII.* 1. Hecatombæon, . . . July 22. A. C. 332.
 2. Hec. July 11.

SECOND YEAR.

- Month 13. Hecatombæon July 11.
 14. Metageitnion Aug. 9.
 15. Boedromion Sept. 8. *lunar eclipse*
 on Boed. 13. Sept. 20.

Note. This year, which requires no embolism, is produced thus far, only to show the day of the Eclipse which preceded the battle of Arbela. If it be enquired, admitting the Hypothesis of an OCTAETERIDE, or series of 99 Lunar months, Which of two Olympiads are we to take as coinciding with the first half, according to the ancient reckoning? This cardinal point will decide the question; for Hecatombæon must begin this Olympiad, to bring out the date of the Eclipse correctly; and, consequently, every eighth year, from *Olymp. CXII. 1.*—counting backwards and forwards—is the proper commencement of each Octaëteride.

3. Hec. (*l.e. Boed. +*) June 30.
 4. Met. July 19. (S. E.)

Note. This Olympiad contains 49 months.

- Olymp. CXIII.* 1. Met. July 7. A. C. 328.
 2. Boed. (*l.e. Boed. +*) July 25.

SIXTH AND EIGHTH YEARS.

3. Met. July 15.
 4. Met. (*l.e. Sciro +*) . July 5. (S. E.)

Note. The embolismic months are inserted as in *Olymp. CVII.*, years 2. and 4.

FIFTH OCTAETERIDE.

- Olymp. CXIV.* 1. Hecatombæon. July 23. A. C. 324.

APPLICATION OF THE TABLE.

1. The monuments and historical passages, which are reconciled by this hypothesis, become in their turn so many points of support to it. Thus, first, the respective *Marbles* which begin with Hecatombæon, Metageitnion, and Boedromion, are successively exemplified in each revolving series of Eight years, which the Table traces; so that there is no occasion to set up some one of these monuments as a perpetual standard, and to discredit the rest.

2. The two passages in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*, and in Philip's *Letter to the Athenians*, which appeared to modern historians and chronologists so repugnant, that they deemed themselves compelled—as the partisans of different systems—to follow one exclusively, and reject the other,—are shown, by the working of the hypothesis through the intervening years, to be perfectly consistent. In *Olymp.* CVI. 1. HECATOMBÆON is the first month of the Attic year; and in *Olymp.* CIX. 2. BOEDROMION has revolved into the first place. Consequently, when we find in two Greek authors—to whom the exact relation between the Attic and Macedonian Kalendars was familiar—that LOUS corresponded, at Alexander's birth, to Hecatombæon; and at the date of Philip's letter, to Boedromion; the simple adjustment of the difficulty is, to infer that LOUS kept a permanent place in the Macedonian year—whether as the *first*, or any other month in the numerical series up to the *eleventh*, is immaterial—while, by a different construction of the Athenian ephemeris, HECATOMBÆON and BOEDROMION, and of course the month between them, alternately succeeded to the first place.

3. Notwithstanding the paucity of ancient materials, much more might be done, than has yet been attained, towards constructing an Exposition of the principles in which the Macedonian and Attic Kalendars in some respects agreed,

and in many others differed, now running parallel, and now diverging,—if more credit were given to the Greek authors, for knowing how to reduce the dates, though they might happen to live three or four centuries afterwards; instead of too lightly impeaching the competence of Plutarch or Arrian to this then easy reduction, because they give a date, occasionally, which does not fall into a convenient place for carrying some modern system of chronology smoothly on through every stage. The safest course to more extended conclusions, is to take a specified correspondence in reduced dates, as *relating only to the current time*—until a sufficient number of examples are collected, to determine how far the styles of the compared Kalendars proceed on common principles, or the reverse.

4. All that has been stated tends to show how perfectly illusory those chronological tables are which represent the Attic months as permanently corresponding with any specific months of the Julian, or, indeed, of any other Kalendar; for even the nations, who reckon by lunar years, have different modes of introducing the embolisms.

5. To those persons who reject the Translator's hypothesis, in order to adopt some other, the dates of the Initial Newmoons for the current years of Alexander's life, will still be useful. The equations have been carefully calculated, on the following basis: Of the moon's synodic revolution, the mean time equals 29 days, 12 hours, and $\frac{11}{15}$ parts of an hour. TO ALLOW FOR THE 12 HOURS, the alternate months are 30 and 29 days. It is usual to reckon Hecatombæon uniformly a full month, and Metageitnion a hollow month, and so on through the twelve months of the primary series in p. 579; by which means the half-day in the embolismic months is totally neglected, or left to chance. To avoid this source of accumulating error, the Four Octaëterides are treated as a series of 396 lunar months; and 30 and 29 days are assigned to each alternately, whatever be the name of the month. TO ALLOW FOR THE $\frac{11}{15}$ PARTS OF AN HOUR, one day is

added to every thirty-sixth month, whatever number of days are attributed to it in ordinary years, making 31 or 30 days as may happen: thus, ten out of fifteen parts of the fraction are disposed of. To meet the minute fraction remaining, the three-hundred-and-sixtieth lunation is reckoned to extend to 32 days, if it fall upon a *full* month, augmented with the more frequent embolism. The Ancients appear to have made it fall so. As it must occur once in thirty lunar years, the Translator has preferred introducing it once, near the middle of the current term of 33 pure lunar years, rather than twice at the extremities.

The well-established date of the Eclipse is the cardinal point—and test—of the other dates. The first Julian date in the series anticipates that assigned by Barthelémy by one day, and Dodwell's by five days. The last date comes out precisely in agreement with Dodwell's computation; which may be ascribed to its being nearer the epoch of the Eclipse, so that minute causes of error had not time to operate.

THE MACEDONIAN KALENDAR.

The Ancient classics tell us very little about the Macedonian Kalendar; from which the Translator infers, that it was more simple in its construction than the Athenian. Volumes have been written on the disputed point, Whether in the time of Philip and Alexander, the Macedonian year was lunar or solar? Corsini thinks, that in the time of Philip, the Macedonian as well as the Athenian months were lunar.—*Fast. Attic.* vol. ii. p. 462. In accordance with this, the Translator infers, from the way in which Plutarch mentions the corresponding months at the date of Alexander's birth, that both were then lunar: "the sixth of *Hecatombæon*, which the "Macedonians call *LOUS*." If *Lous* had been one of the months of a solar year, it would have been necessary to have given the date of the corresponding day, as the two kinds of months do not coincide either in their commencement or

duration. The very same inference flows from the terms of Philip's *Letter*, (cited in Demosthenes' Oration for the Crown,) already alluded to in establishing another point, the consistence of the two passages. "Do you, therefore, meet me in arms at Phocis, with provisions for forty days, within this present month, called by us Lous; by the Athenians, *Boedromion*; and by the Corinthians, *Panemus*." This special notification of the corresponding names shows, that there was great fluctuation in this respect; while the omission of the day when Lous would expire implies, that the current months of both people would end together.

With regard to the year in which this letter was written: it had been easily determined, if "Mnesiphilus," the name of the Archon in the citation of it by Demosthenes, had been found in the series of Principal Archons, collected from Athenian monuments. From its not being so found, Corsini deems the passage to be corrupted: but Mnesiphilus might have been an inferior archon, whose office was to attest state papers. Usher and Dodwell suppose Philip's *Letter* to have been written in Olymp. CVIII. 1.; eight years after Alexander's birth. De Sainte-Croix dates it ten years after. Corsini places it in Olymp. CX. 3. According to the Translator's calculation above, Boedromion comes out in Olymp. CIX. 2, as the first month of that Athenian year.—See, below, *Test*, No. 2.

What has been stated seems to prove, that up to this period the Macedonian year was LUNAR. Dodwell considers the same usage to have continued long beyond the term of Alexander's reign; and that the Macedonians did not begin to reckon by solar months and years until Olymp. CXXXV. 3.

In the sixteenth year of Alexander's reign, the Cycle of Menon, which consisted of nineteen lunar years, was superseded by the Period of Calippus, commencing at the summer solstice. This extended to seventy-six lunar years.—*Examen Critique*, p. 602. Both these styles provided rules for adjusting the dates of festivals, and points which belonged to

the rural almanack, on principles of which the exposition has not come down to modern times : but neither system could affect the commencement and duration of the months, which depended on the phases of the moon. Up to the end of Alexander's reign—there can, therefore, be little hazard of error in treating both years as lunar.

It remains to construct some arrangement of the Macedonian months, which will consist at once—with the point established, that LOUS answered, at the different stages of a revolving period, alternately to HECATOMBÆON, METAGEITNION and BOEDROMION ; and with other gleams of light from ancient monuments. The first result can only be produced, by assuming, that the primary month of the Macedonian year was *permanently* fixed to the first New-moon after some solar period ; and that the EMBOLIMIC MONTH, required to bring up the civil year to the solar standard, was supplied as soon as the deficiency occurred,—that is to say, whenever thirteen new-moons fell in the civil year, the NAME of one of the common months was REPEATED. This simple arrangement, so different from the complex machinery of the Attic Kalendar, would equally accord with astronomical exactitude ; and the solar-approximating embolism would correspond with that of Nature's Cycle.

TABLE II. exhibiting the Translator's Hypothesis of the
MACEDONIAN Lunar Year in the Age of Alexander.

Dius	Artemisius
Apellæus	Dæsius
Audynæus	Panemus
Peritius	Loûs
Dystrus	Gorpiæus
Xanthicus	Hyperberetæus.

In beginning the year with DIUS, and ending it with HYPERBERETÆUS, the Translator adopts the opinion of Corsini, as expressed in the following passage. “ While the “ cycle of Meton was adhered to, and during the period of “ Calippus, the Macedonian year ought to be reckoned to

“begin from the *autumnal equinox*, and *Dius* to be regarded “as the first month,” [both these points are adopted as bases] “corresponding with the Attic Mæmacterion, and the “Roman October;” [sometimes it did, and sometimes it did not so correspond; the greater anomalies of that lunar, and the regularity of this solar Kalendar, equally oppose a uniform coincidence:] “and in conformity with this, *Hyperberetæus* was the last month.”—CORVINI, *Fast. Attic*, vol. ii. p. 462.

The Translator finds no mention of the EMBOLIMIC MONTH, though there must have been one.

To supply this indispensable approximation to the solar standard, he doubles every THIRTY-SECOND month, on whatever NAME in the series this revolving intercalation may fall—*Dæsius* alone excepted; for as that month lay under the imputation of being unlucky, we cannot suppose that it was ever repeated. Another exception, is: when the duplication of the thirty-second month does not fall within one of those lunar years which have thirteen new-moons. The Translator, in producing the months of fifteen successive years, found only one instance for applying this exception; and then he doubled the thirty-third month. Granting this to be the probable way in which the embolismic month was supplied in the Macedonian year, it will account for the absence of any particular name for it.

TESTS OF TABLE II.

These will be applied only to such Epochs in the Reigns of Philip and Alexander, as have the months expressed, by the ancient historians, according to the nomenclature of both Kalendars; and those are very few.

No. 1.

Birth of Alexander.

<i>Olymp.</i> CV. 4.	<i>Dius</i> (begins).....	<i>Posideon</i> I....	A. C. 357.	Oct. 24.
	<i>Apellæus</i>	<i>Posideon</i> II.		Nov. 22.
	<i>Audynæus</i>	<i>Gamelion</i>		Dec. 22.
	<i>Peritius</i>	<i>Anthesterion</i> ..	A. C. 356.	Jan. 20.

Dystrus	Elaphebolion.....	Feb. 19.
Xanthicus	Elaphius	Mar. 19.
Artemisius	Munychion	April 18.
Dæsius	Thargelion.....	May 17.
Panemus.....	Sciophorion.....	June 16.
CVL. 1. Lous	Hecatombæon.....	July 16.
Alex. born 6.....	6.....	21.
Gorpiæus	Metageitnion.....	Aug. 15.
Hyperberetæus	Boedromion	Sept. 13.
Note. The months are carried back into the 105th Olympiad, to show the beginning of the MACEDONIAN year.		

The next step in the analysis is to exemplify how Lous, which we have seen answer to *Hecatombæon*, may come, in another year to synchronize with *Boedromion*.

No. 2.

Date of Philip's Letter.

Olymp. CIX. 1. Dios.....	Pyanepsion ..	A. C. 344. Sept. 30.
Apellæus	Posideon	Oct. 29.
Audynæus	Gamelion	Nov. 28.
Peritius I.	Anthesterion ..	A. C. 343. Dec. 27.
Peritius II.	Elaphebolion	Jan. 26.
Dystrus	Munychion	Feb. 24.
Xanthicus	Thargelion	Mar. 26.
Artemisius	Sciophorion	April 24.
Dæsius.....	Hecatombæon	May 24.
Panemus	Metageitnion	June 22.
CIX. 2. Lous	Boedromion	July 22.
Gorpiæus.....	Mæmacterion	Aug. 20.
Hyperberetæus	Pyanepsion	Sept. 19.

The Translator can find only one more expression of the double dates, in the course of Alexander's history.

No. 3.

Battle of the Granicus.

Olymp. CXI. 2. Dios.....	Posideon I....	A. C. 335. Oct. 21.
Apellæus.....	Posideon II.....	Nov. 20.
Audynæus	Gamelion	Dec. 19.
Peritius	Anthesterion ..	A. C. 334. Jan. 18.
Dystrus	Elaphebolion	Feb. 16.
Xanthicus	Munychion	Mar. 18.
Artemisius	Thargelion	April 16.

	Artem. II. (<i>Dæsius</i>) Scirôphorion.....	May 16.
	Panemus.....	Hecatombæon .....June 14.
CXI. 3.	Lous.....	Metageitnion .....July 14.
	Gorpiæus.....	Boedromion .....Aug. 12.
	Hyperberetæus	Mæmacterion .....Sept. 11.

It would have been more satisfactory to the Translator, if in thus producing the months according to his hypothesis, he had found Plutarch's two expressions of the same date, occurring in separate parts of his work, to confirm each other. Describing the circumstances which preceded the battle of the Granicus, he says: "Some of Alexander's officers thought that a proper regard should be paid to a traditionary usage with respect to the time. For the kings of Macedon used never to march out to war in the month *Dæsius*. Alexander cured them of this piece of superstition, by ordering that month to be called *Artemisius the Second*."—PLUT. *Vit. Alex.*—In another passage he observes: "The month *Thargelion* was also remarkably unfortunate to the Barbarians; for in that month Alexander defeated the king of Persia's generals near the Granicus."—PLUT. *Vit. Camill.*—Here is no appearance of Plutarch's having reduced the dates; for then they would have occurred together; but rather of his having taken them, separately as we find them, each from some primary author. And perhaps the primary author who thus named *Thargelion* did not advert to the Attic Kalendar; but spoke according to the order of months and style of some other Grecian state.

M. de Sainte-Croix thinks, that the substitution of *Artemisius the Second* was not a permanent arrangement.—*Examen Crit.* p. 614.—The Translator can see no motive to it, but the temporary one of removing a superstitious impression in the army. Had there been thirteen New-moons in this year, the device of repeating *Artemisius* would have been less clumsy, as not causing even a transient dislocation.

The different principles on which the two Kalendars were constructed,—are adequate to account for the anomalous appearances which result, when the Macedonian and Attic

months of different years are compared. There is no occasion then to have recourse to the supposition, that the Macedonian Kalendar was new-modelled, as often as a month which is known to answer, at one specified date, to this Athenian month, appears from the historical notice of another period, to answer to another. The hypothesis of Petavius, adopted by Usher, of *ancient lunar* months, and *new solar* months—the latter falling two months earlier than the former—gratuitous in its origin, is not necessary to account for fluctuations of no greater latitude. Nor is the *Philippean Style* which Philip—after instituting—did not live to see commence; nor the *Autumnal Style*, which Alexander—under the same circumstances—left as a legacy to his Syro-Macedonians; to be interpreted, as Scaliger views them, as so many capricious modifications of the Macedonian year, now abolishing, and now restoring the old practice of commencing it at the Autumnal Equinox. Corsini regards the new *Philippean Era*, as nothing more than a public ordinance of Philip,—when his conquests had added several countries in Europe and Asia to the Macedonian dominions—directing that his subjects in the new states should uniformly use the Macedonian Kalendar.

YEAR IN WHICH ALEXANDER DIED.

It is not easy to adjust the year in which Alexander died. The obscurity of the primary notices—and the plain repugnance in some retrospective accounts, compiled three, four, or five centuries afterwards—have induced some eminent chronologists to date his death in the year A. C. 324; and others equally eminent, to place this era in 323. The Translator will, therefore, exhibit both dates as competing alternatives; and subjoin the authorities for each.

First Alternative.

Olymp. CXIII. 4. Dæsius 28.....Thargelion 28.....A. C. 324. *June* 20.

Second Alternative.

Olymp. CXIV. 1. Dæsius 28.....Thargelion 28.....A. C. 323. *June* 10.

Touching the MONTH: the date which has come out is sufficiently in unison with the expressions of Curtius, (lib. X.

cap. x.) and Plutarch, (*Vit. Alex.*) pointing to the season of summer, and a sultry climate. It is also near enough the time of the Olympic games—*forty-five days prior*—to derive some support from a relation which had much currency in the table-talk of antiquity, that Diogenes died on the same day, while on a journey to be a spectator at the approaching games.—PLUT. *Sympos.* lib. VIII. c. 1.—SATYRUS *apud* S. HIERONYM. *adv. Jovian.* lib. II. No light can be drawn from a notice in ÆLIAN, (*Var. Hist.* lib. II. cap. 25,) where it is said, that Alexander was *born*—and died—on the *sixth* Thargelion. The first point is irreconcilable with Plutarch: and the last with Eumenes—unless we suppose Ælian to have taken this from some Greek writer, who intended some other Kalendar than the Attic. Several of the Greek states retained one or more months of the same name, long after the gradual aberrations of peculiar Kalendars had caused them to fall more or less at diverging stages in the year.

As to the YEAR: the question, *Whether the Diesius in which Alexander died, should be assigned to Olymp. CXIII. 4., or CXIV. 1.?* would be easily answered, or, rather, would never have occurred, had there not been unfortunately a chasm both in the histories of Curtius and Arrian, which falls between Alexander's return from India, and his death; rendering the extant narrative an uncertain criterion, whether the course of events would fill up the time, if extended to June A. C. 323.

I. Ancient Authorities for the Earlier Date.

So Alexander reigned twelve years, and then died.—MACCABEES, book I. chap. i.—ERATOSTHENES *apud* CLEM. ALEX. *Strom.* lib. I.

A passage in another author to be cited, implies, that either Demetrius, or Diogenes Laertius, believed that both Alexander, and Diogenes the Cynic, died at the end of the 113th Olympiad.—DEMETRIUS MAONES. *apud* DIOGEN. LAERT. lib. VI. cap. ii. § 2.

Alexander died at Babylon, in the XXXII. year of his age.—EUSEB. *Chron.*

II. Ancient Authorities for the Later Date.

All agree that Alexander died in the 114th Olympiad.—JOSEPH. *contra Apion*, lib. I. § 22.

He reigned twelve years and seven months.—*Diod. Sic. lib. XVII. § 117.*—*CASTOR. apud EUSEB. p. 33.*

The term of his life was thirty-two years and eight months; and of his reign twelve years and eight months.—*ARISTOB. apud ARRIAN. lib. VII. cap. 48.*

He reigned thirteen years.—*CORNEL. NEP. in Eumen.*—*TIT. LIV. lib. XLV. c. 9.*

He reigned seven years OVER ASIA.—*GEORGIUS SYNCHELLUS, p. 260.*—*ABULFEDA, Anal. vol. I. p. 7.*

Did not Alexander die in his thirty-third year?—*CICERO, ut supra.*

At his death, his age was thirty-three years and one month.—*JUSTIN.*

The term of Alexander's life, brought out by the Translator's calculation, if we stop at the earlier date of Olymp. CXIII. 4. DÆSIUS 28. = A. C. 324, June 20, is thirty-two years, wanting one month; and if we proceed to Olymp. CXIV. 1. Dæsius 28. = A. C. 323, June 10, the sum will be thirty-two years, ten months, and twenty days.

The Translator proposes the extreme alternatives in this case, because he believes, that the middle course, by which we carry Dæsius into the *beginning* of the 11th Olympiad—to Aug. or Sept. A. C. 324—cannot be sustained. *Dæsius*, he reckons, must fall just before the end of the Olympic year.

The scale may be turned by throwing in the relative date of the accession of Philip Aridæus. The Chronological Canon attributed to Ptolemy, marks this accession on the 1st Thoth, first month of the Egyptian year, 425th from the era of Nabonassar. Dodwell reduces this Egyptian date to 12th Nov. A. C. 324.—But this is inconsistent with the date of Alexander's death, unless there had been an interregnum of five months; and history indicates the reverse. Hales accounts for this neglect of precision, by shewing that it is systematic. "The principles upon which this truly scientific Canon was constructed, are thus to be explained:
"RULE 2. Each king's reign begins at the Thoth, or New-year's day, before his accession; and all the odd months of his last year are included in the first year of his successor."
This brief and comprehensive writer cites DODWELL, for the

first discovery of this key to the exact dates; and the same chronologist and VIGNOLES, for historical proofs of it, drawn from the dates of accessions determined by other monuments. — *New Analysis of Chronology*. By WM. HALES, D. D. vol. i. 1809, p. 285.

Thus, the interval between 12th Nov. A. C. 324, and 10th June A. C. 323—belongs to the reign of Alexander.

DATE OF ALEXANDER'S ACCESSION.

None of the classic historians give the date of Alexander's accession according to either Kalendar. Usher arrives at the date which he has assigned by this circuitous process: he reduces the date of Alexander's death to May 22; and accrediting the notice of Aristobulus *apud Arrian*, that Alexander reigned twelve years and eight months, he deducts this term from the period of his life, and obtains the date of 24th Sept. A. C. 336. This being the first date correct, not only in the interval, but in the month, with which we know the accession, it is the only one that can be true. As to the year, it is the same, as the modern chronologists have determined it. *Trans. Phil. Soc. Lond.* p. 605. The Translators would collect some faint indications for dating it rather to the first month of the Olympic year CXI. 1.

RECAPITULATION.

Alexander born 21. July A. C. 356. *Adjusted on concurrent grounds.*
 Accession..... July? A. C. 336. *Assumed constructively.*
 Battle of the Granicus. Between 16. May and 14. June A. C. 334. *Depending singly on the reduction of the Macedonian month.*
 Battle of Arbela..... 2. Oct. A. C. 331. *Fixed by the prior Eclipse.*
 Death of Darius..... Between 30. June and 29. July A. C. 330. *Reduced from the Athenian month.*
 Death of Alexander... 10. June A. C. 323. *The more probable date.*

FINIS.



